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CHRONOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS FROM PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL DATA IN THE ARAMAIC OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of

Asbury Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Theology

---

by

He Young Whang

May, 1968

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Approved:

G. Herbert Livingston
First Reader

Dennis F. Kinlaw
Second Reader

by

He Young Whang

May, 1968

This work is dedicated to
Miss Bernice L. Sherrieb
whose love is the pattern
of our Christian life
in Jesus Christ, our Lord.

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ABBREVIATION

Aram.	Aramaic
Aḥ.	The story of Aḥikar
AP.	Cowley's Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.
Bar.	Bar-rekub inscription
B. C.	before Christ
Beh.	Behistun inscription
BMAP	Kraeling's Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri
c.	common (person)
Cf. (confer)	compare
Dan.	Daniel
f.	feminine
fem.	feminine
Had.	Hadad inscription
Heb.	Hebrew
Ibid. (ibidem)	in the same place
imp.	imperative
Imp. Aram.	Imperial Aramaic
impf.	imperfect
inf.	infinitive
m.	masculine
mas.	masculine
Na.	Nabatean inscription

NSI.	Cooke's North-Semitic Inscriptions
Occ.	occurrence
op. cit. (opere citato)	in the work cited
p.	page
pp.	pages
Pa.	Palmyrene inscription
Pan. II.	Panammu II inscription
Part.	participle
pl.	plural
Sf. I.	Sefire I inscription
Sf. II.	Sefire II inscription
Sf. III.	Sefire III inscription
s.	singular
sing.	singular
SI.	Littmann's Semitic Inscriptions
Tg.	Targums
Ugr.	Ugaritic
UT.	Gordon's Ugaritic Textbook

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The book of Daniel has often been considered one of the most problematic books in the Bible. A study of the history of research on this book reveals that it has often been the subject of attack by many radical scholars. Even early in the third century A. D., the neo-Platonic philosopher Porphyry[1] had attacked the book of Daniel in his book, Against the Christian. He insisted that it was written by a Jew of Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes because the actual history of the time corresponded exactly with the prophecy of Daniel.

When the Deistic movement of the eighteenth century took place, this view was revived and elaborated upon by the German rationalistic scholars. Through the nineteenth century and early in this century, the radical liberal scholars unifformly agreed that the book of Daniel originated from the Hellenistic age in the second century.

For these scholars the miracles and prophecies which are the characteristics of the book, are so far transcendent from the natural course of things, that the recognition of

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[1]G. L. Archer, Jr. (trans.), Jerome's Commentary on Daniel (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958), p. 15. Most information on Porphyry's attack on Daniel comes from Jerome.

the genuineness of it is inconceivable. Also the theological, historical, canonical, and philological problems strengthened their radical verdict on the book of Daniel.

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The particular concern of this investigation is a philological study of the Aramaic in the book of Daniel in comparison with extra-biblical documents in Old, Imperial, and Late Aramaic. Already among the prominent Old Testament scholars, the date of the Aramaic in Daniel has been debated in an effort to determine when the book of Daniel was written. Their conclusions do not all agree. Two opposite views represent their arguments. Some[1] claim the Aramaic of Daniel is Imperial Aramaic used in the sixth century B. C., but others[2] view it as the Late Aramaic which was used in the second and first century B. C.

However, the recognition of the existence of the

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[1]This theory is represented by the following scholars; R. D. Wilson, "The Aramaic of Daniel," Biblical and Theological Studies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 261-306; W. St. Clair Tisdall, "The Book of Daniel: Some Linguistic Evidence regarding its date," Journal of the Transaction the Victoria Institute 3:206-255, 1921; Charles Boutflower, In And Around the Book of Daniel (Reprinted; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1936), pp. 226-267.

[2]S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891); H. H. Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament (London: Humphrey Milford, 1929).

elements of the Old, Imperial Aramaic as well as those of Late Aramaic in the Aramaic of Daniel is undeniable. Therefore, it is here attempted, (1) to see how closely the Aramaic of Daniel is related to the various stages of the Aramaic language phonologically and morphologically, (2) to get the most probable answer for the question of the possible inclusion of both stages of Aramaic in the Aramaic of Daniel, (3) to determine the approximate date to which the Aramaic of Daniel belongs in relation to the criticism of the book of Daniel.

II. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

In treating this problem, such as dating a text, the source material is very important as well as the method of approach. The more the source materials are tested, the more reliable the result that can be expected.

Previously, in the late nineteenth century, scholars who did a linguistic study of the Aramaic in the book of Daniel were limited by a shortage of materials with which to compare. They compared the Aramaic of Daniel with the Aramaic portion of the book of Ezra and the Aramaic Targums. However, in the early twentieth century, a mass of valuable Aramaic documents, which belong to various periods, has become accessible to scholars as the result of archaeological efforts.

In recent years, more significant Old and Imperial Aramaic documents, as well as Late Aramaic materials, have been discovered. Therefore, a reassessment of this study is necessary in light of recent comparative Semitic studies.

III. LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

In pursuing the stated purpose, a limitation in the amount of text and ancient Aramaic materials, has been necessary in order to get an adequate approach to the problem in the time allowed.

The study is limited to a phonological and morphological comparison of the Aramaic part of the book of Daniel, chapter 2:4b to chapter 7:28 with Old and Late Aramaic inscriptional materials. Neither theological, nor historical problems in the text cited have been included in this study. Also, this study will not seek to establish the authorship of the book of Daniel.

It is impossible to put all the archaeological finds of ancient Aramaic materials on the stage, in testing the Aramaic of Daniel. Rather well-preserved and significant materials available to the writer have been selected.

The method of this study is an inductive research into the phonological and morphological features of the Aramaic of Daniel and the other extra-biblical texts selected. A study of syntax and vocabulary has not been included.

IV. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE PROBLEM

This section shall be devoted to a survey of the significant approaches to the problem of the Aramaic in the book of Daniel since the middle of the nineteenth century. Main emphasis has been put on the methods of approach to the problem and the character of the materials upon which the scholars have based their hypotheses.

The significant work of E. W. Hengstenberg in 1848, Dissertation on the Genuineness of Daniel and the Integrity of Zechariah,[1] treated the peculiarities of the Aramaic in Daniel in four pages of his book with a brief evaluation of previous approaches. His method of approach was to collect the peculiarities of the Aramaic in Daniel and Ezra and compare them with the Targums. The presence of the prefix ה on the causative stem in Daniel and Ezra against א in the Targums, along with twenty-six more peculiarities led Hengstenberg to the conclusion that the Aramaic of Daniel is earlier than that of Targums. However, in his comparative study, his source materials are too limited to support his argument fully.

In 1870, Otto Zöckler issued a rather brief study of

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[1]E. W. Hengstenberg, Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel and the Integrity of Zechariah (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1847), pp. 245-251.

the problem in his book, The Book of the Prophet Daniel.[1] In 1885, E. B. Pusey gave a longer treatment of the problem in his nine lectures on the book of Daniel, Daniel the Prophet.[2] Basically their methodologies and their source materials were the same as that of Hengstenberg. However, Pusey added the Samaritan and Mandean to his source materials with which he compared the Aramaic of Daniel.

Against these attempts to establish the traditional date of the book of Daniel by dating the Aramaic, a severe challenge from S. R. Driver was presented in his well-known, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament in 1891, and his commentary on Daniel in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges in 1901. The former has been one of the classic Old Testament instroductions, written from the higher critical perspective in the late nineteenth century, with more than twenty-five pages devoted to the book of Daniel.

His argument against the previous scholars was based mainly on the following points: (1) there are at least fifteen Persian words which point out that the book was

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[1]Otto Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, Lange's Commentary on the Holy Scripture, Trans. by Philip Schaff. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1960), p.6-7.

[2]E. B. Pusey, Daniel the Prophet (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885), pp.104-114, 482-498.

written after the Persian empire had left her influence, (2) at least three Greek words could not have been used in the book of Daniel, unless it had been after the conquest of Alexander the Great, and that (3) the Aramaic of Daniel is a Western Aramaic dialect. He concluded his view in the following famous words:

> The verdict of the language of Daniel is thus clear. The Persian words presuppose a period after the Persian Empire had been well established; the Greek words demand, the Hebrew supports, and the Aramaic permits, a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great (B. C. 332).[1]

He supported his argument by including the newly discovered Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions and pointed out that many supposed ancient forms of Daniel, which were different from the Aramaic of the Targums, were actually in use down to the first century A. D.

In opposition to Driver's radical verdict on the book of Daniel, R. D. Wilson, the late professor of Philology in Princeton Seminary, undertook a new investigation of the whole problem in terms of the dialects of Aramaic in his essay, "The Aramaic of Daniel" in Biblical and Theological Studies,[2] in 1912. In this essay, Wilson

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[1]Driver, loc. cit., p. 476. The underlining indicates his italics.

[2]R. D. Wilson, "The Aramaic of Daniel," Biblical and Theological Studies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 261-306.

carefully criticised Driver's four main propositions on which his whole argument was established:

> ... first, that the Aramaic of Daniel is Western; second, that it is all but identical with that of Ezra; third, that it is nearly allied with that of Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan and to that of the Nabateans and Palmyrenes; and fourth, that it was 'spoken in and about Palestine,' 'at a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great.'[2]

In refuting these assumptions of Driver, his argument was supported by newly discovered inscriptional data. His method of approach to the problem is not basically different from the former approaches. However, he had the advantage of examining the significant documents which were older than those previously available, such as the Zenjirli inscriptions of the eighth century B. C., and the Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B. C. In order to trace the relations of the Aramaic of Daniel to that of other dialects, he searched out the peculiar orthographic forms and inflections of the Aramaic in Daniel according to their occurrence in other dialects of Aramaic. In his conclusion, he gave an opposite view from that of Driver, for he stated that the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to the latter part of the sixth century B. C. "at or near Babylon." Thus he maintained the traditional date of the book of Daniel. However, in disputing the alleged late dated foreign words which occur in the Aramaic of Daniel,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 266-267.

his argument was not defended sufficiently enough in establishing the authenticity of the book of Daniel.

In 1906 on the island of Elephantine opposite Assuan in Egypt, some papyri were found that contained legal texts in Aramaic. These have thrown new light on the problems of Daniel. They were collected and edited by A. Cowley, who published them in his work, Aramaic Papyri of The Fifth Century B. C.,[1] in 1923. This work was a great spur in the study of Imperial Aramaic in relation to the critical problems of the book of Daniel.

In 1921 W. St. Clair Tisdall had presented a paper, "The Book of Daniel: Some Linguistic Evidence Regarding Its Date,"[2] to the 632nd Ordinary General Meeting of the Victoria Institute in which he defended the authenticity of the book of Daniel on the basis of a study of the newly discovered Aramaic papyri. His argument was based on the assumption that if the book of Daniel was composed in the third year of Cyrus, 535 B. C., the forty-one years of the interval between the composition of the book and the writing of the earliest Aramaic document[3] would not allow for any

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[1]A. Cowley (ed.), Aramaic Papyri of The Fifth Century B. C. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923).

[2]W. St. Clair Tisdall, "The Book of Daniel: Some Linguistic Evidence Regarding Its Date," Journal of the Transaction the Victoria Institute, 3:206-255, 1921.

[3]The earliest document of the Aramaic papyri is

serious differences in the language. Under this assumption, he refuted Driver's alleged date of the Greek words in the Aramaic of Daniel by disclosing the occurrences of Greek words in the fifth century Aramaic papyri. Also he reexamined carefully Driver's treatment of the Persian words in the Aramaic of Daniel in the light of the Aramaic papyri. His dealing with the grammatical points of the Aramaic of Daniel is brief and not very illuminating. His careful lexicographical study of the foreign loan words, however, filled a gap in Wilson's essay in support of the traditional date of the book of Daniel.

A similar apporach to the problem was made by Charles Boutflower in his book, In and Around the Book of Daniel[1] in 1923. His assumption in his research is the same as that of the former. He selected a text from the Elephantine papyri, which had been dated from 408 B. C.[2] and showed that the interval 535 B. C. to 408 B. C. had very little change in the language. Under his subject heading of "The Language Evidence," he elaborated Wilson's theory, and compared the selected letter, composed of thirty lines of Egyptian

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dated 495 B. C., the second day of the month Epiphi of the 27th year of King Darius in Cowley's AP. 1, pp.1-2.

[1]Charles Boutflower, In and Around the Book of Daniel (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1963), pp.226-267.

[2]Cowley, op. cit., pp.108-119. AP.30.

Aramaic, with that of Daniel in their use of words, phrases, syntax and grammatical points. Consequently, he displayed the similarities in the Aramaic of Daniel and that of the Elephantine papyri of the fifth century B. C., and concluded that the Aramaic of Daniel "permits a date as early as the closing years of the prophet Daniel."[1] However, his research did not produce a convincing argument because his method employed an inadequate amount of source materials for a comparison with the Aramaic of Daniel.

Against this traditional view, specifically against Boutflower's treatment of this problem, G. R. Driver[2] offered a criticism. He rightly pointed out that the evidences on which Boutflower attributed an earlier date to the Aramaic in Daniel were found in later Aramaic also and were, therefore, of little value to his argument. Driver's whole treatment is based upon the hypothesis that the consonant ך was used in Daniel where later Aramaic uses ן. He argued that "the years from 460 to 400 B. C. constituted the period of transition"[3] from ן to ך. The occurrence of ך for ן in the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra caused him to

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[1]Boutflower, op. cit., p. 240

[2]G. R. Driver, "The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel," Journal of Biblical Literature, 45:110-119, 323-325, 1926.

[3]Ibid., p. 114.

put them after the Aramaic papyri and place them near to the date of the Nabatean and Palmyrene.

In conclusion, he affirmed S. R. Driver's theory, stating that "it is now possible, in view of the discovery of the papyri at Elephantine, to go beyond the verdict that the Aramaic permits a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great."[1]

However, the most vigorous opponent of the traditionalists has been H. H. Rowley. His book, The Aramaic of the Old Testament,[2] has been considered in this field as the classical work on this problem. His thorough treatment of this problem with its wealth of data does not allow any other treatment to compare with his up to now.

The materials which he used for comparison come geographically from Asia Minor, North Syria, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, India, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt, and chronologically from the eighth century B. C. up to the third century A. D. However, the source materials among the Old, Imperial and Late Aramaic available to him at the time of study were limited in their quality and quantity. Also, they are not equally represented geographically and chronologically.

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[1] G. R. Driver, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

[2] H. H. Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament (London: Humphrey, 1929).

With this wealth of data, he tested the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra by enumeration the phonetical, morphological and syntactical differences in each from the Old and Imperial Aramaic documents. And he also stressed the similarities of these points in Daniel and Ezra to those of the Late Aramaic. Therefore, he inferred from his study that the Aramaic of Ezra is of the fourth or third century B. C. and that the Aramaic of Daniel must be placed later than that of Ezra, and before the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions dated from first century B. C. to third century A. D.

His conclusion strongly supports the late date of the book of Daniel.

> We have found nothing whatever in the course of our study to make a second century date for Daniel impossible or improbable, or in any way to embarrass such a view, and Greek terms which strongly point to that time.[1]

After this apparently decisive study, no other significant research on this problem was undertaken for over three decades.

In 1965, K. A. Kitchen attacked Rowley's work and insisted that "Rowley's failure adequately to recognize the distinction between orthography and phonetics raises grave doubt of his results."[2] He pointed out that Rowley's

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[1]Rowley, op. cit., p.156.

[2]K. A. Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel (London: The Tyndale Press, 1965), pp.31-79.

whole argument was based upon two misled assumptions; (1) no orthographical change had occurred on the consonantal text of the Aramaic in Daniel since its original composition, (2) the orthographies of Old, Imperial and Biblical Aramaic gave an accurate phonetic record of the common Aramaic.

Conversely, Kitchen assumed in his study that the tension between pronunciation and orthography caused by the limitations of the Phoenician script system for pronouncing certain Aramaic words, produced phonetic change as well as orthographic change in the Old, Imperial and Biblical Aramaic. So the assumptions of phonetic, orthographic, and even morphological changes were underlined in his research on the Aramaic of Daniel.

It should be noted that behind the differences in Kitchen's and Rowley's work lies another presupposition. Kitchen distinguished between the inscriptional and documental materials which suffered no long history of transmission, and the literary works, such as Daniel and Ezra,[1] which were transmitted by various scribes through some

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[1]Already L. W. Batten had assumed this presupposition in his study of the book of Ezra with the following words, "the papyri were never copied, but are preserved in their original form, while our documents were copied hundreds of times, and are found in living books." Cf. L. W. Batten, The Book of Ezra and Nehemiah, of International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913), p. 22.

centuries. Such a distinction Rowley did not make. These different assumptions caused the latter to put the burden of his argument for dating the book of Daniel on the phonetic and orthographic variations, while Kitchen attached little weight to the value of these variations in his work. Thus these led to opposite conclusions.

With these assumptions, and with the new materials discovered since Rowley's work, Kitchen has established new bases of research for supporting the traditional date of the Aramaic in the book of Daniel.

Thus previous studies of the problem have been based upon assumptions that permitted no ultimate solution to the problem. Furthermore, little significant work has been done which utilized recently discovered ancient Aramaic documents. Thus the question of the dating of the Aramaic of Daniel is still open and worthy of serious attention.

CHAPTER II

SOURCE MATERIALS

The ideal approach to this linguistic comparative study would draw upon all of the rich data representative of the chronological and geographical dialects of Aramaic. From a practical approach, however, this would be impossible. Archaeological discovery till now has not provided complete chronological history of any individual geographical dialect of Aramaic.

For this study, rather well preserved and significant source data were selected according to chronological sequence rather than geographical location. The source materials are divided into the following three stages of Aramaic: Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, and Late Aramaic. These materials are selected as representative of their times. They include both sacred and profane writings.

I. OLD ARAMAIC

Old Aramaic is the Aramaic language which was used prior to the eighth century B. C. From this period, many inscriptions have been found such as Kilamua, Ḥalaf, Bar-Hadad, Ḥazel, Hamat, Zakiru, Hadad, Panammu II, Bar-rekub, Sefire, and Nerab. Most of them, however, are short and fragmentary, and the origin of some is questionable.

The eight rather long inscriptions, Hadad, Panammu II, Barrekub, Sefire I, II and III and Nerab I and III, have been selected for the source data of this study.

A. Zenjirli Inscriptions.[1] A small village, Zenjirli, which was ancient Sam'al, is located near Antioch in North-Western Syria. This site was excavated by a German expedition conducted by F. von Luschan from 1889 to 1891. From this exploration, several unearthed inscriptions gave a valuable light for estimating the conditions of Sam'al in North Syria. It revealed that Zenjirli was a Hittite state and that Arameans entered the area around thirteenth century B. C. The sculptures are of Hittite designs, but the inscriptions are in Aramaic.[2]

Hadad inscription. The Hadad, or Panammu, inscription, was found in 1890 on the mound of Gerjin, a large tell south of Zenjirli.[3] The inscription is carved on a huge colossal statue of the Syrian god, Hadad. The writing is of

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[1]For these inscriptions, the following works are conferred: H. Donner-W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962-1964), Vol. II, pp.214-234; G. A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930), pp.159-185; J. J. Koopmans, Aramäischen Chrestomathie (Leiden: Nerderlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 1962), Vol. I, pp.30-79.

[2]C. F. Pfeiffer, The Biblical World (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1960), p.611.

[3]E. G. H. Kraeling, Aram and Israel (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), p.122f.

the archaic type represented by the Moabite stone, and it is in relief as the Panammu II and Bar-rekub inscriptions.[1] According to its internal evidence, this statue was established by King Panammu of Ya'di, the son of QRL, and was dated according to evidence of the two following Zenjirli inscriptions, around the middle of the eighth century B. C. in the time of Tiglath-pileser III.[2] The content of the statue shows that it is a votive inscription of thirty-four lines containing more than 415 words. Although the inscription itself was not so well preserved, it was possible to decipher that Panammu acknowledged the good providence of his gods, encouraged his sons to be faithful to his gods, and concluded the inscription with curses to those who injure his statue and successors. Presently this statue is located in the Berlin Museum.

Panammu II inscription. The Panammu II inscription was found in 1888 in the grave yard of Taḫtaly Bunar, half way between Gergin and Zenjirli. This is a memorial statue which was erected by Bar-rekub for his father Panammu, son of Bar-Ṣur, king of Ya'di. This Panammu is assumed to be Panammu II, grandson of Panammu I, son of QRL. Because of the conspiracy related in the inscription, it is assumed,

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[1]Cook, North-Semitic Inscriptions, p.163 and p.182.

[2]Ibid., p. 163.

that Panammu I's successor, Bar-Ṣur, had a short reign. The Panammu II inscription is better preserved than the Hadad inscription, with twenty-three lines containing more than 348 words. The contents of the inscriptions are divided into three sections. The first section describes the conspiracy against his father's house. The second is about his father's ascension, the prosperity of Ya'di under Panammu II, and the death of Panammu II in the battle. The third tells of Bar-rekub's ascension to his father's place through the providence of his gods.

Scholars have dated it around 733-727[1] on the basis of its internal evidence (the Assyrian king's name, Tiglath-pileser) and paleographical comparison. It is now in Staatliche museum, Berlin.

Bar-rekub inscription. The third inscription, Bar-rekub, was found on the tell of Zenjirli in 1891. This was not written on a statue like the two others, but on a building which was assumed to be the new palace built by Bar-rekub[2] who is the author of the Panammu II inscription. The inscription is preserved perfectly and completely with twenty lines in seventy-six words. On the left of the

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[1]Donner-Röllig, Kanaanäische Und Aramäische Inschriften, p. 232.

[2]Cook, op. cit., p. 182.

inscription, the figure of King Bar-rekub holding a lotus flower in his hand[1] was carved in relief. The content of the inscription is Bar-rekub's praise for his lord Tiglath-pileser, and descriptions of his own prosperity at the dedication of the building.

The date of this inscription is assumed to be the same as that of the Panammu II inscription around 733-727 B. C., on its internal and epigraphical evidences.

B. Sefire Inscriptions. Three significant Old Aramaic inscriptions were discovered at a small village of Sefire, about fifteen miles southeast of Aleppo in North Syria. Unfortunately the exact date of their discovery is unknown. In 1931, Sebastian Ronzevalle, S. J., published the text of the Sujin Stele which was later called Sefire I. Soon the Sefire II and III inscriptions were deciphered by scholars, drawing attention not only to the study of Old Aramaic, but also to the theology of the Old Testament.

These Old Aramaic inscriptions were written on basalt steles, and they were dated around the middle of the eighth century B. C., according to the epigraphical data. The date is also supported by the internal evidence of the name of Mati'el, the king of ARPD, whose name is identified in the

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[1] Ibid.

annals of Tiglath-pileser III (754-727).[1]

The content of the text is a covenant between two vessels of Assyria, KTK and ARPD, in the form of a suzerainty treaty. Conditions of the treaty or laws were solemnly set by both suzerains in their own names, their successor's names, and their people's names with their gods as witnesses. It was confirmed by the solemn oath that there was not to be a change or violation of the laws, otherwise curses were pronounced in the name of their gods to treaty violators.

Sefire I. The stele was made with basalt stone in the form of a pyramid 51.5 inches high.[2] The three sides of the stele were labeled face A, face B, and face C. Unfortunately the stele was broken horizontally into two parts. The face A of the stele was assumed to have originally forty-two lines of script, but now three lines between the sixteenth and twentieth lines have completely disappeared. Also, several letters at the end of all the lines of face A have been lost. Otherwise, face A is well preserved. Face B lost some letters from the beginning of each line. The two broken parts of face B were assumed to have held forty-five lines, but the inscription following the eleventh line are

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[1]J. A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Inscription of Sefire I and II," Journal of American Oriental Society, 81:188, August-September, 1961.

[2]Fitzmyer, op. cit., p. 179.

not preserved completely. Face C has twenty-five badly damaged lines. It is assumed that its left side now entirely lost was also engraved.

Sefire II. The second stele, in fragmentary form, was identified by scholars in the Damascus Museum. It consists of more than twelve pieces of basalt stone. Face A has fourteen lines of inscription. Some letters at the beginning of each line were lost, and half of the lines were badly damaged. Face B has twenty-one lines but more than nine of them are incomplete. Some letters at the end of this face were also lost. Face C of this stele has seventeen lines. Although this stele was badly damaged, more than 150 well-preserved words could be deciphered. By means of modern techniques of comparative reconstruction of the text, it has been established that the inscription contains a suzerainty treaty.

Sefire III. The third stele, which is in the museum in Beirut today, was identified as closely related to the previous inscriptions, Sefire I and II, according to its identical basalt stone material, handwriting, and content. The stele has broken into eight fragments. Its reconstructed form shows its width to be 50 inches and its height to be

24 inches.[1] The original twenty-nine lines of text were well preserved excepting the loss of one to three letters at the middle of each line, and some damage in the last five lines. The text is a continuation from some other unknown text and so begins abruptly. The more than 440 clear words are enough to show the conditions of the treaty between KTK and ARPD.

C. Nerab Inscriptions. In 1891 two inscriptions were found at Nerab, a small village, about 4.4 miles southeast of Aleppo in North Syria. The first inscription is an Aramaic monument in basalt containing fourteen well-preserved lines of inscription. The first eight lines were carved around the face of the image of the priest, Sin-Zir-Ban, and the other six lines were written running across the bottom of his robe. Between the lines, a relief figure shows the priest raising his right hand and holding in his left hand some kind of scroll in a pose of prayer or a ritual ceremony.

The second stele was also well-preserved, with ten lines of Aramaic inscribed above the relief in which the figure of the priest, Abga, sits upon a chair in order to offer a libation before an altar. Facing him from behind

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[1]Donner-Röllig, Kanaanäische Und Aramäische Inschriften, II, 238.

the altar is an attendent with a fan.[1] Both are memorial and sepulchral inscriptions, serving as identification markers and cursing any person who plunders the images and couches.

The exact dates of both inscriptions are not given, but on paleographical grounds, it is assumed that they belong to the seventh century B. C. The references to the names of deities, which are Assyrian,[2] supports the supposed dates for these inscriptions.

II. IMPERIAL ARAMAIC

Imperial Aramaic[3] is the language used under the Babylonian and Persian empires from the sixth century to the fourth century B. C. In this period, various ancient documents were found in a wider area, from Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, India, Arabia, Syria and Egypt. However, most of them are too fragmentary and insignificant for this study except those from Egypt. In this study rather well-preserved, fifth century B. C. Elephantine Aramaic papyri from Egypt are consulted. Also the sacred writings of the

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[1]Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, p. 190. He considered this scene as an Egyptian funeral rite, but the styles of the figures were interpreted as Assyrian.

[2]Ibid., p. 187.

[3]The usual German term "Reichsaramäische" was translated into an English equivalent. Some scholars use the term "Classic Aramaic" or "Official Aramaic."

Aramaic portions in the book of Ezra are included as comparative data under consideration of the similar devopments of their historical transmission to those of the Aramaic of Daniel.

A. Elephantine Papyri. Elephantine is the ancient Egyptian "Yeb," an island in the Nile river opposite Assuan, the ancient "Syene" in upper Egypt.

During January and February of 1893, Charles Edwine Wilbour, an American Egyptologist, entered into Assuan, and bought nine entire rolls[1] of Aramaic papyri and other ancient scribes' palettes from an Arab woman. He kept silence about the texts for the benefit of his future study of them, but his death in 1896 kept them concealed. Until 1947, when they were bequeathed to the Brooklyn Museum by his daughter, they remained in storage, unknown to the world. These Aramaic papyri in the Brooklyn museum were published by E. G. Kraeling in 1953.

While these papyri were hidden from the scholars, other Elephantine papyri were being discovered. In 1898, through the antiquities market, the first Strassburg papyrus was acquired, and it was interpreted by Julius Euting in 1903.[2] A. H. Sayce discovered a nearly perfect

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[1]E. G. Kraeling (ed.), The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 11.

[2]Ibid.

roll of Aramaic papyrus of the fifth century B. C. It was soon published by A. Cowley in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology in 1903. More discoveries of the same character were made, and they were published by A. H. Sayce and A. Cowley in Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan in 1906. In following years, other discoveries of Aramaic papyri from Elephantine island were made, and in 1923, A. Cowley collected "all the legible pre-Christian Aramaic papyri known" to him in a classic edition of the text book, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.[1] For this study for Imperial Aramaic, Cowley's work and Kraeling's Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri are consulted.

Aramaic Papyri of Fifth Century B. C. The Aramaic papyri which are collected in this volume are private letters, contracts for loans, marriages, house sales, and conveyances, lists of names, documents of manumission and adoption, and three literary pieces. The preservation of the texts was rather poor. More than half of them are fragmentary, but a number of them are complete and well-preserved.

Most of the well-preserved papyri contain the exact dates of their writings by the day, month, and year of the

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[1]A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923).

kings. Some are dated according to the Egyptian calendar as well as the Babylonian calendar. Those which do not state their own dates, could have their dates determined according to their sequence of contents with other papyri, and according to paleographical grounds. Most of them belong to the fifth century B. C., but later dated papyri were also included in this text-book.

The authors of most of these texts were Jews as their names indicate. They called themselves יהודיא (Jews).[1] They called their community חילא יהודיא (Jewish garrison). Also they were called Jews in letters written to them.[2] Therefore there is no doubt that the letters were written by Jews who were on the island, with the exception of a few literary works, such as the story of Aḥikar and the Behistun inscription. The origin of the Jewish colony in this island has been much disputed, but it has been established to be not later than the middle of the sixth century B. C.,[3] on account of the existence of the Jewish temple under the kings of Egypt and the Persian king, Cambyses, in 525 B. C. They dwelt there as a military settlement or as mercenaries in the employment of the Persian kingdom.

The questionable, fragmentary, or late dated papyri

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[1] Ibid., p.112. AP. 30:22.

[2] Ibid., p.62. AP.21:2 and p.66. AP.22:1.

[3] Kraeling, Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, p.42.

from this text group have been excluded from this study. Those which are included here are number one to forty-five and the story of Ahikar and the Behistun inscription. Their dates range from 495 B. C. to 400 B. C.

Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. This volume includes Wilbour's nine papyri and other fragmentary papyri. They are legal documents of marriage, house sale, gift, conveyance, and manumission. Generally they are well preserved, except the last four documents.

These Elephantine papyri give their dates from 451 B. C. to 399 B. C. not only according to the Egyptian calendar, but also according to the Babylonian calendar, as do the other Elephantine papyri. Therefore, there is no room to doubt their dates. However, those four fragments in the last part of the volume have lost their dates, and have been excluded from this study. The first thirteen documents are in good condition with more than 281 lines of Imperial Aramaic.

B. Aramaic of The Book of Ezra. The ten chapters of the book of Ezra are bilingual, comprised of Hebrew and Aramaic. The Aramaic sections consist of the decrees of the Persian kings and the official letters to the kings in chapter 4:8 to chapter 6:18, and in chapter 7:12-26.

The book of Ezra has suffered a long history of

battle among Old Testament scholars over its authorship and date. Some consider it to be written by an unnamed editor, most probably the compiler of the books of Chronicles, but traditionalists claim Ezra to be the author as it bears his name. As the book is not to be treated as a Jewish forgery, the latter view is justified strongly by the use of the first personal pronoun to designate Ezra himself, which occurs in chapters seven through ten.

The various theories on the date of the book are mainly dependent upon deciding when Ezra's journey to Jerusalem occurred. The following brief discussion represents modern views on the problem. According to Ezra 7:7-9, Ezra's journey started "on the first day of the first month" and ended at Jerusalem "on the first day of the fifth month," "in the seventh year of the king" Artaxerxes.

Traditionalists consider the king Artaxerxes to be Artaxerxes I (465-424 B. C.), and fix the year of Ezra's journey to Jerusalem as 458 B. C., prior to the first mission of Nehemiah to the city in 432 B. C.

Against this view, the modern radical scholars point out the supposed anachronisms[1] in the traditionalists'

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[1]The anachronisms can be found in Ezra 9:9 in which Ezra mentions "a Wall." They interpret it as Nehemiah's wall. Also, in Ezra 10:1, Ezra mentioned "a very great congregation that assembled in Jerusalem," but Nehemiah's record is contradictory to Ezra's by speaking "... of few people in Jerusalem" in Neh. 7:4. The Elephantine papyri

theory, and simply put Ezra's ministry after that of Nehemiah by submitting that the "seventh year" of Artaxerxes is the year of Artaxerxes II, 398 B. C.

This view also has its problems[1] if the date is correct. In considering these problems, another solution, called the "thirty-seventh year" theory, has been popularly accepted by various scholars. The theory assumes that an error in number was made through textual transmissions, changing "the thirty seventh year" to the "seventh year." John Bright has explained this phenomenon by stating that "... three consecutive occurrences of an initial shin have caused one word to be dropped by haplography."[2] By reading "the thirty seventh year of Artaxerxes" I instead of "seventh year," Ezra's journey to Jerusalem is fixed at 428 B. C.

In view of these theories, the book of Ezra could not have been composed by the author prior to 458 B. C., or later than 400 B. C. Therefore the latest possible date

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(AP. 30) supports the view that Eliashib's son, Johanan, who is referred to in Ezra 10:6, was the high priest in 408 B. C.

[1]This view can not explain the coordinate ministeries of Ezra and Nehemiah in Neh. 8:9. Also they could not avoid contradiction in explaining the Davidide Hattusch in Ezra 8:2 and Neh. 3:10.

[2]John Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, n.d.), p. 385.

of the book is expressed by Bright in the following words:

> Yet, if the chronicler worked a century or more after ca. 400, it is strange indeed that neither the narrative nor the genealogies carry beyond that point. A date for the chronicler possibly in the closing decades of the fifth century, certainly not long after 400, commends itself.[1]

Date of the Aramaic portion of the book of Ezra.

Primarily, the Aramaic section of the book is comprised of; (1) the accusation letter against the Jews which was sent to Artaxerxes I (465-424) in Ezra 4:8-16, (2) Artaxerxes I's reply to the accusers in Ezra 4:17-22, (3) the letter to Darius I (521-486) in Ezra 5:7-17, (4) the reply of Darius I in Ezra 6:3-12, and (5) the decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra in Ezra 7:11-26. The basic genuiness of these historical materials is accepted by many scholars. Even H. H. Rowley admits that "... it is generally agreed that the editor took over the Aramaic sections from an earlier Aramaic source adding, perhaps, a few verses in Aramaic as connecting links."[2] Also from a philological view point, scholars generally agree that the Aramaic of Ezra is Imperial Aramaic.[3] Therefore one is justified in saying that the Aramaic of Ezra can be dated earlier than the composition of the book.

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[1]Ibid., p.383.

[2]Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, p.8n.

[3]Kraeling, Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, p.7.

However, the revisions on the text in later times can not be denied.

III. LATE ARAMAIC

Late Aramaic is the language which was used from the third century B. C. up to the fifth century A. D. A vast amount of Aramaic materials now exists which belongs to this period. These texts are rather well preserved. It is impossible to take all of them in this research. The earlier inscriptions in this period, such as the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions are consulted, along with superficial references from the Aramaic of the Targums and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

A. Nabatean Inscriptions. The Nabateans were an Arabian people who inhabited the southern transjordan and southeast Syria. Originally they may have lived in Northwest Arabia, but as early as the sixth century B. C., they began to occupy the territory of the Edomites.[1] By the close of the fourth century B. C., they had settled in all of Edom and Moab and in the area south of the Dead Sea. After the Persian rule, they were independent and flourished until the second century A. D.

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[1]S. Cohen, "Nabateans," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), III, 491.

Recent archaeological discoveries of their inscriptions show that they used Aramaic, the lingua franca of Palestine during that age. Their Aramaic script is essentially not much different from common Aramaic script, but the influence of Arabic cursive script made their script a distinctive one.

This study has made use of G. A. Cooke's collection[1] of Nabatean inscriptions and Enno Littmann's complied inscriptions.[2]

Nabatean inscriptions from Cooke's NSI. Cooke has dealt with thirty-two Nabatean inscriptions in his volume.[3] They come from a wide variety of localities, from Dumêr of Damascus, Ḥebran, Ṣalhad, Bostra, and Imtan of Ḥauran, Medeba of Moab, Puteoli in Italy, El-Ḥejra, Petra in North Arabia, and even from the Sinai peninsula. In this study all of these inscriptions are used except those from the Sinai peninsula because they are too short and their dates are doubtful.

Most of the inscriptions consist of less than eleven lines of script. They are well preserved and show clearly

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[1]Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, pp.214-257.

[2]Enno Littmann, Semitic Inscriptions (New York: The Century Co., 1904), pp.85-95.

[3]He numbers these inscriptions from 78 to 109.

their contents. They are memorial and sepulchral inscriptions, pronouncing for whom and by whom they were made and cursing any plunders of them.

The dates of these Nabatean inscriptions are definite and reliable. Most of the inscriptions carry the dates of their establishments in month and year. They are dated from the first century B. C. to the first century A. D.

Nabatean Inscriptions from Littmann's SI.[1] This volume includes three inscriptions found in 1900 at Sî' and Suweda in Syria. The first is an honorary and memorial inscription on the temple of Ba'al at Sî', containing four lines, rather fragmentary, but well reconstructed. It was dated around the year 5 B. C. according to paleographical grounds. The second inscription is a memorial stele with ten lines. The internal data of the stele show that it was established in the year 5 B. C. The third inscription is a votive inscription of two lines on a basalt altar. Between the lines, there is a relief of an ox. There is no date on this but paleographically, scholars place it not earlier than 50 A. D.

B. Palmyrene Inscriptions. Palmyra is an important trading city located 176 yards northeast of Damascus as an

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[1]Littmann, op. cit., pp. 85-95.

oasis of the Syrian desert. Palmyra was known as Tadmor to neighbours since the nineteenth century B. C.[1] With the coming of the Romans, their village grew rapidly and enjoyed great wealth and prosperity as the heart-city in the desert, from the first century B. C. to the third century A. D. Their language was Aramaic, the _lingua franca_ of Palestine during that age, but with the coming of the Roman period, the use of the Greek language could be traced through the bilingual character of the inscriptions.

In his book, Cooke has included thirty-eight rather well-preserved Palmyrene inscriptions[2] most of which were discovered in Palmyra. Their contents are varied. More than half of these are honorary and memorial inscriptions "written upon Corinthian columns which were ranged along the principal streets, or stood in the courts and porticos of the temple."[3] The rest of them are votive inscriptions on altars and sepulchres except one especially significant, with 162 lines of Tariff inscription, giving directions for collecting taxes.

Many of the inscriptions are written bilingually, in Aramaic and Greek. As do the Nabatean inscriptions, these

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[1]Pfeiffer, _The Biblical World_, p. 433.

[2]Cooke numbered them from 110 to 147.

[3]Cooke, _North-Semitic Inscriptions_, p. 266.

Palmyrene inscriptions also show the definite dates of their inscriptions by month and year. They were dated from year 9 B. C. to the second century A. D.

Five further Palmyrene inscriptions from Littmann's work, which were not included in Cooke's work, will be added in this study. The first three are honorary inscriptions, dated from twenty-nine to seventy-one A. D. according to internal evidence as well as paleographical grounds. The other two are votive inscriptions, one written on an altar, the other on a relief. They are dated seventy-one A. D. and 188 A. D. respectively.

In this study the dating of the inscriptions of all ages is reasonably based on internal evidences (contents), the time notes they bear, and paleographical data. The reliability of the dates are acceptable.

The dates of the three groups of Zenjirli, Sefire, and Nerab inscriptions, of the Old Aramaic period, are determind by their internal references and epigraphical comparison, although they do not bear their own dates. The Elephantine papyri are the only Imperial Aramaic writings that bear their own dates. However, the date of the Aramaic of Ezra is nevertheless well supported by internal evidences. The two groups of Late Aramaic inscriptions, Nabatean and Palmyrene, carry their own dates, as well as having other support.

The texts themselves are dependable both qualitatively and quantitatively. In spite of some obscure or lost words, most of the materials which are used in this study, are well preserved, and together they are extensive enough to show the linguistic features of their period. This study is based upon more than 292 lines of Old Aramaic, 1486 lines of Imperial Aramaic, and 578 lines of Late Aramaic.

Therefore, if there are some distinguishing phonetical and morphological characteristics in each stage of Aramaic development, one may expect these representative inscriptions to disclose exactly what these characteristics are. As this is revealed, it will guide the placement of Aramaic of Daniel in the proper stage of the linguistic development of Aramaic.

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY

Aramaic is one of the two principle sub-divisions of the Northwest Semitic languages, the other being the Canaanite which represents Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, and Ugaritic. Originally it was spoken by Arameans in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. After the seventh century B. C., Aramaic was widely used as a lingua franca, from Syria, southward into Palestine and Egypt, westward into Asia Minor, and eastward into Babylonia, Persia, and even to India, until it was superseded by Greek after Alexander the Great's conquest of the world.

The Aramaic alphabet is the same as the Hebrew, with twenty-three consonants. The origin of the alphabet has been much debated among scholars. Today, however, they generally agree that the Arameans borrowed the Phoenician alphabet "between the twelfth century B. C. when they settled in the Syrian cities and came into contact with Phoenician civilization, and the end of the tenth century B. C."[1]

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[1] F. M. Cross Jr. and D. N. Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1952), pp.31-32.

I. PHONETIC VARIATION

If the Arameans borrowed the Phoenician alphabet, one may easily assume that friction could not be avoided between the borrowed script and their own actual phonetic value. In other words, the Phoenician alphabet is most probably inadequate to represent all the Aramaic sounds. Instead of creating additional letters, the Arameans simply made certain letters serve two consonants.[1] This tension between "phonetic fact and orthographical convention"[2] caused a phonetic shift in Aramaic, one of the features that makes Aramaic distinct from all the other Northwest Semitic languges.

The proto-Semitic interdentals, ṯ, ḏ, ṱ, and ḏ̣, which are largely retained in Arabic, ṯ (ث), ḏ (ذ), ṱ (ظ), and ḍ (ض), are represented as sibilants š (ש), z (ז), ṣ (צ), and ṣ́ (צ), in Akkadian, Hebrew, and Old Aramaic.[3] Later these sibilants shifted into dentals, t (ת), d (ד), ṭ (ט), and ʿ (ע), in Aramaic.[4]

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[1]Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," p.52. The ז is used for z and d sounds. The ש is used for s and t sounds..etc.

[2]Ibid.

[3]The last proto-Semitic interdental ḏ̣ is represented often as q (ק) in Old Aramaic.

[4]Sabatino Moscati, An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pp.27-30.

In previous studies, these phenomena have been used as one of the criteria for dating the Aramaic of Daniel.[1] This section attempts to evidence the phenomena of the phonetic shifts in Aramaic, and to evaluate the criteria as a means of dating the Aramaic of Daniel.

A. ש to ס shift. The proto-Semitic ś usually appears in Akkadian and Arabic as š (ش), but in Hebrew as ś (ש). It was represented with ś (ש) in Old Aramaic, but some words of this class shifted into s (ס) in later stages of Aramaic development. Scholars[2] explain this phenomenon of the shift by saying that the Arameans used ś (ש), as did the Hebrews, for an approximate rendering of the proto-Semitic ś,[3] after they borrowed the Phoenician alphabet. Later, however, the phonetic change caused the orthographical shift from ש to ס. The following table shows the occurrences of words which are spelled with ש in Hebrew, in the Aramaic of Daniel in comparison with other sources of various stages in Aramaic.

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[1]Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, pp. 16-39; Wilson, "The Aramaic of Daniel," pp. 273-284; Tisdall, "The Book of Daniel," pp. 237-240; Boutflower, In and Around the Book of Daniel, pp. 237-240; Kitchen, op. cit., pp. 50-67.

[2]Moscati, An Introduction, p. 36 and Kitchen, op. cit., p. 57.

[3]Moscati, op. cit., p. 36. However, some scholars see this phenomenon as an Canaanism.

TABLE I

THE ש TO ס SHIFT

Daniel[a] Word	Occ.	Old Aram.[b] Word	Occ.	Imp. Aram.[c] Word	Occ.	Late Aram.[d] Word	Occ.	
שים	10	שים	9	שים	27			סים Tg.
נשא	1	נשא	8	נשא	12			נסא Tg.
שנא	1	שנא	5	שנא	16			סנא Tg.
שגיא	12			שגיא	15	שגיא	1	
						סגיא	1	סגיא Tg.
שגא	2			שגא	9			
שטר	1			שטר	3			סטר Tg.
עשר	4			עשר	23	עשר	1	עסר Tg.
כשר	3			כשר	3			כסר Tg.
כשדי	8			כסדי	1			
עשב	5					עשב	1	עסב Tg.
שער	3							סער Tg.
סבר	1			סבר	1			סבר Tg.

[a] שים: Dan.2:5; 3:10,12,29; 4:3; 5:12; 6:14,15,18,27. נשא : 2:35. שנא :4:16. שגיא: 2:6,12,31,48; 4:7,9,18; 6:15,24; 5:9; 7:5,28. שגא : 3:31; 6:26. שטר: 7:5. עשר: 4:26; 7:7,20, 24. כשר : 2:11; 4:9; 7:5. עשב : 4:12,22,29,30; 5:21. שער : 3: 27; 4:30; 7:9. סבר : 7:25. כשדי : 2:5,10,10; 3:8; 4:4; 5:7,11, 30.

[b] שים : Had.29; Pan.II:1,4,10,20; Sf.IA:7; IB:6; IC:19, 23. נשא : Had.28,29; Sf.IB:38,39; III:14,15,16,26. שנא : Sf. IB:26; IIB:14; III:10,11,12.

[c] שים : AP.30:2; 31:2; 38:10; 26:22,23,25; 38:10; Ah.94,

80,95,115,130; Beh.35; Ezra 4:19,21; 5:3,8,13,14,17; 6:1,3,8, 11,12; 7:13,21. שׁנא : Aḥ.90 plus 8 times; BMAP.7:19; Ezra 5: 15; 4:19. שגיא : AP.17:2 plus 12 times; BMAP.13:1; Ezra 5:11. שגא: Aḥ.9,11,50,87,116,137; AP.41:1; Beh.51; Ezra 4:22. שטר : AP.5:5; 25:13,16. עשר : AP.6:14,15; 8:14,21; 9:15 plus 15 times; BMAP.7:32; 11:7; Ezra 6:17. כשר : Aḥ.89,104,206. סכר : AP.37:7. שנא : AP.15:23,27; 9:8; Ah.132; BMAP.7:37 plus 11 times. כסדי : Ezra 5:12.

שגיא[d] : Pa.(NSI)121:5. סגיא: Pa.(NSI)121:5. עשר : Pa. (NSI)147i:7. עשכ : Pa.(NSI)147iic:24.

This comparison shows that the observable consonant change of ש to ס takes place gradually during the Imperial period[1] and has been completed in the middle of the Late Aramaic period. The earliest appearance of the word סכר in AP. 37:7 of 410 B.C., and two other shifted words[2] in the Elephantine papyri, evidences that the state of shift has started prior to the date of 410 B. C.

The eleven words with the archaic form ש in the Aramaic of Daniel are always used with late form ס in the

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[1]Rowley insisted that the Biblical Aramaic is the beginning of this transition in his work. His term "Biblical Aramaic " is a very obscure term. If he designated it as the Aramaic of Daniel, his argument could not be fully justified. Also his notes on the different readings, סכבכא(Dan.3:5), סגיאן (Dan.2:48), and סטר (Dan.7:5) from some manuscripts do not prove that the Aramaic of Daniel is of late date, nor support his argument. Rather this variation shows the possibility of textual variation as the result of transmissions by scribes which Rowley does not accept. If the term designated the Aramaic of Ezra, his argument is reasonable. Cf. Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, pp.34-39.

[2]Rowley, op. cit., p.36. He doubted the readings of סכרת(AP.37:7), יסגה (Aḥ.126), and תסתכל (Aḥ.147). His treatment of them could not be fully justified.

Late Aramaic with the exception of a very few instances.[1] The usage of the archaic word form in the Aramaic of Daniel is corresponds to those of Imperial Aramaic as well as Old Aramaic. Since there are more occurrences of the late form of words in the Aramaic of Ezra[2] and the Elephantine papyri, they could be placed in the later period of the Imperial Aramaic, but the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to the earlier part of the Imperial Aramaic period.

B. ץ to ט shift. The proto-Semitic emphatic interdental ṯ is rather faithfully preserved in Arabic ẓ (ظ). But in Akkadian and Hebrew, the interdental was represented with the sibilant ṣ (צ). The same consonant was used in Old Aramaic, but in the development of the Aramaic language, the sibilant has shifted to the dental ṭ (ט) in some words in the later Aramaic. The most probable cause of this phenomenon might be due to the inadequacy of the Phoenician alphabet to represent the Aramaic sounds. In Old Aramaic, the pronunciation of ṯ[3] has been represented by the sibilant ץ, which is the symbol for the sound ṣ. This sound ṯ

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[1]The instances are עשר [Pa.(NSI)147i:7], עשב [Pa.(NSI) 147iic:24], and שגיא [Pa.(NSI)121:5]. They occurred once each.

[2]The Aramaic of Ezra shows two words of shifted form, סתר (Ezra 5:12)-Heb. שתר - and כסדיא (Ezra 5:12)-Dan. כשדיא -.

[3]Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," p.57. This proto-Semitic sound can be traced in Ugaritic; "mẓ'" verb in wymẓa (UT.751:37) and "ẓll" in ẓl (Krt:159).

was retained for some times but through the transition of the spoken Aramaic language to the written official language under the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, the phonetic change from ṯ to ṭ occurred. Then the sound was expressed by the orthographically shifted ט. The following table shows the development of the shift.

TABLE II

THE צ TO ט SHIFT

Daniel[a]		Old Aram.[b]		Imp. Aram.[c]		Late Aram.[d]			
נטר	1	נצר	5	נטר	6			נטר	Tg.
טלל	1	טלל	1	טלל	10			טלל	Tg.
מטא	8			מטא	21			מטא	Tg.
יעט	2			יעט	20			יעט	Tg.
טור	2			טור	2	טור	2	טור	Tg.
קיט	1	כיץ	1					קיט	Tg.
טפר	2							טפר	Tg.

[a] נטר : Dan.7:28. טלל : 4:9. מטא : 4:8,17,19,21,25; 6:25; 7:13,22. יעט : 2:14; 6:8. טור : 2:35,45. קיט : 2:35. טפר : 4:30; 7:19.

[b] נצר : Sf.IC:15,17; IB:8; Ner.I:12,13. כיץ : Bar.19. טלל : Sf.IB:42.

[c] נטר : AP.27:1; Aḥ.98,98,160,192,209. טלל : AP.38:5; 30:11; 31:10; Beh.2,5,13,20,28,41,43. מטא : AP.1:4; 7:7; 10:6,7; 14:5; 28:5,3,7,9,10,12; 35:8; 37:15; 38:8; 41:2; 42:7; Beh.8,12; BMAP.13:2,2,7. יעט : Aḥ.2,3,12,18,20,27,19,36,28,57,43,55,57,42,53,60,64,66; Ezra 7:14,15. טור : Aḥ.62,69.

[d] טור : Na.(NSI)94:2; (SI)1:3.

According to the chart, the shift started during the Old and Imperial Aramaic periods. If the broken letter of טלל in Sefire IB:42 is confirmed, the transtition had already occurred in the middle of the eight century B. C., and was probably completed in the earlier part of the Imperial Aramaic period. The seven words in the Aramaic of Daniel are the shifted forms which are common in Imperial Aramaic as well as Late Aramaic. Therefore, the Aramaic of Daniel, as far as this shift is concerned, may be as old as that of Imperial Aramaic, but also as late as that of Late Aramaic.

C. ש to ת shift. The proto-Semitic interdental ṯ appears in Arabic ṯ (ث), but in Akkadian and Hebrew it is represented as the sibilant š (ש). The same sibilant is also used in Old Aramaic, but later, in certain words, the sibilant is changed to a dental t (ת). The cause of this shift is also the same as that cited in section B. The absence of an equivalent for the Aramean ṯ[1] in the Phoenician alphabet caused them to use the sibilant ש for the ṯ sound. Later the ṯ became identical with t in the spoken language. Then orthographically the sibilant ש shifted to the ת in order to agree with the shifted sound. The following table shows the development of this phenomenon in various sources.

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[1] The sound could be traced in Ugaritic; ṯbr(UT.p.500), ṯwb(UT.p.501), ṯql(UT.p.506), ṯlṯ(UT.p.503), ṯwr(UT.p.501), and tny(UT.p.504) which corresponds to תבר, תוב, תקל, תלת, תור, and תנין in Aramaic.

TABLE III

THE שׂ TO ת SHIFT

Daniel[a]		Old Aram.[b]		Imp. Aram.[c]		Late Aram.[d]			
יתב	3	ישב	9	יתב	8			יתב	Tg.
תבר	1	שבר	1	תבר	4			תבר	Tg.
תוב	7	שוב	4	תוב	11			תוב	Tg.
		שקל	1	שקל	44				
תקל	3			תקל	5			תקל	Tg.
אתר	4	אשר	9	אתר	10	אתר	2	אתר	Tg.
איו	14	לישׂ	1	אית	35	אית	2	אית	Tg.
תלת	9			תלת	12	תלת	4	תלת	Tg.
תור	4			תור	4	תור	1	תור	Tg.
תנין	2			תנין	1			תנין	Tg.
תרין	2			תרין	29	תרין	2	תרין	Tg.
תרע	2			תרע	9	תרע	2	תרע	Tg.
				שׂש	1				
שת	3			שת	5	שת	2	שת	Tg.

[a] יתב : Dan.7:9,10,26. תבר : 2:42. תוב : 4:33,31,33; 2:14; 3:16; 5:5,11. תקל : 5:27,25,27. אתר : 2:35,39; 7:6,7. אית : 2:10,11,26,28,30; 3:12,18,14,15,17,25,29; 4:32; 5:11. תלת : 7:5,8,20,24; 3:23,24; 6:3,11,14. תור : 4:22,29,30; 5:21. תנין : 2:7; 7:5. תרין : 4:26; 6:1. תרע : 2:49; 3:26. שת : 3:1,1; 6:1.

[b] ישב : Had.8,15,20,25; Pan.II.4; Bar.5; Sf.III:6,7,17. שבר : Sf.IA:38. שוב : Sf.III:6,20,24,25. שקל : Pan.II.6. אשר : Pan.II.18; Ner.I:8; Had.27,32; Sf.IA:5; IB:3; IC:4; III:5,7. לישׂ : Bar.16.

[c] יתב : AP.6:2; 9:6; Beh.22; Ah.112; Ezra 4:10,17; BMAP. 13:3; 7:26. תבר : AP.30:9; 26:13; Ah.106,109. תוב : AP.15:23; 45:5; 20:7; 34:6; 1:7; 9:12; Ah.65,44,126; Ezra 6:5; 5:11. תקל : AP.15:24; 10:5; 28:11; 26:21; BMAP.2:8. שקל : AP.10:3;

15:12 plus 42 times. אתר : AP.17:2; 13:19; 6:2; 32:8; Ah.34, 97; Ezra 5:15; 6:3,5,7. אית : AP.8:23; 9:3; 15:19,32,33 plus 20 times; BMAP.7:31,29,35,36; Ezra 5:17; 4:16. תלת : AP.26:10, 11 plus 7 times; BMAP.12:5; 8:8; Ezra 6:4. תור : AP.33:10; Ezra 6:9,17; 7:17. תנין : AP.10:7. תרין : AP.26:8,11 plus 14 times; BMAP.7:6 plus 10 times; Ezra 4:24; 6:17. ארע : AP.5:3, 12,14,; 30:9; 31:9; Ah.44,168; BMAP.9:15; Ezra 7:24. שש : BMAP.7:18. שת : AP.43:3; 26:12; Ezra 6:3,3,15.

d אתר : Na.(NSI)94:3; Pa.(NSI)147iib:45 (בחר). אית : Na.(NSI)86:2; Pa.(NSI)147iic:25. תלת : Na.(NSI)91:4; 81:9; 86:9; Pa.(NSI)115:4. תור : Na.(NSI)92:2. תרין : Na.(NSI)96:1, 6. ארע : Na.(NSI)98:3. שת : Na.(NSI)96:6; Pa.(NSI)117:4.

Uniformly, the Old Aramaic kept in use the archaic form of ש, but in the Imperial Aramaic, the transition of ש to ת had already occurred. Even in this period the archaic forms had practically disappeared, but had been retained in a very few words along with their late form of ת. Both שקל and תקל are used in AP.10 of 456 B. C., and the earliest occurrence of the shifted ת is found in AP.6:2 of 465 B. C. But in Late Aramaic, the archaic form could hardly be found. This indicates that the shift had already started in the earlier part of the Imperial Aramaic period and had been completed in the later part of the period.

The shifted forms used in the Aramaic of Daniel are fully used in Imperial Aramaic as well as in Late Aramaic. Therefore this phenomenon of shift is not significant clue for dating the Aramaic of Daniel.

D. ק to ע shift. The interdental proto-Semitic ḏ was preserved in Arabic by ḏ (ذ), but in Akkadian and in

Hebrew, it was represented by the sibilant ś (ש). In Old Aramaic, it developed to q (ק), and later the ק shifted to ʿ (ע) in certain words in the Aramaic language. This development of the proto-Semitic ḏ sound evolved to ġ (the fricative ק) and was symbolized by ק. Later ġ was assimilated to ʿ (ע) phonetically,[1] then orthographically the ע emerged in the place of ק.[2] The following references show the development of the shift in the various sources.

TABLE IV

THE ק TO ע SHIFT

Daniel[a]		Old Aram.[b]		Imp. Aram.[c]		Late Aram.	
		ארקא	11	ארקא	20		
ארעא	18			ארעא	7	ארעא	Tg.
עלע	1			עלע	1	עלע	Tg.
אע	2			אע	3	אע	Tg.
				עק	12	(עע)	Tg.
רעע	2					רעע	Tg.

[a] ארעא : Dan.2:35,39 plus 16 times. עלע: 7:5. אע : 5:4,23. רעע : 2:40,40.

[b] ארקא : Had.5,6,7; Pan.II:5,7; Bar.4; Sf.IA:26,28;

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[1] This phenomenon can be seen in Hebrew also; ġlm (Ugr.) > עֶלֶם (Heb.) and ġnb (Ugr.)> עֵנָב (Heb.). Cf. C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965), pp.464-465.

[2] Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," p.56

IB:27; IIA:8; III:6.

[c] אלעא :AP.5:5; 6:16; 15:19; 30:9; 31:8; BMAP.3:5; Ezra 5:11. אלקא : AP.6:7; 8:3,8; 9:3 plus 16 times. עלע : Ah. 106. עק : AP.20:5; 26:10,12,14,13,17,18,20; 30:11; Ah.104, 125; BMAP.7:19. אע : Ezra 5:8; 6:4,11.

The transition of ק to ע was well begun in the earlier stage of the Imperial Aramaic period, and completed by the Late Aramaic period. The occurrence of the late form אלעא in AP. 5:5 of 471 B. C. shows that the latest date of the beginning of the transition. Also the archaic forms with ק are often used along with the late form.

The usage of this class of words in the Aramaic of Daniel well agrees with that of Imperial Aramaic as well as of Late Aramaic.

E. ז to ד shift. The proto-Semitic interdental d is well retained in Arabic as d (ذ). In Akkadian and in Hebrew, it is represented by the sibilant z (ז). Early Aramaic also uniformly used z (ז), but later it shifted to the dental d (ד) in certain words of Aramaic. Again the cause of this phenomenon is based on the tension between the inadequate system of the borrowed Phoenician alphabet and the Aramean phonetic values. The lack of a symbol for the archaic sound d [1] in the Aramaic alphabet compelled them

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[1] In Ugaritic the sound was preserved in these words; d(of) > ז (UT.p.388) and dr[ʿ](arm) > זרע (UT.p.388).

to use ז to express both z and d sounds. But later the d sound assimilated to d in common spoken language. Accordingly, the ד symbol for the new dental sound took the place of the historical spelling of ז. These developments of the shift may be traced in the following table.

TABLE V

THE ז TO ד SHIFT

Daniel[a]		Old Aram.[b]		Imp. Aram.[c]		Late Aram.[d]			
		זהב	2	זהב	5				
דהב	17			דהב	5			דהב	Tg.
		זנה	20	זנה	113				
דנה	25			דנה	19	דנה	74	דנה	Tg.
דא	4	זא	3	זא	3	דא(ה)	11	דא	Tg.
		זי	2	זי	337				
די	71			די	31	די	143	די	Tg.
כדב	1			כדב	10				
אדין	60			אדין	43			הידין	Tg.
דרע	1			אדרע	1			דרע	Tg.
בדר	1							בדר	Tg.
חד	1							חדיא	Tg.

[a] דהב : Dan.2:32 plus 16 times. דנה: 2:18 plus 24 times. דא : 4:27; 5:6; 7:3,8. די : 2:11 plus 70 times. כדב : 2:9. אדין or באדין : 2:15 plus 59 times. דרע : 2:32. חד : 2:32. בדר : 4:11.

[b] זהב : Pan.II:11; Bar.11. זנה : Pan.II:22; Bar.11,20; Ner.I:3,7; II:2; Sf.IA:7, plus 13 times. זא : Had.18,19; Ner.I:12. זי : Had.1; Ner.I:14.

[c] דהב : AP.10:9; Ezra 5:13; 6:5; 7:15,18. זהב : AP.30:12,28; 39:4; 31:11; Ah.193. דנה : AP.16:9; BMAP.5:3; 10:3; Ezra 5:3 plus 15 times. זנה : AP.30:15 plus 70 times; BMAP.1:5 plus 41 times. אנ : AP.21:3; 30:17; 42:7. ד : AP.13:7, 11,16; BMAP.3:12; 12:30,31; 9:14; Ezra 5:11 plus 23 times. ז : AP.1:3 plus more than 184 times; BMAP.1:3 plus more than 151 times. כדב : AP.8:17 plus 9 times. ארז: AP.14:4 plus 8 times; BMAP.6:1 plus 6 times; Ezra 4:9,23 plus 25 times. ארע: Ezra 4:23.

[d] דנה : Na.(NSI)79:1 plus more than 49 times; (SI)2:7; Pa.(NSI)112:1 plus more than 17 times; (SI)1:1 plus 4 times. אנ : Na.(NSI)78:1; 90:2; 96:1; 102:1,6; (SI)1:3. דה: Pa.(NSI)136:2; 140a:1; 143:1; 144:4; (SI)2:7. ד: Na.(NSI)78:1 plus more than 81 times; Pa.(NSI)112:2 plus more than 60 times.

Undoubtedly, Old Aramaic predominantly used the archaic form of ז. During the time of the Imperial Aramaic, the ז to ד shift was in progress and was completed by the time of Late Aramaic. However, some special words such as the relative pronoun and demonstrative pronoun usually retained the archaic spelling in the Imperial Aramaic period. The earliest evidence of the shift in 484 B. C.[1] indicates that the shift had already started before 484 B. C.

The usage of this class of words in the Aramaic of Daniel is well tested in the Imperial Aramaic with the exceptions of a few words. The usage of the words in the Aramaic of Daniel also agrees with that of Late Aramaic. This, however, does not exclude the Aramaic of Daniel from the Imperial Aramaic period.

Through the comparative references of the distinct

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[1]Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, p.19.

consonantal transitions, one can conclude that the Aramaic of Daniel is one with Imperial Aramaic. In the first consonantal shift studied here (שׂ to ס), there is evidence that the Aramaic of Daniel preserved the archaic form along with that of the Imperial Aramaic, against that of Late Aramaic. In the second, third, and fourth groups, however, the usage of the consonantal variations in the Aramaic of Daniel is undoubtedly in full agreement with the forms of Imperial Aramaic as well as of Late Aramaic. The Aramaic of Daniel can not be determined to belong to either period. Nevertheless, one can not say that the Aramaic of Daniel definitely does not belong to the Imperial Aramaic. In the case of ז to ז transition, it is true that the shifted late forms are used in the Aramaic of Daniel, but also they are found in the Imperial Aramaic period, along with their archaic counterpart which is used predominantly. There are, therefore, only two alternate hypotheses. Either the Aramaic of Daniel used the occasional late forms in the Imperial Aramaic period, or the predominant late forms in the Late Aramaic period.

If the first hypothesis was fact, the Aramaic of Daniel fully agrees with the Imperial Aramaic without doubt, so far as the phonetic variations are concerned. And it is evident to place the Aramaic of Daniel in the Imperial Aramaic period even on the assumption that the present consonants in the

Aramaic of Daniel are original.

On the other hand, if the latter hypothesis was a fact, in the Aramaic of Daniel there are archaic forms (ש form) which are not found in Late Aramaic, as well as the late forms (ך form). These anachronistic forms compel one to notice the state of the various texts. Most of the work done on the text of Daniel has assumed the transmission of the text without extensive intentional changes of phonetic or orthographical character.[1] More consideration should be given to this possibility. Material like the Zenjirli, Sefire, Nerab, Nabatean, and Palmyrene inscriptions have obviously not been re-worked due to their inscriptional character. This is true of the Elephantine papyri which contain letters and legal documents. The literary works like the book of Daniel and of Ezra, however, have a long history of textual transmission through the hands of copyists. Must one not make a distinction between originals and copies? It could be that there was intentional effort to modernize the Aramaic of Daniel.[2] If that is so, little weight could be attached to supposed late forms as a criterion for dating. Arachic forms in that case would be the decisive factor. In this respect, the Aramaic of Daniel would then be most probably one with Imperial Aramaic.

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[1] Cf., pp. 13-15 of this work.

[2] Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," p. 63.

II. ORTHOGRAPHICAL VARIATION

In the Aramaic of Daniel, there is some fluctuation between terminal ה- and א- for the emphatic state nouns and adjectives, the absolute state feminine singular nouns and adjectives, א"ל verbs, and some other words. This phenomenon has long been used by various scholars[1] as one of the grounds for dating the Aramaic of Daniel, resulting in various conclusions. More recent Aramaic materials, however, have shed fresh light on the study of this phenomenon. This section will be devoted mainly to the discussion of the fluctuation in the use of א- and ה- for the emphatic and absolute states of nouns and adjectives.

A. Emphatic state noun and adjective. Among Semitic languages, Aramaic is unique in its use of the postpositive article א-. The definiteness of nouns and adjectives is marked by the addition of an accented א֗. Whether the א- is a mater lectionis or a consonantal has been debated among scholars, but today the א- is regarded as originally consonantal.[2]

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[1] They are represented by the following works: Hengstenberg, Dissertations, p. 246f; Wilson, "The Aramaic of Daniel," p. 276ff; Tisdall, "The Book of Daniel," p. 242f; Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, pp. 39-50.

[2] F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1952), p. 33.

In the development of the Aramaic language, it is evident that there were the alternative spellings, א- and ה-, for the emphatic state of the noun and adjective. This section will attempt to show their usage in various stages of Aramaic.

Masculine singular nouns and adjectives. The occurrences of the emphatic state masculine singular nouns and adjectives written with א- in Old Aramaic are as follows:

ארקא (Bar.4), כרסא (Bar.7), שחרא (Bar.18), בירתא (Bar. 20), כיצא (Bar.19), נצבא (Sf.IA:6; IC:17), ספרא (Sf.IA:6; IB:8,23,28,33; IC:17; IIB:9,18; IIC:13; III:4,14,17,23), גנבא (Sf.IA:36), עגלא (Sf.IA:40), מלכא (IB:35), נגרא (Sf. IB:36), אפלא (Sf.IB:43), שמשא (Sf.IC:5), אשא (Sf.IC:21), בירא (Sf.IB:34), עמא (Sf.III:5,13), ארחא (Sf.III:9), עלמא (Ner.I:6,12).

In the Zenjirli and Sefire inscriptions, exclusively the spelling א- is used for the emphatic state thirty-three times. However, the later inscriptions from Nerab show the alternate spelling with ה- twice in the word, אחרה (Ner.I:13; II:8). This demonstrates that the spelling א- is predominant for the emphatic state of masculine singular nouns and adjectives in Old Aramaic but that the alternate spelling of ה- was already in use in the later part of the Old Aramaic period.

In Imperial Aramaic, the alternate usage of -א or -ה for the emphatic article of the masculine singular nouns and adjectives are as follows.

In AP: מלכא (1:1 plus 95 times), רבחילא (1:3 plus 5 times), מלחא (2:2; 5:13), נגרא (2:3), אלהא (2:16 plus 9 times), אוצרא (2:12 plus 4 times), עבורא (2:9 plus 6 times), ביתא (5:3 plus 25 times), אגרא (5:4 plus 6 times), תרעא (5:12,14), כספא (5:10 plus 8 times), יומא (8:9 plus 11 times), מומא (8:24), פרגא (9:11,12), דגלא (9:2; 20:4), ירחא (11:3,4; 26:6), עתיקא (13:6), אגורא (13:14 plus 21 times), אתרא (13:19), דינא (14:3 plus 10 times), חילא (20:5 plus 35 times), אביגדנא (20:14; 25:15; 28:10; 45:8), אזדכרא (17:7), זמשא (21:8), פתגא (24:39 plus 4 times), אשרנא (26:5 plus 4 times), ארכא (26:18,19,19,20), כתנא (26:20), זרניכא (26:21), עבדא (28:7,9,10), חלקא (28:3,5), לחיא (30:7 plus 2 times), זהבא (30:12; 31:11), רבא (30:18; 42:6), מרבחא (30:26; 31:25; 32:3, 10), כבא (34:3,4), הנכגא (43:9), ספרא (2:10 plus 35 times), היכלא (Aḥ.9,17,23,44), ספרא (Aḥ.12,42,70), רביא (Aḥ.38 plus 9 times), תוכא (Aḥ.44), גברא (Beh.45), ברא (Aḥ.2,44,80), ארחא (Aḥ.80), אילא (Aḥ.88), אריא (Aḥ.88,110,110), חמרא (Aḥ.91,110), חמרא (Aḥ.92,93,209), לבבא (Aḥ.104,137), מותא (Aḥ.106), אנזא (Aḥ.116 plus 8 times), ענזא (Aḥ.118,118,119), אפכא (Aḥ.156), ארזא (Aḥ.175), ארחא (Aḥ.164), עתירא (Aḥ.207), נחתא (Aḥ.186).

In BMAP: מלכא (1:1 plus 27 times), אלהא (2:2 plus 17

times), יומא (2:4 plus 5 times), כספא (2:6; 11:8,10), ספרא (2:14 plus 5 times), ביתא (3:7 plus 32 times), ארצרא (3:9), אגורא (4:10; 12:18), גברא (4:20), מגשיא (4:24), דרגא (6:10 plus 5 times), פלגא (6:12; 9:14), מהרא (7:15), חילא (8:2,3), אגרא (9:8), פתפא (11:4,5), תרעא (12:21), עטיקא (12:31), נחשא (13:5), כספיא (12:4,12).

In Ezra: רבא (4:10; 5:8), נהרא (4:16), נשתונא (4:18,23; 5:5), זמנא (5:3), ספרא (4:8,9), פתגמא (4:17; 5:7,11; 6:11), חבלא (4:22), טעמא (4:21; 5:5), כסדיא (5:12), ביתא (5:3,9, 11; 6:3), בנינא (5:4), שלמא (5:7), אספרנא (5:8 plus 6 times), תלתא (6:4), כהנא (7:12), עמא (7:16), אדרזדא (7:23), אשרנא (5:3,9).

The occurrences of the emphatic state masculine singular nouns and adjectives spelled with <u>א-</u> have been found more than 509 times in the Elephantine papyri and thirty-six times in the Aramaic of Ezra. As Old Aramaic did, Imperial Aramaic also used the spelling <u>א-</u> article predominantly.

Against these, the increasing use of the alternate <u>ה-</u> spelling is seen in the Imperial Aramaic periods as follows: אריה (Aḥ.89),[1] ערדה (Aḥ.204),[2] ביתה (BMAP.3:4; 4:11,

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[1] אריה (the lion) is mentioned in Aḥ.88 as אריא. The context does not allow it for the third mas. sing. possessed noun.

[2] Cowley, <u>Aramaic Papyri</u>, p.247. Rowley doubts of the reading, but Cowley's suggestion is correct according to its context.

20; 10:6; 12:4,9,20),[1] דרגה (BMAP.10:3), תונה (BMAP.4:3,6), נביאה (Ezra 5:1; 6:14), נהרה (Ezra 5:3; 4:10,11,17,20; 5:6; 6:6,6,8,13; 7:21,25), עמה (Ezra 5:12; 7:13,25), ביתה (Ezra 5:12; 6:15), דהבה (Ezra 5:14; 6:5; 7:18), דכרונה (Ezra 6:2), דינה (Ezra 7:26), כהנה (Ezra 7:21), מדבחה (Ezra 7:17).

The number of occurrences of the emphatic article with ה- increased to thirty-eight times in the Imperial Aramaic material examined as in the references cited. This indicates that both Old and Imperial Aramaic periods are times of confusion as to the use of א- and ה- for emphatic state nouns and adjectives, on account of the fact that both periods were stages in the development of the Aramaic languages.

In Late Aramaic, the Targums and Palestinian Jewish Aramaic normally used the spelling א- for the emphatic nouns and adjectives.[2] The earlier inscriptions of this period, Nabatean and Palmyrene, show their uniform usage of the spelling א- for the emphatic forms as follows.

In Nabatean: נפשא (NSI.78:1), קברא (NSI.79:1 plus 11 times), כפרא (NSI.79:8 plus 23 times), הפרכא (NSI.87:2,4; 93:1), צלמא (NSI.95:1), כתבא (NSI.80:10; 87:6), בסמא (NSI.81:1), אסיא (NSI.86:1), כרכא (NSI.94:2), מסגדא (NSI.92:1; 97:1; 101:1), כונא (NSI.81:1), כליכא (NSI.82:2), פסלא (NSI.82:5

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[1]Kraeling, Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, p.159.

[2]Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, p.41.

plus 3 times), אלהא (NSI.81:7; 95:1), אדנא (NSI.83:1), אצלא (NSI.94:3), מלכא (NSI.81:8 plus 5 times), צריחא (NSI.91:3,4; 94:1,1), זעירא (NSI. 94:1), תרעא (NSI.98:3), ביתא (NSI.99:1), רבא (NSI.94:1), מקברא (SI.2:7).

In Palmyrene: צלמא (NSI.112:1 plus 11 times), עמודא (NSI.118:4), נחשא (NSI.119:4), כנונא (NSI.119:4), סלקא (NSI. 119:3), משחא (NSI.122:3 plus 5 times), אלהא (NSI.121:3 plus 4 times), היגמונא (NSI.121:4 plus 2 times), הכלא (NSI.122:5), דהבא (NSI.126:4), כספא (NSI.126:4), נהירא (NSI.126:2), הפטיקא (NSI.126:2), תגמא (NSI.126:3), רבא (NSI.130:3 plus 1), חילא (NSI.130:3 plus 3 times), שמלא (NSI.143:7), שקקא (NSI.143:7), קברא (NSI.141:1 plus 2 times), שלמא (NSI.132: 3), עברא (NSI.126:4), זערא (NSI.132:4), טבא (NSI.133:1 plus 2 times), עלמא (NSI.134:1 plus 7 times), רחמנא (NSI.135:2 plus 3 times), חמנא (NSI.136:2), מכבלא (NSI.143:8 plus 3 times), נפשא (NSI.146:1), קשטא (NSI.146:3), דגמא (NSI.147i:1), נמוסא (NSI.147i:4 plus 12 times), מכסא (NSI.147i:4 plus 17 times), אגורא (NSI.147i:9), עידא (NSI.147i:5 plus 3 times), טעא (NSI.147iic:1), גללא (NSI.147i:9 and once), זבונא (NSI. 147iia:5), גמלא (NSI.147iia:7 and once), מעלנא (NSI.147iia: 7 plus 6 times), חמרא (NSI.147iia:9 and once), בשימא (NSI. 147iia:16 plus 2 times), מפקנא (NSI.147iia:19 plus 8 times), דהנא (NSI.147iia:28), משכא (NSI.147iib:6), חטא (NSI.147iib: 9), חכנא (NSI.147iib:9), עמרא (NSI.147iib:43), נחשא (NSI. 147iic:29).

For the emphatic state of masculine singular nouns and adjectives, the Nabatean inscriptions used the spelling -א exclusively, seventy-four times, and the Palmyrene inscriptions 142 times. There is no trace of the alternate spelling -ה, as far as the materials show. This indicates that the orthography of -א for the emphatic state noun and adjective became a well practised rule in the Late Aramaic period.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, however, the following alternate usage with the spelling -א or -ה can be seen for the emphatic state masculine singular nouns and adjectives.

In Daniel: מלכא (2:4 plus 155 times), חלמא (2:4 plus 16 times), פשרא (2:4 plus 7 times), ערנא (2:8,9; 3:5,15), בשרא (2:11; 4:9), שליטא (2:15), רזא (2:18,19,27,30,47), חזוא (2:19), ליליא (2:19; 5:30; 7:2,7,13), עלמא (2:20 plus 5 times), מנדעא (2:21), השוכא (2:22), צלמא (2:31 plus 7 times), פרזלא (2:34 plus 11 times), נחשא (2:35,39,45; 5:4,23), כספא (2:35 plus 9 times), תקפא (2:37), יקרא (2:37; 5:18), אבנא (2:35; 5:4,23), ארעא (2:35 plus 17 times), דהבא (2:35 plus 15 times), אנשא (2:38,43 plus 11 times), ברא (2:38 plus 7 times), חסנא (2:37), חספא (2:34,35,43,35), טינא (2:41,43), טורא (2:45), נהירא (2:22), כרוזא (3:4), זמרא (3:5,7,10,15), קרנא (3:5 plus 7 times), שביבא (3:22), זמנא (3:7,8; 4:33; 7:22), אחרנא (3:19,22), עליא (3:26 plus 10 times), אילנא (4:8,11,17,20,23), רחאא (4:12,20), עשבא (4:22,29,30; 5:21), פחגמא (4:14), אלהא (2:20 plus 33 times), אלפא (5:1), אעא

(5:4,23), גירא (5:5), ארגונא (5:7,16,29), היכלא (5:2 plus 8 times), הדרא (5:18), המניכא (5:7,16,29), חמרא (5:1,2,4,23), כשדיא (5:30), כתבא (5:8 plus 7 times), משתיא (5:10), פסא (5:24), תלתא (5:16,29), מאניא (5:27), מדיא (6:1), טעמא (6:3), אסרא (6:9,10,14), יומא (6:11,14), גבא (6:17,18,20,21,24, 24,25), חיא (6:21,27), נגהא (6:20), שמשא (6:15), שפרפרא (6:20), סומפא (6:27; 7:26,28), פרסיא (6:29), ימא (7:2,3), רבא (7:2), שארא (7:7,19), אשא (7:11), יציבא (7:16), שלטנא (7:27).

The masculine singular noun and adjective in the emphatic state written with א- occurred 457 times in the Aramaic of Daniel. The alternate form with ה- appeared seven times, מלכה (Dan.2:11), פשרה (2:7; 5:12), ראשה (2:38), כתבה (5:7,15), and יקרה (5:20).

This shows that the development of the alternate use with א- or ה- in the Aramaic of Daniel is in full agreement with that of Old and Imperial Aramaic, but it disagrees with that of Late Aramaic.

Masculine plural nouns and adjectives. The occurrences of the emphatic state masculine plural nouns and adjectives written with א- in Old Aramaic are as follows: עדיא (Sf.IA: 7,7; IB:7,7,11,23,24,28,33,38; IIB:2,9,14,18; IIC:13; III:4, 7,9,14, 17,19,20,23,27), מליא (Sf.III:2), חציא (Sf.IA:38; IB:29), אלהיא (Sf.IB:8; IIC:3,7,10), מלכיא (Sf.IB:22; III:7), מרחיא (Sf.IB:31), ספריא (Sf.IIC:2,4,6,9), עמיא (Sf.III:10).

All thirty-nine times, the spelling of א- is used, and

no alternate spelling of ה- can be found in the Old Aramaic period.

In Imperial Aramaic, the usage of the emphatic plural masculine noun and adjective is as follows.

In AP: שהדיא (1:8 plus 15 times), גברייא (2:13 plus 7 times), קשטיא (6:11; 8:8), נקמיא (7:10), דיניא (6:6 plus 5 times), נכסיא (13:4 plus 9 times), אזדכריא (17:5), יהודיא (21:2 plus 11 times), יומיא (21:9), נופתיא (26:1,2,8), המדכריא (26:4,5, 23), נגריא (26:9,22), עביא (26:18), עקיא (26:18), חנניא (26: 19), כרכיא (26:1,3,8), מצריא (27:1 plus 5 times), כמריא (27: 3,8,14; 30:5), חסניא (27:11), עמודיא (30:9; 31:8), מזרקיא (30:12; 31:11), נגיא (30:20; 34:2), שמיא (30:2 plus 10 times), בתיא (34:6; Beh.23), עמלא (40:2), ינקיא (40:3), כרמיא (Aḥ. 40), טוריא (Aḥ.62,69), עממא (Aḥ.94,162), אמריא (Aḥ.120,121), מדריא (Beh.1 plus 10 times).

In BMAP: שהדיא (1:10 plus 12 times), נכסיא (2:6; 7:23, 41), מצריא (9:9; 10:4), כנתניא (11:4,5), מליא (13:5).

In Ezra: דיניא (4:9), טרפליא (4:9), אפרסיא (4:9), אפרסתכיא (4:9), שושנכיא (4:9), כבליא (4:9), אמיא (4:10), יהודיא (4:12,23; 5:1; 6:7,7,8,14), אשיא (4:12; 5:16), דכרניא (4:15,15), גבריא (4:21; 5:4,10; 6:8), נביאיא (5:1,2), אפרסכיא (5:6; 6:6), כתליא (5:8), שכיא (5:9), שמיא (5:12,11; 6:9,11; 7:12,21,23,23), מאניא (5:14,15; 7:19), גנזיא (5:17), ספריא (6:1), כהניא (6:9,16,18; 7:16,24), לויא (6:16,18; 7: 13,24), מלכיא (7:12), גזבריא (7:21), זמריא (7:24), תרעיא

(7:24), נחינא (7:24).

The occurrences of the emphatic state masculine plural nouns and adjectives in Imperial Aramaic, 197 in all, were spelled with א-. In the Aramaic of Ezra, however, there is one word, שוריה (Ezra 4:13,16) which occurred twice with ה-.

In Late Aramaic, the Nabatean inscriptions show the following use of the emphatic state of plural masculine nouns: כסלא Na.(NSI)86:10; 87:8; 89:10; 93:8 , גוחא (NSI. 91:5,5,6,7), אתרא (NSI.94:3), גנא (NSI.94:2), טורא (NSI.94: 2), בחא (NSI.94:2), חרמא (NSI.94:4,5), אלהא (NSI.94:3,4), סוסא (NSI.109). All seventeen times, the words were written with א-.

In Palmyrene: צלמא (NSI.110:1 plus twice), אלהא (NSI. 110:3 plus 6 times), טבא (NSI.112:5; 117:6; SI.8:1), תגרא (NSI.113:3; 147i:7; 147iic:16), לגינא (NSI.121:4), אסטרטורא (NSI.122:4), מלכא (NSI.130:1), קרטסטא (NSI.130:4 plus once), עמודא (NSI.133:1), ארכונא (NSI.147i:2 plus 2 times), מכסא (NSI.147i:7 plus twice), קינא (NSI.126:3), אגורא (NSI.147i:5 plus once), סרקא (NSI.147i:11), עלמא (NSI.147iia: 1), שאמרא (NSI.147iia:41), גנסא (NSI.147iib:18), קרא (NSI.147iic:13), גמלא (NSI.147iic:19), אדרטא (NSI.147iic:29), כפלוכא (SI.3:4), סכרא (SI.8:1).

The forty occurrences of the emphatic plural noun exclusively used the א- in the Palmyrene inscriptions. Also in the Targums, the א- is uniformly used for the emphatic

state plural masculine nouns and adjectives.

The Aramaic of Daniel, also exclusively, used the spelling of -א for the plural masculine noun and adjective in the emphatic state 115 times as follows: רזיא (2:29), שמיא (2:28 plus 22 times), יומיא (2:28; 4:31; 7:13,22), חייא (2:30; 4:14), מלכיא (2:37,44), רגליא (2:41,42), אחשדרפניא (3:2 plus 8 times), סגניא (3:2,3,27; 6:8), פחותא (3:2,3,27; 6:8), אדרגזריא (3:2,3), גדבריא (3:2,3), דתבריא (3:2,3), תפתיא (3:2,3), עמיא (3:4 plus 5 times), אמיא (3:4 plus 4 times), לשניא (3:4 plus 4 times), יהודיא (3:8), גבריא (3:12 plus 8 times), אתיא (3:32), תמהיא (3:32), חרטמיא (3:4,6), אשפיא (4:4; 5:7,15), כשדיא (4:4; 5:7), גזריא (4:4;5:7), צפריא (4:11), חכימיא (5:15), עדריא (5:21), מאניא (5:23), מאזניא (5:27), סרכיא (6:4,5,7), הדבריא (6:8), קרניא (7:8,8,20,24), מליא (7:11,16), קאמיא (7:14), עלמיא (7:18), קדמיא (7:24), שלטניא (7:27).

The exclusive usage of the spelling -א for the emphatic state noun in the Aramaic of Daniel is identical to that of Old and Imperial Aramaic as well as that of Late Aramaic.

Feminine singular nouns and adjectives. The following eight occurrences of the emphatic state feminine singular nouns, קריתא (Sf.IA:33), אעותא (Sf.IA:35,37,39,42), קשטא (Sf.IA:38) and ארעתא (Ner.I:7,12) used the spelling of -א in Old Aramaic.

In Imperial Aramaic, the following usage of the emphatic

article א- for the feminine singular noun and adjective was apparent.

In AP: ארעא (5:5 plus 4 times), ארקא (6:5 plus 16 times), מלוכתא (6:1) בירתא (6:3 plus 41 times), עשרתא (6:15 plus 3 times), אנתתא (7:9), מדינתא (17:1,2,6), שנתא (21:3), אכנא (30:9; 31:8), לבונתא (30:25; 32:9), אשתא (31:11), אגרתא (42:7), עטתא (Ah.42,57,66), יקירתא (Ah.130), פחתא (Beh.18,38), לחיתא (Ah.134,198), עלותא (30:25; 31:25).

In BMAP: עזתא (4:7 plus 6 times), תחתיא (9:6 plus 5 times), תכונתא (7:15), תרבצא (9:4,7,14,15), בירתא (2:2 plus 20 times).

In Ezra: אגרתא (4:11; 5:6), מרדתא (4:12), בא׳שתא (4:12), קריתא (4:12 plus 6 times), עבידתא (5:8), מדינתא (5:8; 6:2), בירתא (6:2), נפקתא (6:4,8), גלותא (6:16), דתא (7:12, 21,26).[1]

Feminine nouns in the emphatic singular with א- are found 129 times in the Elephantine papyri and twenty-one times in the Aramaic of Ezra. Against these, there are only two words spelled with ה-, אלהתה (AP.14:5) and נפקתא (AP.72:1).[2] In the Imperial Aramaic period, the emphatic article with א- is predominantly used, but still there is occasional

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[1]H. H. Powell, The Supposed Hebraisms in the Grammar of the Biblical Aramaic (California : University of California Publications, 1907), p.9. He considered the word דתא as a masculine singular noun.

[2]Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, p.42.

use of the alternate form of ה- in this period.

In Late Aramaic, the following feminine nouns in the emphatic singular written with א- can be found.

In Nabatean: מוהבתא (NSI.84:4), צהותא (NSI.94:2), מקברתא (NSI.96:1), משריתא (NSI.96:4), מחרמתא (NSI.102:1,6), בירתא (SI.1:3,3), גויתא (SI.1:3), בריתא (SI.1:3).

In Palmyrene: בולא (NSI.110:1 plus 10 times), שירתא (NSI.113:3 plus 3 times), צלמתא (NSI.120:1), מדיתא (NSI.130: 2 plus 3 times), נהירתא (NSI.131:1), מלכתא (NSI.131:2), זדקתא (NSI.131:1), עלתא (NSI.136:2), מדתא (NSI.121:7), מערתא (NSI.143:1 plus 2 times), פאחרתא (NSI.143:5), אגרתא (NSI.147iic:5), עדתא (NSI.147iic:8).

More than forty-two occurrences of the feminine nouns in the emphatic state are written with א- and no words are used the spelling ה- for the emphatic nouns in this period. The Targums also confirm the uniform usage of the consonant א- for the emphatic state feminine nouns in the Late Aramaic period.

The Aramaic of Daniel, however, contains seven examples of the emphatic state feminine singular noun written with ה-, מלכותה (2:44; 4:28; 7:24,27), ידה (5:5), מלתה (2:5), and שעתה (5:5).

On the other hand, the occurrences of the alternate usage of the emphatic form with א- can be counted ninety-three times in the Aramaic of Daniel: דתא (2:13,15), יבשתא

(2:10), חכמתא (2:20,21,23), גבורתא (2:20,23), גלותא (2:25; 5:13; 6:14), מלתא (2:8 plus 11 times), מלכותא (2:37 plus 19 times), נצבתא (2:41), עבידתא (2:49), רוחא (2:35), מנרוקיתא (3:5,7,10,15), יקדתא (3:6 plus 7 times), נורא (3:6 plus 12 times), שעתא (3:6,15; 4:30), חיותא (4:12 plus 5 times), שאלתא (4:14), רבתא (4:27), נבכדנצתא (5:5), מלכתא (5:10,10), רבותא (5:18,19; 7:27), ידא (5:24), קדמיתא (7:4), רביעיתא (7:19,23).

This comparison indicates that the usage of the emphatic state with ה- in the Aramaic of Daniel agrees only with that of the Elephantine papyri. This demonstrates that the Aramaic of Daniel appears to be in a more primitive stage in the development of the Aramaic language than that of the Late Aramaic.

Feminine plural nouns and adjectives. The occurrences of the emphatic state feminine plural nouns and adjectives are very few throughout the various stages of the source materials.

In the Old Aramaic period, the only word with א-, for the emphatic form, טבחא (Sf.IC:5,19; IIB:2) occurred three times.

In Imperial Aramaic, eleven occurrences of the emphatic state feminine plural nouns can be found, אגרתא (AP.37:15), עשרתא (BMAP.3:16; 7:17; 8:8), רבתא (BMAP.4:3,6; 9:4,11; 10:6; 12:13,21), and all the cases are written with the

spelling א-.

In the Late Aramaic period, the Nabatean inscriptions give four examples of the emphatic state feminine plural nouns and adjectives spelled consistently with א-, ערכותא (NSI.94:2), נפשתא (NSI.96:1), מחרמתא (NSI.102:5), and קרמיתא (NSI.102:5).

The Palmyrene inscriptions give ten occurrences of the emphatic form, עלותא (NSI.140B:1,10), צבותא (NSI.147i:6), טעמתא (NSI.147iic:10), עלימתא (NSI.147iic:26,27), אחרניתא (NSI.147iic:18), מדינתא (NSI.147iic:17), עינתא (NSI.147ii; 147iib:13).

Throughout the various stages of Aramaic, the spelling א- is the only form found for the plural feminine noun and adjective in emphatic state.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the twenty-two occurrences of the emphatic state feminine plural nouns are written with the spelling א-, מסגרתא (2:22), עמיקתא (2:22), אצבעתא (2:41), מלכותא (2:44; 7:23), מדינתא (3:2,3), אריותא (6:8 plus 8 times), חיותא (7:7,12,17), רברבתא (7:11,17), קרמיתא (7:8). There is no trace of the ה- form.

From the source data available, it is evident that the consonant א- for the emphatic state feminine plural nouns and adjectives is employed through the various Aramaic periods.

B. Absolute state feminine singular noun. It is believed that the original termination of the feminine noun of the proto-Semitic is -at (ת-), and its remnant can be traced in the shortened -t (ת-) in the construct state of the feminine noun. In most cases of the feminine absolute state, however, the original feminine termination develops into -ā (ה-).[1] The phenomenon of development in Hebrew is explained by J. Weingreen as follows:

> ... the fem. sing. originally terminated in ת (āt), and that in the absolute state (i.e. not connected with a following word) the ת (t) was (scarcely audible and therefore) discarded, so that the fem. sg. abs. termination came to be ' â ' (written ה). The original ת, however, has survived in the construct and before suffixes. [2]

This is also true in the Aramaic language. In the development of Aramaic, however, the further orthographical shift from ה- to א- for the termination of the absolute feminine state noun can be seen. This fact led some[3] to use it as a ground for dating the Aramaic of Daniel.

In the Old Aramaic period, the various source data show the following uses of the absolute state feminine noun. חדה (Had.28), זאה (Pan.6,9), שורה (Pan.6,9), חכה (Pan.6,9), שערה (Pan.6,9), צולה (Sf.IA:11), שורה (Sf.IA:23; IIA:1),

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[1]Moscati, An Introduction, p.85.

[2]J. Weingreen, A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), p.61.

[3]Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, pp.41-42.

ככתה (Sf.IA:24; IIA:3), לחיה (Sf.IA:26; IC:6), תולעה (Sf.IA:27), ילדה (Sf.IA:30), חרה (Sf.IA:31), דבחה (Sf.IA:31), נמרה (Sf.IA:31; IIA:9), עקה (Sf.IA:33), מללה (Sf.IB:25), קריה (Sf.III:12), חלפה (Sf.III:22), סטיה (Sf.IA:22),

Twenty-seven occurrences of absolute feminine nouns terminated with ה-, but there is only one instance of a word which terminated with the alternate spelling א- in חמא (Had. 33).

In Imperial Aramaic, there are 148 references for the absolute state feminine singular nouns which are terminated with ה-.

In AP: ברה (1:5 plus 14 times), אחה (1:5 plus 8 times), דבקה (5:4), אנחה (8:10 plus 6 times), עשרה (8:14 plus 9 times), שנה (10:7), ארבעה (10:4; 29:3,5,6), אמה (10:10; Ah. 84), אלההה (14:5), חרה (15:28 plus 8 times), עדה (15:22,26), חמשה (26:12 plus 4 times), פחה (30:1; 31:1), עלוה (30:21 plus 4 times), מנחה (30:21; 31:21; 33:11), מאה (26:14,15,16), לבונה (30:21; 31:21; 33:11), אשה (30:12 plus 4 times), אגרה (30:18 plus 7 times), עטה (Ah.57), יקירה (Ah.95), לחיה (Ah.124),

In BMAP: אחה (1:8 plus 7 times), כספיה (3:2), תרבצה (3:4; 10:3), ברה (3:14 plus 14 times), חמשה (4:15), רחמה (6:14), שבעה (7:23), תכונה (7:5), אנחה (7:36), אמה (11:11), תלתה (12:5), אגרה (13:8), מלה (13:6), נקבה (3:21; 7:29,34).

In Ezra: קריה (4:10), אגרה (4:8), מנדה (4:13,20; 7:24),

מתנשאה (4:19), פחה (5:14), מגלה (6:2), חדרה (6:16), מאה (6:17; 7:21), חדה (7:38).

On the other hand, there are more than seventeen occurrences of the absolute feminine noun terminated with א-: ברא (AP.14:9), חמא (Aḥ.32), מרעא (AP.8:4,6), ארמיא (AP. 14:3), מרבלא (Aḥ.90), מדינא (AP.37:6), ממלא (Aḥ.131), מקרא (AP.28:4,6), תלתא (Aḥ.92), בטלא (Ezra 4:24), קריא (Ezra 4: 15), מרדא (Ezra 4:15), מתעבדא (Ezra 5:8), מתיהבא (Ezra 6:8), חטיא (Ezra 6:17).

This indicates that the א- ending for the absolute feminine singular noun was used occasionally in this period, and that the orthographical shift from ה- to א- was in process in the Imperial Aramaic period.

In the Late Aramaic period, the Nabatean inscriptions show four instances of the absolute state feminine nouns terminated with ה-, with no exception of א- ending, מאה (NSI. 85:9), מרהבה (NSI.89:6), חדה (NSI.92:4; 93:6).

The Palmyrene inscriptions, however, give more than nine examples with א- for the feminine singular noun and adjective in the absolute state which are as follows: מקבלא (NSI.143:5), חטא (NSI.147iib:9), ארבעא (NSI.144:8,8; 147i:12), מתזבנא (NSI.147iic:33), חמניא (NSI.147iia:48,49), חדא (NSI. 147iib:10).

Although the cited materials are too limited for one to derive a conclusive pattern of usage from them, it is

certain that even in the earlier part of the Late Aramaic period, the archaic form ה- survived only in the dialect of the Nabateans. However, it is assumed that the shift from ה- to א- was completed by the Late Aramaic period as a general rule. The uniform usage of א- for the absolute feminine nouns in the Palmyrene inscriptions supports this assumption. The regular usage of א- for this morpheme in the Targums and in the Palestinian Jewish Aramaic[1] further confirms it.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the feminine singular noun in the absolute state occurs as follows: שחיתה (2:9; 6:5,5), כרכה (2:9), נבוזבה (2:6), מלה (2:9,10), חדה (2:9 plus 8 times), יקירה (2:11), מהחצפה (2:15), בינה (2:21), תקיפה (2:40,42), תבירה (2:42), חכמה (2:30; 5:11,14), פליגה (2:41), מנחה (2:46), רביעיה (2:40; 7:7), סומפניה (3:5,15), שבעה (3:19 plus 4 times), חמה (3:13), מחצפה (3:22), סיפניה (3:10), ארבעה (3:25; 7:6,17), אמה (3:29), שלה (3:29), שעה (4:16), קימה (4:23), צדקה (4:24), ארכה (4:24; 7:12), גוה (4:34), יתירה (4:33; 5:12,14), כותבה (5:5), מאה (6:2), עלה (6:5,5,6), חבולה (6:23), דמיה (7:5), מנדעה (7:7), אכלה (7:7,19), דחילה (7:7,19), רפסה (7:7,19), ממלכה (7:11), מרקה (7:7,19), יכלה (7:21), תלתה (7:24; 6:11,14), תנינה (7:5), שנית (7:19),

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[1] W. B. Stevenson, Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), pp.22-26.

זעירה (7:8), חירוה (7:5,7; 4:13), עבדה (7:21), עשרה (7:24),

The eighty-four occurrences of the absolute feminine singular nouns are written with the archaic ה- ending which was predominantly used in Old and Imperial Aramaic. On the other hand, there are twenty -four occurrences of the absolute form with א-, which are as follows: תל׳תיא (2:39), עטא (2:14), שבכא (3:5,7,10,15), תלתא (3:24; 6:3), חמא (3:19), יציבא (3:24; 6:13; 7:16), רביעיא (3:25; 7:23), ידא (5:5,24), יתירא (6:4), תדירא (6:17,21), משניא (7:7), עברא (7:21), תקיפא (7:7).

The termination ה- is undoubtedly employed predominantly in the Old and Imperial Aramaic period for the absolute feminine singular noun and adjective. The alternate ending א- was not an obsolete form, but was often used in these periods. With the coming of the Late Aramaic period, however, the shift from ה- to א- was complete, and the ה- form was replaced almost without exception by א-, as evidenced by the usage of the Palmyrene inscriptions and the Targums.

In this respect, the usage of the absolute feminine noun and adjective in the Aramaic of Daniel agrees fully with that of Old and Imperial Aramaic, but disagrees with that of Late Aramaic.

From the above comparative study of the alternate usages of א- and ה- for the emphatic state noun and for the absolute feminine singular noun, the following table can be

derived for the summary of this section.

TABLE VI

THE א AND ה NOUN TERMINATIONS

Terminations	Forms	Daniel	Old Aram.	Imp. Aram.	Late Aram.
Emph. m. s.	א-	457	33	545	216 & Tg.
	ה-	7	2	38	-
Emph. m. pl.	א-	115	39	197	57 & Tg.
	ה-	-	-	2	-
Emph. f. s.	א-	93	8	150	42 & Tg.
	ה-	7	-	2	-
Emph. f. pl.	א-	22	3	11	14 & Tg.
	ה-	-	-	-	-
Abs. f. s.	ה-	82	27	148	4
	א-	22	1	17	9 & Tg.

Even at first sight, it is evident that in Aramaic, the orthography א- was predominantly employed for the emphatic article throughout its periods. However, in the Old and Imperial Aramaic periods, there appears another orthographic symbol, ה-, for the same emphatic article. This means that there was a period of confusion about using the alternative form, whether א- or ה-. The form, however, was stabilized between the Imperial and Late Aramaic periods. The fact that there are no occurrences of the emphatic form ה- in the

Late Aramaic is adequate proof that their orthographical practice of using the form, א-, is well systematized in that period. In this respect, the use of both alternative emphatic forms in the Aramaic of Daniel points out that the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to the stage of Aramaic earlier than the Late Aramaic. Also the agreement of its usage in the Aramaic of Daniel with that of Old and Imperial Aramaic shows that the Aramaic of Daniel belonged to the Imperial Aramaic period at the latest.

In the phenomenon of the orthographical shift from ה- to א- for the absolute feminine singular nouns and adjectives, the ה- ending was predominantly employed in the Old and Imperial Aramaic periods. Undoubtedly, in both periods, the late form א- was occasionally used. However, the completion of the shift could be seen in the earlier part of the Late Aramaic period and the shifted form was used throughout the period almost without exception.

The termination of the absolute feminine nouns and adjectives in the Aramaic of Daniel is used predominantly with ה- as in Old and Imperial Aramaic. The occasional use of the alternate spelling with א-, is well in harmony with Imperial Aramaic, but disagrees with Late Aramaic. In this respect, the placement of the Aramaic of Daniel in the Imperial Aramaic period is the most plausible conclusion.

These conclusions are based upon the assumption that

the present Aramaic portion in the book of Daniel is the original orthography, as many scholars assumed.

However, if the conclusions are based upon the opposite assumption(that the present text of the Aramaic of Daniel is not a purely original orthography, but a modernized and transmitted text), the cited archaic forms adequately support the contention that the Aramaic of Daniel is Imperial Aramaic.

CHAPTER IV

MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is the science of patterns of word formation in a language, including inflection, derivation, and composition. This study of the formation of morphemes is usually divided into the eight parts of speech; noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction and interjection.

In the Semitic languages, morphemes are formed from roots which are represented by the third masculine singular perfect Qal stem and their modifications by internal and external inflections. In Aramaic, morphology has developed similarly. The triconsonantal root is usually modifed to form grammatical morphemes by prefixing, infixing, and suffixing. In this treatment of the morphology of the Aramaic language, the emphasis is upon the study of the verbal system, which will be accomplished by comparing that of the Danielic Aramaic with that of the various stages of Aramaic.

The verbal system will be observed under two headings, general and peculiar verb forms. The first group contains the generally developed verb morphemes in Semitic languages, while the other designates the peculiar inner passive forms which developed in South Semitic particularly.[1]

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[1]Moscati, An Introduction, pp.71-72.

I. GENERAL ARAMAIC VERB FORMS

Among Semitic languages, the various verb forms are developed in a basic pattern of prefixing, infixing, and suffixing. The perfect conjugation is always developed by suffixing, the imperfect conjugation by prefixing and suffixing. The various derived stems are formed by prefixing, infixing, and suffixing. These patterns of the external inflection hold true for Aramaic. Further the development of the orthographical character of the prefixes and suffixes can be traced through the various stages of Aramaic. These constitute the clues for dating the Aramaic of Daniel.[1] This section is intended to be a more extensive study of these phenomena.

A. Suffix-conjugation. The suffix-conjugation, here, means the perfect conjugation. The perfect conjugation in the Aramaic verb is inflected by suffixing the various personal sufformatives to the verbal root. The morphological development of the suffixes in the conjugation of Aramaic will be considered under the individual forms which occur in the Aramaic of Daniel.

Third feminine singular. In the Semitic languages, the hypothetical proto-Semitic form for the perfect feminine

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[1]Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, pp.76-98.

third person singular is qṭlt (qaṭalat) as it is attested in Ugaritic and in Arabic. In Hebrew, the termination of the form ת- was dropped, the final vowel being reflected by the mater lectionis ה-. In Aramaic, however, the archaic form ת- is preserved from Old Aramaic through Late Aramaic as indicated in the following references.

In Old Aramaic: אכלת (Pan.II:9), כברת (Pan.II:9), הות (Pan.II:2; Sf.III:24), שחת (Pan.II:9), שבת (Sf.III:25), בכיתה (Pan.II:17).

In Imperial Aramaic: יהבת (AP.13:4), כתבת (AP.10:23; 43:13), אמרת (AP.1:1; 10:2; Aḥ.119; BMAP.5:11), הות (AP.6:7 plus 8 times), מטאת (AP.41:2), ענת (Aḥ.118), צבית (AP.15:25, 29), מטאת (BMAP.13:7), בטלת (Ezra 4:24), הנעלת (BMAP.2:4 plus 5 times).

In Late Aramaic: עבדת [Pa.(NSI)112:2], סלקת [Pa.(NSI) 114:3], הות [Pa.(NSI)147i:3], אשרת [Pa.(NSI)147i:3]. Also the Targums normally employ the identical suffix ת- for the perfect third feminine singular.

This usage of the form is consistent in the Aramaic of Daniel: אמרת (5:10), נפקת (2:13), נדת (6:19), סלקת (7:8,20), עללת (5:10), תקפת (5:20), הות (2:35; 7:19), מלת (2:35), מחת (2:34,35), עדת (3:27; 4:28), רבת (4:19), מטת (4:19,41), ענת (5:10), ספת (4:30), הדקת (2:34,44), התגזרת (2:34,45), השתכחת (5:11,12,14; 6:5,23), אתכרית (7:15), נטילת (7:4), קטילת (7:11), יהיבת (5:28; 7:11,12,27), פריסת (5:28).

Through this examination on the usage of the suffix for the perfect third feminine singular, it is evident that there is no other form but the ת- form used in the development of Aramaic.

Second masculine singular. The supposed proto-Semitic form for the perfect masculine singular second person is qṭlt (qaṭalta) as it is represented in Ugaritic and in Arabic. The consonant ת- is suffixed to represent the person. Hebrew also shows similar inflection. In Aramaic, however, the suffix ת-, which is identical to Hebrew, is predominantly used in the earlier stage, but the alternate suffix תא- is normally used in later stage.

For Old Aramaic, the present available materials do not allow any examples of the perfect second masculine singular form. However, it is assumed that the suffix ת- was used in this period according to the usage of the form in the Imperial period.

In Imperial Aramaic, the suffix ת- is uniformly used for the person, as in Hebrew, as the following references show: אמרת (Aḥ.75), יהבת (AP.2:3 plus 18 times), שלחת (AP.41:5), שמעת (Aḥ.98), רחקת (AP.42:12), שבעת (Aḥ.127,129), שבקת (Aḥ.176), עמלת (AP.40:2), עבדת (AP.9:10), קבלת (BMAP.1:4,5), כתבת (BMAP.8:4), סבלתני (BMAP.9:17), רחמת (BMAP.12:23), כתשת (AP.7:5), לקחת (AP.7:6; 10:3), דרגת (Aḥ.128), עלת (AP.7:4), ימאת (AP.6:4,8,11), בנית (AP.9:12), צבית (AP.4:4; 28:

7,12), קרית (AP.7:4), שמת (Ah.94), רבית (Ah.44), הוטבת (AP. 6:11), הוקרת (Ah.176), הרכבת (Ah.128), השכחת (AP.42:7,8), הקימת (Ah.44), הנצלתה (BMAP.2:13), הושרת (BMAP.13:4).

In Late Aramaic, the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions do not give any examples of the form. However, it is recognized that the Targums normally employ the alternate suffix -תא in which the final aleph represents the final vowel.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the usage of both forms was employed for the perfect singular masculine second person. The suffix -ת form is used in the following occurrences: עבדת (Dan.4:32), רשמת (6:13,14), תקפת (4:19), יכלת (2:47), יהבת (2:23), ידעת (5:22), הוית (2:31,34), חזית (2:43,45; 4: 17), רבית (4:19), שמת (3:10), נבחת (5:23), חדרת (5:24), מנית (5:24), הודעתני (2:23,23), השפלת (5:22), הקימת (3:12,18).

These twenty-two occurrences of the perfect second masculine singular show the archaic form -ת, but three occurrences reveal the use of a final he (ה) as a mater lectionis: חזיתה (Dan.2:41,41), תקילתה (5:27).

For the suffix of the perfect third masculine singular, the -ת form is uniformly employed in Imperial Aramaic, but in Late Aramaic, the -תא form is exclusively used, in which the final vowel is lengthened and a mater lectionis regularly appears in the form of an aleph. The Aramaic of Daniel shows the predominant use of the archaic suffix -ת which is identical to that of Imperial Aramaic, with exceptions of three cases

of the ת- form. So far as the mater lectionis is concerned, it was not strange in the final position in the Imperial Aramaic period in as much as the mater lectionis א- appeared as early as 408 B. C. in the Elephantine Aramaic papyri.[1] Rather, the use of ה- in the Aramaic of Daniel for א- suggests that the Danielic form may be earlier.[2]

In this respect, the usage of the suffix for the perfect second masculine singular in the Aramaic of Daniel does not agree with that of Late Aramaic, but does agree with that of Imperial Aramaic.

First common singular. It is assumed that the proto-Semitic form for the perfect singular first person is qṭlk (qaṭalku) which appears as such in Ethiopic. In Hebrew and in other North-West Semitic languages, the flexional suffix is represented by ־תי. In Aramaic the suffix ת- is employed throughout the various periods of Aramaic.

Old Aramaic shows the following use of the suffix ת- for the perfect singular first person: אחזת (Bar.11), כתבת (Sf.IC:2), בנית (Had.14; Bar.20), חנאת (Had.19), שמת (Had.29; Pan.II:20), רצת (Bar.8), מתת (Ner.II:4), הוית (Pan.II:5), היטבתה (Bar.12), הושבת (Had.19), הקמת (Had.1,14).

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[1]The letter AP.31 is assumed to be the copy of AP.30. It was dated 408 B. C., the same as AP.30. The word, חוינא (AP.31:15) appears with the mater lectionis א-.

[2]Cross and Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography, p.59.

In Imperial Aramaic, the usage of the suffix for the person can be traced in the following references: אזלת (AP. 40:2; Aḥ.22,26), אמרת (AP.9:5 plus 10 times), גהנת (Aḥ.13), דחלת (Aḥ.45), טענת (Aḥ.111), טעמת (Aḥ.105), לקחת (AP.7:9; 16: 4; Aḥ.8), יבלתך (Aḥ.48), יהבת (AP.8:3 plus 40 times), כתבת (AP.9:4 plus 7 times), כתבת (AP.7:9), נטלת (Aḥ.169), סגדת (Aḥ.13), עבדת (AP.7:6 plus 9 times), פלחת (Aḥ.15), שלחת (AP. 16:8 plus 6 times), שמעת (AP.40:2 plus 4 times), צלבת (Beh. 35), קבלת (AP.6:5), קטלת (Beh.13 plus 3 times), רחקת (AP.13: 7 plus 6 times), שבקת (Aḥ.175), זבנת (BMAP.4:3; 9:4), עשתת (BMAP.5:3; 9:2), שבקת (BMAP.5:4,4), שאלת (BMAP.7:3; 14:3), אתית (BMAP.2:3 plus 5 times), גרית (BMAP.4:14), צבת (BMAP. 3:12 plus 6 times), ענית (BMAP.7:21,25), שנאת (BMAP.2:7,9; AP.15:23,27), הוית (AP.13:4 plus 6 times), חזית (Aḥ.14), חדית (AP.41:2), רשת (AP.35:11; 25:12), ענית (Aḥ.14,45), קרית (AP.7:10), רדית (AP.16:4), מיתת (AP.10:14; BMAP.11:8), שמת (Beh.35; Ezra 6:12), שלמת (BMAP.11:5,8), הכמתה (Aḥ.9,19), הצפנתך (Aḥ.49), השכחת (AP.13:5; Aḥ.76), הנעלת (AP.15:6,7,24, 27), העדת (AP.15:35), העדית (Aḥ.50), העגית (Aḥ.9), קרבתך (Aḥ. 50), החיתך (Aḥ.51), הקימת (Aḥ.23), שלמת (AP.11:7 plus 3 times), רבית (Aḥ.23,25).

In the Late Aramaic period, this form is found only in the Palmyrene inscriptions, אחבדתה (Pa.(NSI)144:6), אקימת (NSI. 147iic:10). The Targums uniformly employ the identical suffix ת- for the perfect first common singular.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, also, the same suffix ת- is always used for the perfect singular first person: אמרת (4:5), נטרת (7:28), נטלת (4:31), קרבת (7:16), עברת (3:15; 6:23), שמעת (5:14,16), ידעת (4:6), צבית (7:19), הוית (4:1 plus 12 times), חזית (2:26; 4:2,6,15), כרכת (4:31), שבחת (4:31), הדרת (4:31), השכחת (2:25), הקימת (3:14).

It is known that there is no variation in form of the suffix for the singular first person throughout the development of the Aramaic language. The usage of this suffix ת- for the person is identical to that of Old and Imperial Aramaic as well as that of Late Aramaic.

Third masculine plural. The proto-Semitic form for the third masculine plural is supposed to be qṭlw (qaṭalū) as it appears in Ugaritic and in Arabic. Hebrew preserved the form as קטלו , and it is the same in Aramaic.

In Old Aramaic, the occurrences of the vocalic sufformative ו- are as follows: נתנו (Had.20), עבדו (Sf.IIB:2), קמו (Had.2), שמו (Sf.IB:6), פלטוה (Pan.II:2), אתחמו (Ner.II:6), השבו (Sf.III:24), ככונו (Ner.II:5), שמו (Ner.II:6,7).

In Imperial Aramaic, the same suffix ו- is used: אבדו (AP.30:16), אזלו (Beh.4 plus 5 times), אחדו (Beh.1 plus 10 times), אמרו (AP.26:3 plus 8 times), נדשו (AP.27:5 plus 2 times), טענו (AP.45:14), יהבו (AP.1:3; 27:4; 31:5), לקחו (AP.27:18; 30:12; 34:6), מרדו (AP.27:1 plus 3 times), עבדו (AP.4:1 plus 22 times), עברו (Aḥ.162), קטלו (Beh.3 plus 17

times), עבקו (Ah.162), שלחו (AP.26:6; 30:19), שמעו (Beh.8,39), תברו (AP.30:9), אחבו (AP.34:6), כתבו (Ezra 4:8), שלחו (Ezra 4:11; 5:7), אזלו (Ezra 4:23), סלקו (Ezra 4:12), כלו (AP.37:15), מטו (AP.37:15), ענו (Ah.121 plus 2 times), צבו (AP.38:6), אחו (AP.30:8), כנו (AP.30:13; 31:12; BMAP.10:4; 9:9), גרו (BMAP.3:18,18), בעו (AP.30:17), הוו (AP.17:3 plus 8 times), עלו (AP.16:6 plus 3 times), הוו (Ezra 4:20,22), אתו (Ezra 4:12), שלמו (AP.10:16; BMAP.11:9), זבנו (AP.42:5), קימו (AP.30:10), בעלו (Ezra 4:23; 5:5), שריו (Ezra 5:2), השכחו (AP.38:4; Ezra 4:19), הרגזו (Ezra 5:12), הקרבו (Ezra 6:17), התיבונא (Ezra 5:11), הקימו (Ezra 6:18), אתחדו (AP.34:3,4), אתכנשו (Beh.1,4, 8,10), אשתכחו (AP.34:4), התנדבו (Ezra 7:15), קמו (Ezra 5:2).

In Late Aramaic, both Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions use commonly the same vocalic sufformative ו- as follows: לענו [Na.(NSI)79:5], שלטו [Na.(NSI)96:5], אחרבו [Na.(NSI) 107], עשרו [Pa.(NSI)110:4], עבדו [Pa.(NSI)110:1 plus 8 times], סלקו [Pa.(NSI)115:2], קרבו [Pa.(NSI)136:3], בנו [Pa.(NSI) 141:3], הוו [Pa.(NSI)147i:5,7; 147iib:46; 147iic:14,45], אקימו [Pa.(NSI)114:2; (SI)1:2; 2:3; 3:3], אסקו [Pa.(NSI)147i: 5]. Also the Targums use regularly the same suffix. The Palmyrene inscriptions, however, give the other usage of the form which is identical to the perfect third masculine singular for the perfect third masculine plural form as follows: נחת [Pa.(NSI)113:4], כתב (NSI.147i:9), אגר (NSI. 147iib:15), אשר (NSI.147i:9), אקים (NSI.113:3; 121:8; 128:3;

130:4; 131:4).

In the Aramaic of Daniel, there is no instance of the use of the singular form for the plural in the perfect masculine third person. It uniformly employs the vocalic sufformative ו- as follows: אמרו (4:23), קרבו (3:8), אכלו (3:8; 6:25), נפלו (3:23; 7:20), סלקו (2:29), שלטו (6:25), קריבו (6:13), דקו (2:35), ענו (2:7,10; 3:8; 6:14), בעו (2:13), הוו (2:35; 5:19; 6:5), רמו (6:17,25), מטו (6:25), שנו (3:27), אשתיו (5:3,4), שנוהי (5:6), שמו (3:12), שכחו (5:4), חבלוני (6:23), שנו (3:27), הקרבוני (7:13), החסנו (7:22), הלבישו (5:29), הכרזו (5:29), הרגשו (6:7,12,16), הדקו (6:25), השכחו (6:12), הנפקו (5:3), הסקו (3:22), העדיו (5:20; 7:12), היתיו (5:3,23; 6:17,25), אתעקרו (7:8), התרחצו (3:28), אשתנו (3:19), אתיעטו (6:8).

Throughout the various stages of Aramaic, the vocalic sufformative ו- is generally used for the perfect third masculine plural. In the Palmyrene dialect, the alternate form without the suffix ו- was used very commonly. The usage of the Aramaic in the book of Daniel always employed the suffix ו- as did that of Old and Imperial Aramaic as well as that of some part of Late Aramaic.

Third feminine plural. The supposed proto-Semitic form for the third feminine plural is qtl (qaṭalā) which appears in Ethiopic. No peculiar form of the person exists in Hebrew. The masculine form, in which the ו- vowel is

retained, is used for the feminine form. In Aramaic the present source data rarely gives the examples of the form for the perfect third feminine plural. The available references, however, indicate that in the earlier Aramaic period, the suffix ן- which is identical to that of the third masculine plural is predominantly used. On the other hand, the suffix ן- is regularly used in later Aramaic.

There is actually no example of the suffix from the Old Aramaic materials, but the Imperial Aramaic gives two occurrences of the suffix ן- for the perfect third feminine plural, אשכחו (AP.34:2) and אתחדו (AP.34:3).

In Late Aramaic, the identical suffix ן- occurs twice with the same root, עבדו [Na.(NSI)80:1; 85:1], in the Nabatean inscriptions. Later in this period, the normal suffix form for the person is the alternate suffix א- in the Targums and Talmud.

The Aramaic of Daniel gives again very few examples of the form. It uses exclusively the archaic form ן- three times, נפקו (5:5), אתעקרו (7:8), נפלו (7:20).

Therefore it may be assumed that the form ן- found in the Aramaic of Daniel was used from the earlier Aramaic up to the earlier part of the Late Aramaic period.

Second masculine plural. The proto-Semitic form for the perfect second masculine plural is qṭltm (qaṭaltumu) as it occurs in Ugaritic. So far as the consonantal suffix is

concerned, Hebrew preserved the suffix ־תם. In Old Aramaic, the same suffix is used for the plural masculine second person, but later in Aramaic, the supposed original Aramaic form ־תון is predominantly used as the following references show.

In Old Aramaic, only one word is found, which was used three times with the suffix ־תם for the perfect plural masculine second person, שקרתם (Sf.IB:23; IIB:9,14).

In Imperial Aramaic, both alternative forms of suffix ־תם abd ־תון are in use for the person, שאילתם (AP.20:8), הוטבתם (AP.20:8), רחמתון (AP.25:9), שלחתון (Ezra 4:18).

In Late Aramaic, no example of the form is found in the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions, but the Targums show the regular use of the form ־תון for the perfect second masculine plural.

The Aramaic of Daniel, again, gives very few occurrences of the suffix. The two examples of the form are found, which are written with ־תון, חזיתון (2:8), הודעתון (2:9).

Undoubtedly, the suffix ־תם is widely used in Old Aramaic. On the other hand, the alternate suffix ־תון had already appeared in the Imperial Aramaic period and both forms, ־תם and ־תון were used side by side in the period. It seems that later the suffix ־תון became a rule for the person. In this respect, no one can definitely date the Aramaic of Daniel on the basis of the insufficient evidences

of the form. However, it is evident that the suffix form used in the Aramaic of Daniel can be found in the Imperial Aramaic period as well as in the Late Aramaic period.

First common plural. The hypothetical proto-Semitic form for the first person plural is qṭln (qaṭalna) as it appears in Arabic. In Hebrew, the suffix ן- is represented with ָ vowel, but in Aramaic, the suffix ן- is preserved with the proto-Semitic ā vowel for the perfect plural first person. In Old Aramaic, this vowel was not externally represented, and simply the suffix ן- was used for the person. Later in Aramaic, however, when the mater lectionis began to be used to indicate a long vowel, the suffix ן- was represented by the orthographically written vowel letter נא-. Thus in Aramaic two alternate suffix forms, ן- and נא-, can be found.

In Old Aramaic, only the Sefire inscriptions give the examples of the suffix for the perfect plural first person twice, אמרן (Sf.IC:1), כתבן (Sf.IC:1).

In the Imperial Aramaic period, the suffix ן- is predominantly employed for the plural first person as follows: אמרן (AP.40:2; BMAP.6:5), יהבן (AP.1:2 plus 4 times; BMAP. 3:3 plus 12 times), משחן (AP.31:20), עבדן (AP.14:3 plus 3 times), פלגן (AP.28:3), פרישן (AP.27:10), עלחן (AP.30:18 plus 4 times), כהלן (BMAP.3:22), רחקן (BMAP.3:11,13), זבן (BMAP. 12:4,12), הרין (BMAP.5:12), גרין (BMAP.3:14,14), גלין (AP. 37:8), חזין (AP.30:17; 31:16), שחין (AP.30:21; 31:20), רשין

(AP.20:6,16), זבן (BMAP.3:3 plus 11 times), שלמן (AP.42:2), הורען (AP.30:29), השכחן (AP.4:5), אשתורין (AP.28:2).

Against these, the suffix -נא in which the long vowel is represented by mater lectionis appeared as follows: חזינא (AP.31:15), מלחנא (Ezra 4:14), שלחנא (Ezra 4:14), אזלנא (Ezra 5:8), שאלנא (Ezra 5:9,10), אמרנא (Ezra 5:4,9), הורענא (Ezra 4:14).

In Late Aramaic, no example of the form for the perfect first person plural has been found, but the Targumic Aramaic shows the normal usage of the suffix -נא.

The Aramaic of Daniel shows only three occurrences of the form -נא, דמינא (3:24), בעינא (2:23), השכחנא (6:6).

In the development of the Aramaic language, evidently, the mater lectionis, which was used in the final position to represent a long vowel, appeared prior to 408 B. C.,[1] according to the source data cited. Therefore the suffix with vowel letter for the first person plural is not a strange form even in the Imperial Aramaic period. In this respect, the three occurrences of the form in the Aramaic of Daniel can be considered to be of Imperial Aramaic as well as Late Aramaic.

The above comparative study concerning the usage of the various suffixes to form the perfect conjugation in the

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[1]Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, p.31. The word, חזינא (let us see), occurred in AP.31:15 which is dated 408 B. C.

development of Aramaic is summarized in the following table.

TABLE VII

THE SUFFIX-CONJUGATION

Per. Gen. Numb.	Suffixes	Occ.in Daniel	Occ. in Old Aram.	Occ. in Imp. Aram.	Occ. in Late Aram.
3.f.s.	ת-	36	7	28	4 & Tg.
2.m.s.	ת-	22	-	56	-
	את- (תת-)	3	-	-	- & Tg.
1.c.s.	ת-	32	14	181	2 & Tg.
3,m.pl.	ו-	50	10	147	26 & Tg.
	--	-	-	-	9
3.f.pl.	ן-	3	-	2	2
	א-	-	-	-	- & Tg.
2.m.pl.	תם-	-	3	2	-
	תון-	2	-	2	- & Tg.
1.c.pl.	נ-	-	2	63	-
	אנ-	3	-	9	- & Tg.

The table demonstrates that generally the suffixes used in the Aramaic of Daniel for the perfect conjugation are well attested throughout the various stages of Aramaic. However, in the Aramaic of Daniel, there are no forms which are found only in Late Aramaic. Rather, most of the Danielic

forms of suffix are well evidenced by Old and Imperial Aramaic. Furthermore, in the Aramaic of Daniel, there exists the earlier form which does not occur in Late Aramaic, but which occurs only in Imperial Aramaic. This suggests strongly that the Aramaic of Daniel, so far as the perfect verbal suffixes are concerned, corresponds to Imperial Aramaic, rather than to Late Aramaic.

B. Prefix-conjugation. The prefix-conjugation designates the inflection of the imperfect by fixing the personal preformatives and sufformatives to the roots. In the development of the Aramaic language, the following various inflections of the consonantal preformatives and sufformatives can be seen in comparison with those of the Aramaic of Daniel.

Third masculine singular. The supposed proto-Semitic form for the imperfect third masculine singular is yqṭl (yaqṭulu) as it appears in Arabic. The preformative י- is used for the form in Hebrew as well as in Aramaic. However, in Old Aramaic, the alternate preformative ל- appears for the jussive force in the third masculine singular of the imperfect.

The usage of the preformatives are as follows in the various periods of Aramaic.

In Old Aramaic: יאחז (Had.15,20,25), יאמר (Had.17,20, 29,29; Sf.IIB:7; IIC:7), יאכל (Sf.IA:27), יאסר (Sf.III:18), יכבן (Sf.IB:28,34), יעל (Sf.IB:35), יגלח (Sf.IB:25), יקח

(Had.10; Sf.IB:27), יעב (Had.15,20,25; Sf.III:17), יקר (Sf.IA:37), יקני (Had.18,22), יקשי (Had.27,28), יכעה (Sf.IIB : 8; III:11), יהוה (Sf.IIA:4), יאתה (Sf.IIB:13), ירב (Sf.III: 17 plus 3 times), ימות (Sf.III:16), יעקר (Sf.IA:14,15,24; IIA: 3), ימלל (Sf.IB:26; III:1,2), יעזז (Sf.IB:44), יזכר (Had.16), יחכה (Had.23), יהסכר (Sf.III:3), יסכר (Sf.III:3), יעברנה (Sf. III:17), יהונה (Sf.IIB:16,16), יקם (Had.28), יתמר (Had.10), יתשמע (Sf.IA:29), יתחט (Sf.IA:32), יתנשי (Sf.IIA:4).

The Old Aramaic uses predominantly the prefix י- for the third masculine singular. However, in the Hadad inscription the alternate prefix ל- is employed instead of י- for jussive meaning four times, לאכל (Had.23), לכתשה (Had.31), למנע (Had.24), לכתננה (Had.31).

In Imperial Aramaic, the source materials give the following uses of the preformative י- for the imperfect third masculine singular.

In AP: יאבד (15:27), יאמר (15:27 plus 7 times), יאשר (Ah.89), יבאש (Ah.64), יגרנך (6:14), ידנח (Ah.138), ידער (Ah.147), יזבן (42:6), יזכר (Ah.64), יחכל (Ah.36), יטעמנהי (Ah.86,209), ירתנה (15:21), יכהל (5:8; 43:5), יכל (1:5; 13:11), ילקח (Ah.143,172), ינטרנהי (Ah.209), ינסח (Ah.156,211), יסבלנהי (Ah.90), יעבד (26:22 plus 5 times), יפקד (Ah.192), יקבל (8:13), יקרב (30:28; 31:27), ישאל (30:2 plus 4 times), ישלח (Ah.62,201), ישמע (Ah.93), יתפט (Ah.145), יתכר (Ah.106), יעמד (Ah.160), יחדה (Ah.106),

יחזה (Aḥ.163), יעדי (15:31), יקנה (Aḥ.218), ירבה (10:4 plus 3 times), ירשה (8:26 plus 5 times), יהוי (32:2; 34:7; Aḥ.110, 205), יהוה (8:17 plus 16 times), יכלא (5:9,10), ישתה (Aḥ.93), יאתה (41:3; Aḥ.33), יבעה (38:6 plus 3 times), יחוב (Aḥ.65), יחיה (Aḥ.86), ימות (15:17), יקום (15:26 plus 3 times), ירים (Aḥ.150), ישימנה (30:2; 31:2), יחוננא (34:7), ירבה (Aḥ.114), יהוסף (Aḥ.144), יהשכח (Aḥ.85), יהשפל (Aḥ.150), יהיתה (26:13), יהחלה (Aḥ.188), יהחיני (Aḥ.54), יהתיבנהי (Aḥ. 126), יטענהי (Aḥ.80), יתאלף (Aḥ.80), יתסר (Aḥ.80), יהחוה (Aḥ.93), יתידע (27:10), יתיהב (26:18,21,21), יתלקח (8:17), יתנגד (26:4), יתנטר (Aḥ.160), יתעבד (16:9 plus 5 times), יתקטל (Aḥ.62,169), ישתאר (11:9), ישתבע (Aḥ.189), ישתמע (18:3), ישתלח (26:4 plus 3 times), יתכנה (30:27; 31:26; 33:8), יתחזי (21:9), יתקנה (Aḥ.196), יתשים (27:21; Aḥ.80),

In BMAP: יאבד (7:25), יאמר (2:7 plus 3 times), יהך (10:15), ילקח (7:36), ירתנה (7:35), ירשה (9:19; 12:27), ירשנך (12:27), ירשנכי (9:18,19; 10:12), יגרה (3:19), יגרנכי (4:14), יקום (2:7 plus 5 times), יהוב (10:3; 12:29), ימות (2:11; 7:28), יהוה (8:5 plus 3 times), ימטאני (13:2), יהנפק (10:16), יהנצל (4:20), יתנתן (11:4,5), ישתמע (7:42),

In Ezra: יעבא (4:22), יהך (5:5; 6:5; 7:13), יטב (7:18), יפל (7:20), ישלח (5:17; 6:12), יבקר (4:15), ימגר (6:12), יהשנא (6:11), יתנסח (6:11), יתעבד (6:11 plus 3 times), יתשם (4:21), יתכנא (5:15; 6:3), יתמחא (6:11), יתבקר (5:17).

Against these, the prefix ל- is found seven times

in the Aramaic of Ezra, להוה (4:12,13; 5:8; 6:9; 7:23,26,26).

In Late Aramaic, the usage of the preformative for the third masculine singular is seen as follows.

In Nabatean:יהב (NSI.81:6), יצבא (NSI.87:5), יהוא (NSI.90:4,5,6), יעיר (NSI.86:8; 90:7), ינפק (NSI.79:2; 80:5,9; 86:5; 87:3; 90:7; 93:4), יורג (NSI.79:7; 81:6; 86:4), ישאל (NSI.86:4), יתקבר (NSI.87:5; 88:3; 94:5), יתילת (NSI.89:2), יתרהן (NSI.88:4), יתעבד (NSI.94:4), יתאלף (NSI.79:7), יתשנא (NSI.94:4), יתפצץ (NSI.94:5), יתזבן (NSI.88:4).

In Palmyrene: יצבא (NSI.147iic:50), יגבא (NSI.147iia: 2 plus 13 times), יהוא (NSI.147i:10 plus 5 times), יהא (NSI.147iic:8 plus 6 times), יחא (NSI.118:5), יכילנה (NSI. 147iib:23), יכתב (NSI.147i:8,8), יתבעא (NSI.147iib:20), יזבן (NSI.147iia:4; 147iib:6).

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the usage of the third masculine singular prefix -י for the imperfect is as follows: יאמר (3:29; 4:23; 2:7), יאכל (4:30), ילבש (5:7), יסבר (7:25), יסגד (3:6,10,11), ישמע (3:10), ישלט (5:7), יעפר (4:24), ינתן (2:16), יתנה (4:14,22,29), יפל (3:6,10,11), יוכל (2: 10), יתב (7:26), יכל (3:29), יבעה (6:8,13), יעדה (7:14), יעבא (7:24), יצבה (5:21), יצבא (4:14,22,29), ימטא (4:8,17), יעבא (3:31), יקרה (5:7), יעבא (6:26), יקום (6:20; 7:24), יהוב (4:31,32,32).

Against these, the alternate prefix -ל occurs nine times in a word, להוה (Dan.2:20; 3:18; 2:28,29,41,45; 4:22;

5:29; 6:3).

In the development of the Aramaic language it is evident that the preformative -י is predominantly used for the imperfect third masculine singular. The Old Aramaic, however, shows the alternate usage of the preformative -ל for -י or with -י in jussive meaning. This usage of the prefix -ל is retained in a certain word in the Aramaic of Daniel, and also is occassionally found in Talmud and Mandean dialects especially with jussive meaning.[1] The Egyptian Aramaic does not give any trace of the -ל formation, nor do the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions.

Thus it can be assumed that the archaic -ל formation for the third masculine singular of the jussive had been practised in the Old Aramaic period dialectically or generally, and that the usage of the form had disappeared prior to the Imperial Aramaic period as the Egyptian Aramaic shows no formation of it. This phenomenon is true in the Biblical Aramaic except with the root הוה where the similarity with Tetragrammaton was not desirable.[2]

Therefore, it is likely that the -ל formation of the imperfect third masculine singular is the remnant of the archaic form which originated prior to the eighth century

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[1]Stevenson, Grammar, p.49.

[2]Cf., Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Teetament, pp.92-93.

B. C. in jussive meaning.

In the consideration of this preformative -ל in the Aramaic of Daniel, it is reasonable enough to place the Aramaic of Daniel in the intermediate period between Old and Imperial Aramaic.

Third feminine singular. The proto-Semitic form for the imperfect third feminine singular is assumed to be tqṭl (taqṭulu) as it appears in Arabic. The consonant -ת is the preformative to form the person of the imperfect in Hebrew as well as in Aramaic.

The present source materials give the following uses of the preformative -ת for the third feminine singular of the imperfect.

In Old Aramaic: תאכל (Had.17,21; Sf.IA:27), תשחק (Sf.IB:8), תאזל (Sf.IB:39), תאבר (Ner.II:10), תקר (Sf.IA:35, 35,37), תלעי (Had.32), תשתי (Had.17,22), תהרי (Sf.IA:21), תהרי (Sf.IA:25 plus 3 times), תכעה (Sf.IB:39), תתעבד (Sf. IC:7).

In Imperial Aramaic: תאמר (AP.18:3 plus 2 times), תרבק (AP.5:5), תדלח (Aḥ.113), תהך (AP.15:25,28), תלד (AP. 15:33), תתקל (AP.15:23), תמטא (AP.42:7), תכהל (AP.18:1), תשנאנך (AP.9:8), תהרי (Aḥ.100), תהוה (AP.11:3), תחב (AP.15: 23), תמרת (AP.15:20), תאחה (Aḥ.97,210,214), תקרם (AP.15:22), תתחלל (Aḥ.168), תתרוה (Aḥ.189), תעבד (BMAP.7:33,40), תאמר (BMAP.2:9; 7:25), תכהל (BMAP.7:35), תחב (BMAP.7:26), תבנא

(BMAP.7:24), תהוה (BMAP.7:22), תמטנך (BMAP.13:2), תקום (BMAP.2:9), תמות (BMAP.2:12; 6:18; 7:34), תנפק (BMAP.7:26), תהנפק (BMAP.2:8,10), תהוא (Ezra 6:8), תהנדיק (Ezra 4:13), תתיהב (Ezra 6:4), תתכנא (Ezra 4:13,16,21).

All the references use the prefix -ת for the third feminine singular person in Old and Imperial Aramaic.

In Late Aramaic, the Nabatean inscriptions show the identical prefix -ת for the person, תעבד [Na.(NSI)84:4], תצבא (NSI.84:4). Also it is the same in the Palmyrene inscriptions, תהוא [Pa.(NSI)147iib:44; 147iic:28,32]. Again there is no exception in using the identical preformative -ת throughout the Targumic Aramaic.

The Aramaic of Daniel uses the same preformative -ת for the third feminine singular as the following examples: תאכל (7:23), תהוא (2:40,41,42,42; 4:24; 7:23), תעוא (6:9, 13), תשנא (6:18; 7:23), תנד (4:11), תקום (2:39,44), תדוך (4:18), תדושנה (7:23), תרע (2:40), תטלל (4:9), תדקנה (2:40, 44; 7:23), תסיף (2:44), תשתבק (2:44).

These various periods of materials demonstrate that there is no orthographical variation in the preformative of the Aramaic third feminine singular form of the imperfect.

Second masculine singular. It is assumed that the proto-Semitic form for the imperfect second masculine singular is tqṭl (taqṭulu) which is preserved in Arabic. The prefix -ת is used for the imperfect second masculine singular in

Hebrew and in Aramaic.

The usage of the preformative -ת for the second masculine singular is as follows in the various periods of Aramaic.

In Old Aramaic: תאלב (Had.34), תהרגה (Had.33), תחק (Had.34), תאמר (Sf.IB:24 plus 7 times), תעבד (Sf.IB:26; III: 22), תגזר (Sf.IB:43), תשלח (Sf.IB:37; III:17,21), תשמע (Sf. IIB:4), תעזת (Sf.IIB:5), תמשל (Sf.III:9), תעשקני (Sf.III:20), תהב (Sf.IB:38), תקח (Sf.III:2), תפרה (Sf.III:13,13), תשריה (Sf.III:18), תבעה (Sf.IIB:17), תרשה (Sf.III:9), תאחה (Sf.IB: 31; III:11), תשא (Sf.IB:39; III:15), תנצר (Ner.I:12), תעשק (Ner.II:8), תרקהם (Sf.III:6), תרקה (Sf.III:18,19), תהסכרהם (Sf.III:2), תהרם (Sf.III:6,5), תהשבהם (Sf.III:6).

In Imperial Aramaic: תאכל (Aḥ.127,129), תדחל (Aḥ.54), תדרג (Aḥ.126), תהך (Aḥ.102), תזף (Aḥ.130,130), תכהל (Aḥ.81), תלקחן (Aḥ.119), תמר (Aḥ.148), תעבר (Aḥ.142), תקטלני (Aḥ.52), תקרבני (Aḥ.54), תשפט (Aḥ.143), תרגג (Aḥ.136), תעבד (AP.31: 26; 41:6), תשבק (AP.42:11), תכתב (AP.11:6), תכנה (AP.9:8), תבעה (Aḥ.34), תגלי (Aḥ.141), תכבה (Aḥ.100), תחלי (Aḥ.148), תהוה (Aḥ.149; Beh.50,55), תשים (Aḥ.130), תחיה (Aḥ.82), תחיי (Aḥ.55), תמות (Aḥ.82), תקום (Aḥ.101; AP.42:7,13), תקם (AP.15:16; 37:10), תכלם (Aḥ.131), תחוה (Aḥ.96), תרבי (Aḥ.137), תהחנך (Aḥ.81), תהצפן (Beh.57,58), תהרכב (Aḥ.126), תהשכח (Aḥ.34), תעכח (AP.10:9,10,17), תהעדי (Aḥ.146), תהשגא (Aḥ.137), תהחוי (Aḥ.208), תנחן (BMAP.12:33 plus 3 times),

תנפק (BMAP.12:22), תלקח (BMAP.1:10), תזבן (BMAP.12:24), תשלם (BMAP.11:11), תחרר (BMAP.2:14), תנעל (BMAP.12:22), תהשכח (BMAP.11:10), תנדע (Ezra 4:15), תנתן (Ezra 7:19,20), תקנא (Ezra 7:17), תקרב (Ezra 7:17), תהשכח (Ezra 4:15; 7:16).

In Late Aramaic, there is no example of the form from the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions, but the Targums and Talmudic Aramaic always use the identical preformative ת- for the imperfect second masculine singular.

The usage of the preformative in the Aramaic of Daniel also is identical to other stages of Aramaic, תלבש (5:16), תשלט (5:16), תרשם (6:9), תוכל (5:16,16), תנדע (2:30; 4:22,23, 29), תהוכד (2:24), תקים (6:9).

Thus, throughout all the periods of Aramaic, the preformative ת- has been used without any orthographical variation for the imperfect second masculine singular.

First common singular. The proto-Semitic form for the imperfect singular first person is *ʾqṭl (*ʾaqṭulu) which appears in Arabic. The consonant א- is used for the preformative of the person in Hebrew and in Aramaic. The usage of the preformative in the various periods of Aramaic is as follows.

In Old Aramaic: אחז (Had.3; Pan.II:11), אשאל (Had.4,12), אכהל (Sf.IB:24 plus 2 times), אחפך (Sf.IC:19), אשלח (Sf.IIB: 6; III:8), אעבד (Sf.III:3), אחך (Sf.III:6), אשב (Sf.IIB:7), אגר (Sf.IIC:8), אשם (Sf.IC:19), ארקחם (Sf.III:6), אהאבד (Sf.IIC:4), אהבד (Sf.IIC:5), אהלך (Sf.IC:18), אהשב (Sf.III:20).

In Imperial Aramaic: אמר (AP.5:12 plus 9 times), אגר (AP.6:12), אהך (AP.8:22), אכהל (AP.5:6 plus 10 times), אכל (AP.10:11 plus 5 times), אסבלנך (Ah.204), אצדק (Ah.139; AP.8:22), אקבל (AP.10:12), אשלח (AP.41:3), ארכב (Ah.204), אשתק (Ah.121), אחזה (Ah.205), אכסנכי (Ah.118), אקרא (AP.7:7,10), ארשנך (AP.9:13 plus 3 times), אתרב (AP.45:5), אהוה (AP.11:7), אשלמנהי (AP.11:3,5,10), אמר (BMAP.6:15; 10:9,10), אכהל (BMAP.1:4 plus 6 times), אנצל (BMAP.2:13), אנתן (BMAP.1:8 plus 7 times), אפצל (BMAP.1:9), אכל (BMAP.2:13), ארשנכי (BMAP.4:13), אגרנך (BMAP.1:4), אהוה (BMAP.7:25), אחרב (BMAP.4:14; 10:10; 11:6), אמרת (BMAP.4:18), אזלם (BMAP.11:4,7), אהנצל (BMAP.2:13 plus 3 times), אשתאר (BMAP.12:6).

In Late Aramaic, the inscriptional materials do not allow any examples of the preformative, but the Targums show the regular use of the preformative -א for the imperfect first common singular.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, although it renders few examples, the prefix -א is uniformly used; אנדע (2:9), אבעא (7:16), אקרא (5:17), אהוא (2:24), אהודענה (5:17).

So far as the usage of the preformative -א is concerned, it is consistent in use for the imperfect first common singular form throughout the various stages of Aramaic without any orthographical variation.

Third masculine plural. The proto-Semitic form for the imperfect third masculine plural is supposed to be yqṭln

(yaqṭuluna) which appears in Arabic. In Hebrew, it developed as יקטלו form without the suffix ן-. In Aramaic, however, two alternative forms, י--ן and י--ן can be traced.

In Old Aramaic, the י--ן form for the third masculine plural can be found in the following examples: יתנן (Had.4), יעבדן (Had.7), יקחן (Had.12), ישבן (Had.8), יסחן (Ner.I:9), יכטלון (Ner.I:11), יהאבדן (Ner.I:11), יהבאשן (Ner.II:9), יצרן (Sf.IC:15), ישמן (Sf.IC:23).

Against these, the usage of the alternate form, י--ן, is found mainly in the Sefire insciptions: ימלכן (Sf.IB:22), יצרן (IB:8), ישמען (IB:21 plus 3 times), יקחלן (III:11), ישחדן (III:28), יהכן (III:5), ישבן (III:6), ישאן (IIC:13), יעורן (IIB:4), יעפן (IB:33), ישקרן (IA:16), יהסכרן (III:3).

In Imperial Aramaic, the י--ון form which is written with ו vowel letter is uniformly used for the imperfect third masculine plural as follows: יארכון (Beh.58), יהכון (AP. 10:19), יכהלון (AP.18:15; 20:11,11), יקבלון (AP.6:16; 10:18), יקרבון (AP.30:25; 32:9), יהשחתון (Aḥ.155), ישפטון (Aḥ.104), יהזון (Aḥ.63), יקראון (Aḥ.117), ירפון (Aḥ.154), ירשון (AP. 20:11 plus 6 times), יצעון (Aḥ.168), יהרון (AP.27:7), ילוטון (Aḥ.151,151), ימותון (Aḥ.174), ישימון (Aḥ.115), ישלמון (AP.10: 15), יהספון (AP.26:18), יהשכחון (AP.38:7), יסתבלון (Aḥ.73), יתכסון (AP.38:11), יעבדון (BMAP.7:34), יפטרון (BMAP.13:7), ינפקון (BMAP.10:15), ינתנון (BMAP.3:18), יכלון (BMAP.10:15), יהרון (BMAP.2:11,12), ישלמון (BMAP.11:9), ינפקון (BMAP.9:21;

10:15), יכהילון (BMAP.9:21), ינתנון (Ezra 4:13), יבנון (Ezra 6:7), להון (Ezra 6:9; 7:25), יהתיבון (Ezra 6:5), יתיבון (Ezra 5:5).

There is only one occurrence of the defective writing of ו in the form, יכהן (BMAP.3:23), in this period.

Against these, the י--ו form occurs as follows: יאכמר (Ah.157), ינדשר (AP.30:8; 31:7), יעבדו (AP.26:5), ישאלו (AP. 37:2; 39:1; 41:1), יהערו (AP.30:6; 31:6), יהנעלו (AP.42:12).

In Late Aramaic, the usage of the form for the third masculine plural is found in the following references.

In Nabatean: ימשכנון (NSI.90:3), יכתבון (NSI.90:4), יקברון (NSI.90:6), יזבנון (NSI.90:3), יגרון (NSI.90:3), יתקברון (NSI.89:3; 90:2).

In Palmyrene: יהון (NSI.147iic:24), יבנון (NSI.147i:8), but יהן (NSI.147iib:7,19). Also in the Targums, the same form, י--ון, is normally used for the imperfect third masculine plural.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the י--ון form is used predominantly but there are quite a number of the shorter forms י--ו which are the most common forms used in Old Aramaic.

The occurrences of the י--ון form are as follows: יפלחון (3:28; 7:14,27), יסגדון (3:28), יהלפון (4:13,20,22,29), ינרעון (4:14), ישתון (5:2), יקרון (5:15), יקומון (7:10,17), יקמון (7:24), יטעמון (4:22,29), יטעמונה (5:21), יכהלונה (5: 6), יתמשרנה (7:10), יקבלון (7:18), יענון (4:13), יבעון (4:33),

יהודעון (2:30), יהבדון (2:18), יחסנון (7:18), יהעדון (7:26).

Against these, the usage of the defective form is as follows: יבהלנה (Dan.4:16), ישכנן (4:18), יבהלנני (4:2; 7:15, 28), יהודענני (4:3).

However, there is only one word, יבהלך (Dan.5:10), which used the alternate form י--ל for the third masculine plural of the imperfect.

The various evidences indicate that in the Old Aramaic period, two different forms of the imperfect third masculine plural are used in different areas. In Zenjirli and Nerab, the יקטלו form is predominantly used, but in Sefire, the יקטלן form is uniformly used. The usage of the form in the Sefire inscriptions is characterized by defective writing, and the vowel letter ו did not appear in the middle position. With coming to the Imperial Aramaic period, the full witing of יי--ון form is predominantly used for the third masculine plural, and only once the shorter form is found, which is a common form in Old Aramaic. It suggests that the vowel letter in the middle position has been well practised in the earlier part of the Imperial Aramaic period. Since then, the full writing form of the יי--ון became a rule in Later Aramaic for the imperfect third masculine plural.

The Aramaic of Daniel used generally the full writing of the form as Imperial and Late Aramaic did. However, quite a number of the defective forms in it suggest that the usage

of the form in the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to the time prior to the Elephantine Aramaic. It shows the closer relationship to Old Aramaic rather than to Late Aramaic.

Third feminine plural. The proto-Semitic for the third feminine plural imperfect form is yqṭlן (yaqṭulā/na) as it appears in Arabic. In Hebrew, the prefix -ת for the -י is used in forming תקטלנה for the third feminine plural of the imperfect. However, Aramaic preserves the proto-Semitic form rather faithfully in forming יקטלן in its earlier period. Further the present source data shows another possible formation for the imperfect third feminine plural by using the masculine plural form י--ון.

In Old Aramaic, the י--ן form is uniformly used to represent the third feminine plural imperfect as follows: יהרגן (Sf.IA:24; IIA:3), ישלחן (Sf.IA:30), יהכן (Sf.IA:24; IIA:3), יהינקן (Sf.IA:22,22,23; IIA:1,1,2,2).

In Imperial Aramaic, no example of the form is available from the present materials.

In Late Aramaic, the Nabatean inscriptions show two examples of the third feminine plural of the imperfect form. They employed the third masculine plural form י--ון; יתקברון (NSI.85:4; 93:2). The Targums, however, have regularly the י--ן form which is identical to that of Old Aramaic.

Again the Aramaic of Daniel gives very few examples of the third feminine plural form. Two of the three examples

use the י--ן form as found in the Sefire inscriptions and in the Targums, ישכנן (Dan.4:18), להוין (5:17), For the last example, the third masculine plural form י--ון is used, ידרון (Dan.4:9), as found in the Nabatean inscriptions.

Thus the forms found in the Aramaic of Daniel for the third feminine plural agrees with those of Old Aramaic as well as of Late Aramaic. The changes in this form are not such as to make it valuable for dating purpose.

Second masculine plural. For the imperfect second masculine plural, the proto-Semitic form is supposed to be tqṭln (taqṭulūna) which is preserved in Ugaritic and in Arabic. In Hebrew, the consonantal תקטלו form appears without the final ן-. In the development of Aramaic, however, two alternate forms, ת--ו and ת--ון, for the second masculine plural can be traced.

In Old Aramaic, the Zenjirli inscriptions use uniformly the ת--ו form without ן- as Hebrew does; תהרגו (Pan.II:5), תשמו (Pan.II:4), תפנו (Sf.III:7), but once the form with a jussive preformative ל- occurs, לתגמרו (Had.30). On the other hand, the Sefire inscriptions give the uniform usage of the alternate form ת--ן for the second masculine plural; תשמען (Sf.IB:24), תאתון (Sf.IB:32), תשלמן (Sf.IB:24). Thus the parallel usage of both forms, ת--ו and ת--ן, is confirmed in the Old Aramaic period.

Coming to the period of Imperial Aramaic, one finds

again the usage of both forms. However, it would be easily found that the ת--ון form with the written vowel letter ו was more frequently used than the ת--ו form in this period: תעבדון (AP.38:8,10), תזכנון (AP.25:11,14), תשכחון (AP.37:10; Ah.66), תעבדון (Ezra 6:8; 7:18), תהודעון (Ezra 7:25). Along with these, the alternate form ת--ו occurs four times in one letter which was sent from Palestine; תאכלו (AP.21:8), תעבדו (AP.21:6), תהנעלו (AP.21:9), תנחו (AP.21:7).

In Late Aramaic, the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions do not show any examples for the imperfect second masculine plural form, but the Targums give the normal usage of the ת--ון form.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the usage of the second masculine plural form is the same as that of Imperial Aramaic and of Targumic Aramaic by using the ת--ון form as follows: תשמעון (3:5,15), תסגדון (3:5,15,15), תפלון (3:5), תקבלון (2:6), תהודעונני (2:5,9), תהחון (2:6), תתעבדון (2:5), תתרמון (3:15), but a defective form is occurred, תהחוננ' (Dan.2:9).

In the Old Aramaic, the ת--ו form and the ת--ו form are commonly used side by side. In the Imperial Aramaic period, the ת--ון form which is fully written with vowel letter ו is predominantly used through the Late Aramaic period. Also the alternate form ת--ו rarely occurs in the Imperial Aramaic period, but the data of this form is found

in only one letter which was originated from Palestine.[1]

In the Aramaic of Daniel, there is no example of this Hebraism, but the ן--ם form, as found in the Imperial and Targumic Aramaic, is predominantly used. However, the remnant of the shorter form which is the characteristic form in Old Aramaic suggests that the usage of the form in the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to the intermediate period of the Old and Imperial Aramaic.

First common plural. It is assumed that the proto-Semitic for the imperfect first common plural form is nqtl (naqṭulu) as it appears in Ugaritic and in Arabic. The preformative -נ is used for forming the imperfect of the person in Hebrew, as also in Aramaic.

The usage of the preformative -נ for the imperfect first common plural is shown in the following references from the various periods of Aramaic.

For Old Aramaic, the present available materials do not allow any reference the imperfect first common plural form.

In the Imperial Aramaic period, the followings are

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[1]The four occurrences of the ן--ם form are from AP.21 which was written in 419 B. C. by Hananiah in Palestine to Yedoniah and the Jewish garrison in Elephantine to instruct certain religious rites. (Cf., Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, pp.60-63.) The form is supposed to be a Hebraism which is distinct from the normal form in Egypt and around her area. In this respect, it is improbable that the Aramaic of Daniel was written in Palestine in this period.

found: נדחל (AP.37:7), נבל (AP.2:9), נכהל (AP.20:10; 25:10), נכל (AP.1:4), נעכד (AP.37:16), נפלג (AP.28:13), נקטלנהי (Aḥ. 61,68), נקרב (AP.31:25), נשמענך (Aḥ.59), נכתב (AP.28:14), נגרכי (AP.1:4), נרשה (AP.25:10; 28:9), נחרב (AP.2:15), נחרי (AP.26:7), נצלה (AP.30:26), נהחסן (AP.28:14), נסבל (BMAP.5: 12), נסבלנך (BMAP.5:13), ננתן (BMAP.3:15,20,21,22), נכהל (BMAP.3:13; 12:25,26), נכל (BMAP.3:12), נפצל (BMAP.3:20), נרשה (BMAP.12:26), נרשנך (BMAP.12:25), נגרה (BMAP.3:14), נגרנך (BMAP.3:12), נקום (BMAP.3:20; 8:6), נחרב (BMAP.5:14), נכתב (Ezra 5:10).

In Late Aramaic, the inscriptional materials give no examples of the prefix form, but the Targums normally use the preformative -נ for the imperfect plural first person.

The Aramaic of Daniel has no exception in using the preformative -נ for the person as follows: נהוא (2:4), נסגד (3:18), נאמר (2:36), נשכחנא (6:6), נהחוה (2:7), נהשכח (6:6).

Throughout the various stages of Aramaic, the prefix -נ has been consistently used for the imperfect first common plural. No orthographical variation of the preformative can be found. The preformative is old as well as late.

Through this comparative study of the usage for the various forms of prefixes and suffixes in the imperfect-conjugation, which occur in the various periods of the Aramaic language, the following table has been developed for the

purpose of summarizing this section.

TABLE VIII

THE PREFIX-CONJUGATION

Per. Gen. Num.	Prefixes and Suffixes	Occ. in Daniel	Occ. in Old Aram.	Occ. in Imp. Aram.	Occ. in Late Aram.
3.m.s.	-י	40	55	204	63 & Tg.
	-ל	9	4	7	-
3.f.s.	-ת	23	19	44	5 & Tg.
2.m.s.	-ת	11	41	68	- & Tg.
1.c.s.	-א	5	20	84	- & Tg.
3.m.pl.	ו--ו	1	10	10	-
	ו--ן	6	15	1	2
	ון--ן	26	-	48	9 & Tg.
3.f.pl.	ו--ן	2	12	-	- & Tg.
	ון--ן	1	-	-	2
2.m.pl.	ו--ת	-	4	4	-
	ו--ת	1	3	-	-
	ון--ת	12	-	9	- & Tg.
1.c.pl.	-נ	6	-	38	- & Tg.

The evidence in the table shows that most of the Danielic prefixes and suffixes are well attested in Old, Imperial, and Late Aramaic. There is no form that agrees fully with the Late Aramaic that does not simultaneously agree with

that of Old or Imperial Aramaic. There are forms, however, that agree with Imperial Aramaic or Old Aramaic as opposed to those of Late Aramaic or with Imperial Aramaic and Old Aramaic against Late Aramaic. The most probable conclusion from this research then indicates that the morphological formation of the prefix-conjugation in the Aramaic of Daniel should be identified with that of Imperial or Old Aramaic rather than Late Aramaic. Perhaps it should be placed between the Imperial and the Old Aramaic periods.

C. Derived stems with prefixes and infixes. The derived stems, here, designate the Aramaic verb conjugations derived from the pure stem "according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning."[1] The derived stems are formed by consonantal doubling or prefixing and infixing in order to express the idea of intensification, causation, repetition, reflexivation, and passivation.

This section is intended to see the orthographical development of the prefixes and infixes in the Aramaic derived stems under two subject headings, the causative and reflexive stems. The active intensive stem, Pi'el, which does not inflect by a prefix, is not included in this study.

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[1]E. Kautzsch (ed.), Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (second English edition; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), p.115.

1. Causative stem. The causative stem is characterized morphologically by prefixing or infixing -ה to express the idea of causation in Hebrew. This is, also, true in the earlier period of Aramaic. In Later Aramaic, the consonantal prefix -ה is shifted to -א and distinguished Aramaic as a developing language.

Prefixed causative forms. The causative perfect, imperative, and infinitive are formed by prefixing -ה to the root in Old and Imperial Aramaic. In Late Aramaic, however, it is done by prefixing the alternate consonant -א.

In Old Aramaic, the uses of the prefixed -ה for the causative are found in, הכבר (Pan.II:4), היטבה (Pan.II:9), השחת (Had.29), הושבני (Pan.II:19; Bar.5), העבר (Pan.II:18), הרפי (Pan. II:8,8), הקם (Pan.II:18), היטכחה (Bar.12), הושבת (Had.19), הקמת (Had.1,14), השב (Sf.III:20), השבו (Sf.III:24), האדך (Ner.II:3), הלדת (Sf.IIC:2), המחתי (Sf.IIB:8; III:11,11, 15,15,16).

In Imperial Aramaic, the usage of the prefixed -ה form is as follows.

In AP: החסן (AP.20:7), הצלנני (Aḥ.71), הקשט (4:3), הרכב (Aḥ.191), השכח (30:14; 31:13), הנעל (Aḥ.84), היתי (24:36, 48), החוין (30:16; 26:7), התיב (20:7), הקים (Aḥ.12), הוטבת (6:11), הוקרת (Aḥ.176), הושרתי (39:3), הרכבת (Aḥ.128), הקימת (Aḥ.23,24), הצפנתך (Aḥ.49), השכחת (13:5; 42:7,8; Aḥ.76),

הנעלת (15:6 plus 3 times), העדת (15:35), העדית (Aḥ.50), השגית (Aḥ.9), החיתך (Aḥ.51), הודען (30:29), השכחו (38:4), השכחן (4:5), השקיא (27:7), היתיה (27:14), השפל (Aḥ.149), הכצר (Aḥ.127), החסנהי (8:26), הודע (Beh.52), הוקר (Aḥ.98), הנחת (42:13).

In BMAP: הנעלת (2:4,8,10,16; 7:5,22), הנצלתה (2:13), הושרת (13:4), הבעלה (7:33), העדיה (10:13).

In Ezra: הותב (4:10), הנפק (5:14,14; 6:5), היכל (5:14; 6:5), הגלי (5:12), השכחו (4:19), הרגזו (5:12), הקרבו (6:17), התיבונא (5:11), הקימו (6:18), הודענא (4:14), הנזקת (4:22), הודעותך (5:10), היכלה (7:15), השניה (6:12).

Against this, however, there are two words which employ the prefix א- for the causative stem in this period, אחבו (AP.34:6), אחת (Ezra 5:15).

In the Late Aramaic period, the usage of the prefix א- for the perfect, imperative, and infinitive in the causative stem is predominant as the following references.

In Nabatean: אחיי (NSI.101:12), אחרבו (NSI.107).

In Palmyrene: אסק (NSI.116:4), אחבר (NSI.144:2), אפק (NSI.147iib:43), אתי (NSI.121:4), אקים (NSI.120:2 plus 5 times), אקם (NSI.112:3), אשרת (NSI.147i:3), אקימת (NSI.116: 3; 119:2), אחברתה (NSI.144:6), אקימת (NSI.147iic:10), אשר (NSI.147i:9; 147iic:21), אסקו (NSI.147i:5), אקימו (NSI.114:2 plus 6 times), אקים (NSI.113:3; 128:7; 130:4).

Also the Targums use the same prefix א- regularly.

On the other hand, there is one example of a prefixed ה- form in a Nabatean inscription, הקים (NSI.97:i).

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the usage of the prefix ה- for the causative stem is found in the following: הצלח (3:30), השלטך (2:38,48), השלמה (5:26), הצלח (6:29), הודע (2:15, 17,27,29,45), הימן (6:24), הנעל (2:25; 6:19), הנפק (5:2), היתי (5:13), התיב (2:14), הקים (3:2,3,3,5; 5:11; 6:2), הדקת (2:34,44), הודעתנא (2:23,23), השפלת (5:22), הקימת (3:12,18), השכחת (2:25), הקימת (3:14), הקרבוהי (7:13), התסנו (7:22), הלבישו (5:29), הכרזו (5:29), הרגשו (6:7,12,16), הדקו (6:25), השכחו (6:12), הנפקו (5:3), הסקו (3:22), העדיו (5:20; 7:12), היתיו (5:3,23; 6:17,25), השכחנא (6:6), העלכי (2:24), החוני (2:6), הובדה (2:12,24; 7:26), הצלותה (6:15), הנסקה (6:24), הצלה (3:29), השפלה (4:34), השמדה (7:26), הנעלה (4:3), העלה (5:7), הודעתני (2:26; 4:15; 5:8,15,16), החויה (2:10,16,27; 3:32; 5:15), השניה (6:9,16; 7:25), היתיה (3:13; 5:2), הקמותה (6:4), התבותך (3:16), הזדה (5:20; 7:12).

However, there are three occurrences of the alternate prefixed א- form in the Aramaic of Daniel, אקימה (3:1), אתרו (4:11), אחוית (5:12).

The Old Aramaic used uniformly the prefix ה- for the perfect, imperative, and infinitive of the causative stem as also did Imperial Aramaic. The very few cases of occurrences of the prefix א- in Imperial Aramaic, however, indicate that the consonantal shift from ה- to א- had begun in the

Imperial Aramaic period and was completed midway in the Late Aramaic period, after which the Late Aramaic uniformly used the shifted consonantal -א for the causative prefix.

The Aramaic of Daniel shows the predominant usage of the causative prefix -ה as Imperial Aramaic does. In this respect, the Aramaic of Daniel is strongly identified with the Imperial Aramaic.

Infixed causative forms. The causative imperfect and participle are formed by infixing -ה- after their preformatives. In Biblical Hebrew, the intervocalic is syncopated with very few exceptions. In Aramaic, the development of the intervocalic syncopation can be seen through the various periods of Aramaic materials. The unsyncopated form is predominantly used in Old and Imperial Aramaic. On the other hand, in Late Aramaic, the syncopation of the intervocalic -ה- became the rule for the causative imperfect and participle as the following data demonstrates.

In Old Aramaic, the unsyncopated -ה- causative forms are as follows: יהסכר (Sf.III:3), יהרננה (Sf.IIB:16), יהרנה (Sf.IIB:16), תהסכרהם (Sf.III:2), תהרם (Sf.III:5,6), תהשבהם (Sf.III:6), אהאבר (Sf.IIC:4), אהבד (Sf.IIC:5), אהלד (Sf.IC: 18), אהשב (Sf.III:27), יהסכרן (Sf.III:3), יהינקן (Sf.IA:22,22, 23; IIA:1,1,2,2), תהנס (Ner.I:6; II:8,9), יהאבדו (Ner.I:11), יהבאשו (Ner.II:9), מהינקן (Sf.IA:21).

Against these, some exceptional syncopated forms can also be found in the following five occurrences, יסכר (Sf.III: 3), יזכר (Had.16), יתכה (Had.23), יקם (Had.28), יעברנה (Sf.III: 17).

In Imperial Aramaic, the following forms can be found which retained the infix -ה- for the causative: יהוסף (Ah.144), יהשכח (Ah.85), יהשפל (Ah.150), יהחלה (Ah.188), יהחיני (Ah. 54), יהתיבנהי (Ah.126), יהחוה (Ah.93), יהיתה (AP.26:13), תהצפן (Beh.57,58), תהחשך (Ah.81), תהרכב (Ah.126), תהשכח (Ah.34), תהעדי (Ah.146), תהשגא (Ah.137), תהחוי (Ah.208), יהוספון (AP.26:18), יהשכחון (AP.38:7), יהעדו (AP.30:6; 31: 6), יהנעלו (AP.42:12), נהחסן (AP.28:14), תהנעלו (AP.21:9), מהחסן (AP.7:2; 8:2; 16:2), מהחסנן (AP.3:3; 26:3; 33:6), יהנפק (BMAP.10:16), יהנצל (BMAP.4:20), תהנפק (BMAP.2:8,10), אהנצל (BMAP.2:13; 6:15; 7:42; 10:10), תהשכח (BMAP.11:10), מהחסן (BMAP.12:5), יהשנה (Ezra 6:11), תהנזיק (Ezra 4:13), תהשכח (Ezra 4:15; 7:16), יהתיבון (Ezra 6:5), תהודערן (Ezra 7:25), מהודעין (Ezra 4:16; 7:24), מהנזקת (Ezra 4:15), מהקרבין (Ezra 6:10), החרבת (Ezra 4:15), מהחתין (Ezra 6:1).

On the other hand, the syncopated forms occur in the following occurrences: ינפק (AP.13:12), תשכח (AP.10:9,10,17), תשכחון (AP.37:10; Ah.66), תנעל (BMAP.12:22), ינפקון (BMAP. 9:21; 10:15), יכהילון (BMAP.9:21), יתיבון (Ezra 5:5), יחיטן (Ezra 4:12), תחת (Ezra 6:5), מצלח (Ezra 5:8), מצלחין (Ezra 6:14).

In Late Aramaic, the rule of the syncopation of the intervocalic -ה- is practised faithfully, and no trace of the unsyncopated forms can be found. The Nabatean inscriptions give the following causative imperfect and participle forms: יִנפק (NSI.79:2; 80:5,9; 86:5; 87:3; 90:7; 93:4), יוגר (NSI. 79:7; 81:6; 86:4), ישאל (NSI.86:4), יוגרון (NSI.90:3), מחרם (NSI.86:3).

In Palmyrene: יכילנה (NSI.147iib:23), יבנון (NSI.147i: 8), מודא (NSI.138:2), מודן (NSI.139:1), מקבל (NSI.143:9), מעלי (NSI.147iia:1; 147iic:13), מפק (NSI.147iib:36; 147iic: 13; 147iia:34; 147iib:31), מפקא (NSI.147iib:47), מקבלא (NSI. 143:5; 144:6; 143:8), מעל (NSI.147iib:30), מסק (NSI.147i:8), מאפק (NSI.147iic:12).

The Aramaic of Daniel used predominantly the unsyncopated form: יהודענני (7:16), יהודע (2:25), יהשפל (7:24), יהחוה (5:12), יהקים (5:21; 6:16), אהודענה (5:17), תהובד (2:24), יהודענני (4:3), יהודעון (2:30), יהובדון (2:18), יהסנון (7:18), נהשכח (6:6), יהעדון (7:26), נהחוה (2:7), תהודענני (2:9), תהודעונני (2:5), תהחון (2:6), תהחוננני (2:9), מהודעין (4:4), מהדק (2:40), מהעדה (2:21), מהשנא (2:21), מהקים (2:21), מהחצפה (2:15), מהימן (2:45; 6:5).

The syncopated form is also used in the Aramaic of Daniel: יקים (2:44; 4:14), תטלל (4:9), תדק (2:40,44), תדקנה (7:23), תסיף (2:44), תקים (6:9), יחסנון (7:18), מעפיל (5:19), מצל (6:28), מדקה (7:7,19), מחא (5:19), מודא (6:11),

מרים (5:19), מחצלפה (3:22).

In Old Aramaic, the evidence indicates the unsyncopated -ה- was in predominant use, though some syncopated forms show that the syncopation of the intervocalic -ה- had begun already in the eighth century B. C. In the period of the Imperial Aramaic, both forms were used, but the unsyncopated forms were more frequently used in this period. In Late Aramaic, however, the unsyncopated forms completely disappeared, and the syncopation in the causative imperfect and participle became a rule.

The Aramaic of Daniel used more frequently the unsyncopated forms for the causative than the syncopated as Imperial Aramaic did. This suggests the most possible conclusion that the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to Imperial Aramaic rather than to Late Aramaic, so far as the usage of the intervocalic -ה- in the causative imperfect and participle is concernded.

2. Reflexive stems. The reflexive stems are characterized formally by prefixing -התת or -אתת to express the reflexive and the passive in Aramaic. Again, the orthographical development of the reflexive prefix from -התת to -אתת is evident through the various periods of the Aramaic language.

In Old Aramaic, a Zenjirli inscription shows the prefixed -התת form for the passive, התנאכל (Bar.14).

A Nerab inscription which belongs to the later part

of this period gives the alternate reflexive prefixed forms, אתאחז (Ner.II:4), אתהמר (Ner.II:6).

In Imperial Aramaic, both alternate prefixed forms, -הת and -את are used. The former occurs five times as follows: התמלא (Aḥ.32), השתכח (Ezra 6:2), התנדבות (Ezra 7:16), התנכי (Ezra 5:1), התנדבו (Ezra 7:15).

On the other hand, the latter form is more commonly used in the Imperial Aramaic period: אתעשת (AP.30:23; 31:22), אתחדר (AP.34:3,4), אשתמיע (Aḥ.70), אתכנשו (Beh.1,4,8,10), אשתורין (AP.28:2), אשתכח (AP.27:2,13), אשתכחו (AP.34:4), אשתכחו (AP.34:2).

In Late Aramaic, the prefixed -את form is uniformly used for the reflexive stems: אכני [Na.(NSI)102:5],[1] אתחזי [Pa.(NSI)147i:7; 147iic:15,24,30,32], אתוער [Pa.(SI) 1:4]. Also the Targums have no exception in using regularly the prefixed -את form for the reflexive stems.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, however, both alternate forms are found. The prefixed -הת form is more frequently used for the reflexive stems as the following references show: השתכח (2:35; 6:24), התגזרת (2:34), השתכחת (5:11,12,14; 6:5,23), השתכחת (5:27), התמלי (3:19), התרחצו (3:28), הזמנתון (2:9), התכהלה (2:25; 3:24; 6:20), התקטלה (2:13),

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[1]This form is suggested as a contracted form of אתכני. Cf., Cook, North-Semitic Inscriptions, p.257 and Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, p.79n.

התחרך (3:27), התרממת (5:23).

Against these, the prefixed -את form is found in the following data for the reflexive stems: אתגזרת (Dan.2:45), אתכרית (7:15), אתעקרו (7:8), אשתנו (3:19), אתיעטו (6:8), אשתומם (4:16).

Unfortunately the references for the reflexive stems from the Old Aramaic period are not extensive enough for this study. So far as the available source data allow, however, the prefix -הת is used in the earliest period of Aramaic. From the later part of the Old Aramaic period, the prefix -את began to appear. And both forms are fully used for the reflexive stems in the Imperial Aramaic period. In the Late Aramaic period, the prefix -את became a rule and the alternate prefixed -הת form disappeared completely.

The Aramaic of Daniel used the archaic -הת form more frequently than Imperial Aramaic did. In this respect, the usage of the reflexive prefix form in the Aramaic of Daniel can be placed to the intermediate period between the Old and Imperial Aramaic periods.

The above comparative study of the usage of the prefixes and infixes for the causative and reflexive stems in the various stages of Aramaic gives the data summarized in the following table.

TABLE IX

PREFIXES AND INFIXES IN THE CAUSATIVE AND REFIEXIVE STEMS

Stems	Prefixes infixes	Occ. in Daniel	Occ. in Old Aram.	Occ. in Imp. Aram.	Occ. in Late Aram.
Causative (Perf. Imp.& Inf.)	-ה	80	23	70	1
	-א	3	-	2	31 & Tg.
Causative (Impf. & Part.)	-ה-	27	25	51	-
	---	17	5	15	31 & Tg.
Reflexive	-התת	18	1	5	-
	-את	6	2	14	7 & Tg.

A glimpse at this table reveals that the usage of verbal prefixes and infixes for the causative and reflexive stems in the Aramaic of Daniel is consonant with that of Old and Imperial Aramaic. The supposed archaic forms, such as the prefix -ה causative stem, the intervocalic unsyncopation, and the prefix -התת reflexive stems, in the Aramaic of Daniel are unknown forms to Late Aramaic. On the other hand, the supposed late forms which occur exceptionally in the Aramaic of Daniel are thoroughly attested in Old and Imperial Aramaic.

Then the most plausible conclusion from this study is to place the Aramaic of Daniel into the Imperial Aramaic period, so far as the usage of the morphemes in the causative and reflexive stems are concerned.

Furthermore, if present data on the reflexive prefix is further attested, it would suggest that the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to the earlier part of the Imperial Aramaic period.

II. PECULIAR VERB FORMS

Particularly in South Semitic, such as Arabic, the simple passive is formed by the inner vowel pattern in the perfect and the imperfect conjugation. This inner passive is developed even in Aramaic where the second vowel is lengthened and is usually represented by a full writing. The Pe'ʿl form is identical with that of the passive participle which suggests that the origin of the Pe'ʿl form came from the passive participle. A more valid suggestion, however, has been made by H. L. Creager in the following statement.

> The Peil forms were formerly supposed to be a special development of the Peal Passive Part.; but that they belong to a distinct and real Perf. tense of a passive conjugation is evident in Final Weak verbs, which have a Pass. Part. of the form עֲשֻׂא, Plu. עֲשׂוּן, and a Peil of the form גְּלִי, Plu. גְּלִיוּן; in all other verbs the 3ms Peil and the Masc. Sing. of the Pass. Part. coincide in form (the vocalization of the Peil was probably borrowed from, or at least influenced by, the Pass. Part.; the ground-form was probably פֻּעַל).[1]

Therefore, it is assumed that there were two verb systems to express the passive idea in the Pe'il and Ethpe'el

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[1] H. L. Creager, Grammar of the Biblical Aramaic (Mimeographed edition. No publisher. No date.), p.41.

stems. The development of their usages can be traced in the history of the Aramaic language. This phenomenon has been one of the clues for dating the Aramaic of Daniel.[1] This section is devoted to an examination of their development in the light of new source materials. It is noted that in this study, one of the difficulties is to distinguish the third masculine singular Pe'îl stem from the third masculine singular Pe'al form such as simple passive participle and Pe'al perfect intransitive verb in their consonantal texts. Their forms are determined by the context from time to time.

A. Usage of the Pe'îl stem. In Old Aramaic, there are no available examples for the simple inner passive perfect verb, which in this study will be called the Pe'îl stem. This fact, however, does not exclude the possibility that this stem was used. The exclusion of this possibility results in falling into the fallacy of the argument from silence, because of the lack of source data. On the other hand, the frequent uses of the imperfect simple passive stem

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[1]Rowley offered this clue for the late date of the Aramaic of Daniel (Cf., Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament, p.84), but W. H. Kimzey evaluated this for the earlier date of the Aramaic of Daniel in his thesis, " A Comparative study of the Peil forms in Biblical Aramaic, Elephantine Papyri, and Onkelos' Targums in their Grammatical and Critical Significance," (Unpublished Doctor's thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, 1956). His work has been a valuable aid for this section.

in Old Aramaic implies that the perfect stem might have been also used in this period.[1]

In Imperial Aramaic, the occurrences of the Pe'ʿl stem are as follows: יהיב (AP.17:3), פקיד (AP.37:6), קטיל (Aḥ.71), עביד (AP.6:3; 30:15,18; 31:14; Beh.52), שליח (AP.21:3; 26:6), שלם (Ezra 5:16), קרי (Ezra 4:18,23), שאילתם (AP.20:8), שאילת (AP.16:3; 45:3), קטילו (AP.30:17; 31:16), יהיבו (Ezra 5:14). Thus, in Imperial Aramaic, there are nineteen examples of the Pe'ʿl stem for the simple passive perfect idea in all three persons and in both numbers.

In Late Aramaic, two occurrences of the Pe'ʿl stem are found in the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions: עבידת [Na.(NSI)96:8], גלי [Pa.(NSI)147i:13]. Later, however, the Targumic Aramaic gives no examples of this stem.

On the other hand, the Aramaic of Daniel gives more frequent use of the Pe'ʿl stem for the simple passive sense as follows: יהיב (7:4,6,14,22), שליח (5:24), רשים (5:24; 6:11), טריד (4:30; 5:21), קטיל (5:30), גלי (2:19,20), נטילת (7:4), קטילת (7:11), יהיבת (5:28; 7:11,12,27), פריסת (5:28), שמת (6:18), תקילתה (5:27), כפתו (3:21), פתיחו (7:10),

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[1]In Old Aramaic, the occurrences of the imperfect simple passive stem are as follows: יגזר (Sf.IA:40,40), יחא (Sf.IA:42), יאסר (Sf.III:18), יקתל (Sf.III:18), תאמר (Sf.IA:33,36), תעבר (Sf.IA:38), תקח (Sf.IA:42), יתמר (Sf. IIC:3), יגזרן (Sf.IA:40), יערן (Sf.IA:41), יקחן (Sf.IA:42).

מריטו (7:4), רמיו (3:21; 7:9). Twenty-six occurrences[1] of the Pe'îl stem are found in the Aramaic of Daniel for the simple passive perfect.

Although there is no evidence of the perfect of the Pe'îl stem in the Old Aramaic period, the implication of its use can be logically assumed by the frequent usage of the imperfect passive forms in the Sefire inscriptions. Also, in the Imperial Aramaic period, the usage of the Pe'îl stem for the simple passive idea is very frequent. These facts indicate that the simple passive stem is definitely a valid part of the verb system in the earlier stages of Aramaic, and it is inflected the same as the suffix and prefix conjugations.

However, the usage of the simple imperfect passive stem had almost disappeared before the coming of the Imperial Aramaic period since there is only one occurrence of the form in this period.[2] On the other hand, the perfect passive stem continued to be used in the Imperial Aramaic period, but in the Late Aramaic period, even the Pe'îl stem almost disappeared.

In this respect, the frequent usage of the Pe'îl stem

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[1]Kimzey considers רִם (Dan.5:20) as a Pe'îl stem and counts the occurrences of the form to 27, but the verb (its subject is "his heart") is an intransitive verb. Therefore, it is a Pe'al perfect active stem.

[2]Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, pp.217,242. The word, ימנע occurs in Ah.136.

in the Aramaic of Daniel agrees fully with that of Imperial Aramaic. Furthermore, since the frequence of the usage of the stem in the Aramaic of Daniel was even greater than that in the Elephantine papyri, the Aramaic of Daniel would logically be placed prior to the Aramaic papyri in the earlier part of the Imperial Aramaic period.

This conclusion is supported strongly by the consideration of the relevant occurrences of the simple reflexive Ethpe'el stem to the Pe'îl stem in the following section.

B. Pe'îl stem and Ethpe'el stem. As has been noticed, the reflexive stem had primarily a reflexive force,[1] that later developed a passive use in Aramaic.[2] Therefore, there are two verbal systems, the Pe'îl and the Ethpe'el stems, to express simple passive in the Aramaic language. In the development of the language, the Pe'îl stem began to disappear gradually while the Ethpe'el stem gradually extended its meaning and use. In the following pages, the various source data will show the development of the usages of these stems.

Imperfect simple passive and Ethpe'el stems. In Old

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[1]The remnant of the reflexive meaning in the Ethpe'el stem can be found in the Aramaic of Daniel as follows: אתכרית (Dan.7:15), התרחצו (3:28), and הזמנתון (2:9).

[2]Creager, Grammar, p.42.

Aramaic, the inscriptional materials gave thirteen occurrences of the imperfect simple passive stem[1] to express the simple passive force, but they gave only five examples of the Ethpe'el stem as follows: יתמר (Had.10), יתשמע (Sf.IA:29), יתחט (Sf. IA:32), יתנשי (Sf.IIA:4), תתעבד (Sf.IC:7).

In Imperial Aramaic, there is only one occurrence of the imperfect simple passive stem, יתנע (Aḥ.136), but more than fifty-six occurrences of the Ethpe'el stem were used for the simple passive force in the imperfect tense as follows.

In AP: יתאלף (Aḥ.80), יתסר (Aḥ.80), יטענהי (Aḥ.91), יתידע (27:10), יתיהב (26:18,21,21), יתלקח (8:17), יתנגד (26: 4), יתנטר (Aḥ.160), יתשאר (11:9), יתעבד (16:9 plus 6 times), יתקטל (Aḥ.62,69), יתשבע (Aḥ.189), יתשמע (18:3), יתשלח (26:4 plus 3 times), יתבנה (30:27), יתחזי (21:9), יתקנה (Aḥ.196), יתשים (27:21; Aḥ.80), תתחלל (Aḥ.168), תתרוה (Aḥ.189), תשתנה (Aḥ.201), תתמלא (2:17; 10:11,17), יסתכלון (Aḥ.73), יתכסן (38:11).

In BMAP: יתנתן (11:4,5), יתשמע (7:41), אשתאר (12:6).

In Ezra: יתנסח (6:11), יתעבד (6:11,12; 7:21,23), יתשם (4:21), יתבנא (5:15; 6:3), יתמחא (6:11), תתיהב (6:4), תתבנא (4:13,16,21).

In Late Aramaic, there is no occurrence of any imperfect

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[1]Cf., p.124 of this work.

simple passive stem in the inscriptional materials or Targums.[1] However, the Ethpe'el stem for the passive idea is employed sixteen times as follows.

In Nabatean: יתקבר (NSI.87:5; 88:3; 94:5), יתילד (NSI.89:2), יתרהן (NSI.88:4), יתעבד (NSI.94:4), יתפצץ (NSI. 94:5), יתאלף (NSI.79:7), יתשנא (NSI.94:4), יתקברון (NSI.89:3; 90:2), יתקברון (NSI.85:4; 93:2).

In Palmyrene: יכתב (NSI.147i:8,8), יתבעא (NSI.147iib: 20). In the Targums, Onkelos gives 349 occurrences[2] of the Ethpe'el stem exclusively used to express the simple passive meaning.

No occurrence of any imperfect simple passive stem is found in the Aramaic of Daniel. However, the usage of the Ethpe'el for the passive force in the imperfect tense occurs thirteen times as follows: יתקרי (Dan.5:12), יתעבד (3:29), יתיהב (4:13), יתרמא (3:6,11; 6:8,13), יתזין (4:9), תשתבק (2: 44), תתעברון (2:5), יתשמון (2:5), יתיהבון (7:25), תתרמון (3: 15).

This demonstrates the development of the simple passive

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[1]Rowley pointed to one word, יכתב [Pa.(NSI)147i:8], as an imperfect passive stem, but a more probable solution is offered by Cook who regards it as an Ethpe'el in the analogy of the assimilation of ת in יזבן (Pa.(NSI)147iia:4) which is an Ethpa'el stem. Cf., Cook, North-Semitic Inscriptions, p.334.

[2]Kimzey, "A Comparative study of the Peil forms," pp.73-75.

verbal systems in Aramaic. Along with the use of the Ethpe'el stem for the passive voice, the old simple passive began to disappear. It had almost completely disappeared by the Imperial Aramaic period. In this respect, the usage of the imperfect simple passive stem in the Aramaic of Daniel agrees well with that of Imperial Aramaic as well as Late Aramaic.

Perfect Pe'îl and Ethpe'el stems. The development of both stems, the simple passive Pe'îl and simple reflexive Ethpe'el, in the perfect tense is similar to that in the imperfect tense. The Pe'îl stem, however, had lasted for a longer period than the imperfect simple passive stem. The following data demonstrates the development of their usages.

In Old Aramaic, no occurrence of the perfect of the Pe'îl stem can be found, but the perfect Ethpe'el stem occurred only once in the Nerab inscription, אתאחז (Ner.II:4).

In Imperial Aramaic, the Pe'îl stem occurs nineteen times,[1] but the perfect Ethpe'el stem is used sixteen times as follows: אתעשת (AP.30:23; 31:22), אשתמיע (Ah.70), התמלא (Ah.32), אשתורין (AP.28:2), אתחדו (AP.34:3,4), אתכנשו (Beh.1, 4,8,10), אשתכחו (AP.34:1,4), אשתכח (AP.27:2,13), השתכח (Ezra 6:2).

In Late Aramaic, there are only two words[2] of the

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[1] Cf., p.124 of this work.

[2] Cf., p.124 of this work.

perfect of the Pe'îl stem, but the perfect Ethpe'el stem occurs seven times in the inscriptions; אבנ[Na.(NSI)102:5], תרע(א) [Na.(SI)1:4], אתחז[Pa.(NSI)147i:7; 147iic:15,24,30, 32]. The Targum of Onkelos gives 279 occurrences[1] of the exclusive uses of the perfect Ethpe'el stem for the simple passive meaning.

The Aramaic of Daniel, however, gives some twenty-six occurrence of the perfect of the Pe'îl stem.[2] Against these, the uses of the perfect Ethpe'el stem for the simple passive are counted twelve times[3] as follows: השתכח (2:25; 6:24), התגזרת (2:34), אתגזרת (2:45), השתכחת (5:11,12,14; 6:5,23), השתכחת (5:27), התמלי (3:19), אתעקרו (7:8).

This comparison shows that the perfect Ethpe'el stem was about to surpass the archaic perfect simple passive Pe'îl stem for expressing the passive force during or after the Imperial Aramaic period in the development of the language. On the other hand, the use of the Pe'îl stem in the Imperial Aramaic began to decrease in the following centuries until it was not used at all by the Targumic period. Then the usage of the Ethpe'el stem replaced completely that of the old Pe'îl

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[1] Kimzey, "A Comparative study of the Peil forms," pp.85-87.

[2] Cf., p. 124f of this work.

[3] The words, אתכרית (Dan.7:15), התרחצו (Dan.3:28), הזמנתרן (Dan.2:9), preserved reflexive force rather than passive. They are not included in this counting.

stem to express the simple passive force in the perfect tense.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, the usage of the archaic Pe'ʿal stem for the simple passive has been well preserved. The data shows that the Aramaic of Daniel used the perfect Ethpe'el stem at the rate of one time for every two times of the Pe'ʿal stem. The usage of the perfect Ethpe'el stem in the Aramaic of Daniel is different from that of Late Aramaic, but similar to that of Imperial Aramaic.

The above comparative study on the simple passive and simple reflexive stems in the various stages of Aramaic can be summarized by the following table.

TABLE X

THE USAGES OF THE SIMPLE PASSIVE AND SIMPLE REFLEXIVE STEMS

Simple Passive Stem		Occ. in Daniel	Occ. in Old Aram.	Occ. in Imp. Aram.	Occ. in Late Aram.
Imperfect	Passive	-	13	1	-
	Ethpe'el	13	5	56	16 & 349 (Tg.)
Perfect	Pe'ʿal	26	0	19	2
	Ethpe'el	12	1	16	7 & 279 (Tg.)

The table demonstrates that the old simple passive stem in both imperfect and perfect tenses gradually disappeared from use. In the case of the imperfect, the simple passive stem disappeared prior to the Imperial Aramaic period. In the

case of the perfect, however, the Pe'îl stem disappeared prior to the Late Aramaic period.

Conversely, in both the imperfect and perfect tenses, the Ethpe'el stem had gradually replaced the archaic simple passive stem. In the imperfect tense, the replacement was completed prior to the Imperial Aramaic period, but in the perfect tense, the replacement was completed prior to the Late Aramaic period.

In the development of the simple passive verbal system, the usage of this stem in the Aramaic of Daniel agrees with that of Imperial Aramaic in both tenses. Furthermore, the higher frequency of the old Pe'îl stem and the lower frequency of the Ethpe'el stem used as a passive in the Aramaic of Daniel than in the Imperial Aramaic, would indicate that the Aramaic of Daniel is prior to the Fifth century B. C. Aramaic. In this respect, it is the most probable conclusion to place the Aramaic of Daniel into the intermediate periods of Old and Imperial Aramaic.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This research has been established by the comparison of the Aramaic in the book of Daniel with the ancient documents of the various periods of Aramaic phonetically and morphologically in order to place the Aramaic of Daniel among them.

The materials used in this study are sufficient due to their quality and quantity. Also thier dates represent the different periods of Aramaic.

In dealing with these materials, one must make a distinction between originals and copies. Undoubtedly the inscriptional materials and documental papyri are assumed to be originals due to their inscriptional and documental character. This is not true, however, for a literary work such as the book of Daniel and of Ezra. As living books it is inevitable for them to be handed on, and copied under influences of modernization of the text. Also it should not be surprising if they should be marked with occasional late forms due to the text's transmission. Therefore little weight can be attached to a few supposed late forms, but the retained archaic forms are the decisive factor as the criteria for dating the Aramaic of Daniel.

In a study of the evidence based on this principle,

this research examined the thirty-two forms of the phonetic variations and verbal morphemes which occurred in the Aramaic of Daniel. These thirty-two forms have been summarized with a brief chart in table XI, and explained as follows.

(1) In one out of five points on the phenomena of the phonetic shifts in the Aramaic language, the Aramaic of Daniel agrees with Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic; on three points, with Imperial Aramaic as well as Late Aramaic. On the last point, however, the Aramaic of Daniel used the late form. So far as this late form is limited to a certain few words, it is without serious significance in this study.[1]

(2) In two out of five points on the orthographical variations of the emphatic article and of the feminine absolute singular noun, the Aramaic of Daniel agrees with Old, Imperial, and Late Aramaic; three points, with Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic.

(3) In three out of seven points on the perfect suffixed forms examined, the Aramaic of Daniel agrees with Old, Imperial, and Late Aramaic; on two points, with imperial and Late Aramaic against Old Aramaic, but on two points, with Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic.

(4) In one out of eight points on the imperfect prefixed and suffixed forms, the Aramaic of Daniel agrees

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[1]Cf., pp.50-53 of this work.

with the Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic; on one point, with Imperial and Late Aramaic against Old Aramaic. On the rest of six points, the Aramaic of Daniel used the same forms which are identical throughout the various periods of Aramaic.

(5) On all three points of the causative and reflexive prefixed and infixed forms, the Aramaic of Daniel agrees with Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic.

(6) In two out of four points on the simple passive forms in Aramaic, the Aramaic of Daniel agrees with Imperial and Late Aramaic against Old Aramaic; on two points, with Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic.

All together, there is only one point which shows that the Aramaic of Daniel used one supposed late form out of the thirty-two points examined. On eight points, the Aramaic of Daniel agrees with Imperial and Late Aramaic against Old Aramaic, but on twelve points, with Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic. On the rest of eleven points, the Aramaic of Daniel used the forms which the Old, Imperial, and Late Aramaic used commonly.

Therefore, if the last common form be eliminated in count, this indicates that the Aramaic of Daniel consists of the forms of Old and Imperial Aramaic against Late Aramaic in the rate of 57.1%, and of Imperial and Late Aramaic against Old Aramaic in the rate of 38.09%, and of Late Aramaic against

TABLE XI

THE PLACEMENTS OF THE DANIELIC FORMS
IN THE PERIODS OF ARAMAIC

Various forms in Daniel	Old Aram. Period	Imp. Aram. Period	Late Aram. Period
The ש to ס shift	//////////	/////	
The צ to ט shift		//////////	//////////
The שׁ to ת shift		//////////	//////////
The ק to ע shift		//////////	//////////
The ו to ד shift		//////////	//////////
The termination of Emp.m.s.	//////////	//////////	
The termination of Emp.m.pl.	//////////	//////////	//////////
The termination of Emp.f.s.	//////////	//////////	
The termination of Emp.f.pl.	//////////	//////////	//////////
The termination of Abs.f.s.	//////////	//////////	
Perf. 3.f.s.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Perf. 2.m.s.	//////////	//////////	
Perf. 1.c.s.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Perf. 3.m.pl.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Perf. 3.f.pl.	//////////	//////////	
Perf. 2.m.pl.		//////////	//////////
Perf. 1.c.pl.		//////////	//////////
Imperf. 3.m.s.	//////////	//////////	
Imperf. 3.f.s.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Imperf. 2.m.s.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Imperf. 1.c.s.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Imperf. 3.m.pl.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Imperf. 3.f.pl.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Imperf. 2.m.pl.		//////////	//////////
Imperf. 1.c.pl.	//////////	//////////	//////////
Prefixed causative	//////////	//////////	
Infixed causative	//////////	//////////	
Prefixed reflexive	//////////	//////////	
Imperf. simple passive		//////////	//////////
Imperf. Ethpe'el		//////////	//////////
Perf. simple passive(Pe'îl)	//////////	//////////	
Perf. Ethpe'el	/////	/////	

Old and Imperial Aramaic in the rate of 4.8%, so far as the phonetic and morphological forms are concerned.

Although such figures are not conclusive, the comparative study shows, at least, that the Aramaic of Daniel has many affinities with the Imperial Aramaic as against the Late Aramaic. Rarely does the Late Aramaic agree with the Aramaic of Daniel against the Imperial Aramaic. Occasionally the Old Aramaic agrees with the Aramaic of Daniel partly against the Imperial Aramaic but fully against the Late Aramaic.

On the basis of the evidence on these points, there is no reason whatever to suggest that the Aramaic of Daniel was written in Late Aramaic. The Aramaic of Daniel is in full agreement with the Imperial Aramaic and has an affinity to the Old Aramaic. Therefore, the only possible conclusion from this study is that the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to the earlier part of the Imperial Aramaic period.

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APPENDIX

Hadad

(1) אנך · פנמו · בר · קרל · מלך · יאדי · זי · הקמת · נצב · זן · להדד · בעלמי (2) קמו ·
עמי · אלהו · הדד · ואל · ורשף · ורכבאל · ושמש · ונתן · בידי · הדד · ואל ·
(3) ורכבאל · ושמש · ורשף · חטר · חלבבה · וקם · עמי · רשף · פמז · אחז · (4) בידי ·
...] הא · פלח[..] · ומז · אשא[ל · מ]ן · אלהי · יתנו · לי · ושנם · חויו · (5) [
]ל[.] ארק · שערי · האל · (6) [א]רק · חטי · וארק שמי (7) וארק ·
[.....] אז · ב־רתא־־־מי ו[....] · יעבדו · ארק · וכרם · (8) שם · יש[בו ·
.....] ם/ן · פנמו · גם · ישבת · על · משב · אבי · ונתן · הדד · בידי (9) חטר · חל[בבה ·
.....]ת · חרב · ולשן · מן · בית · אבי · ובימי · גם · אכל · ושתה/א · יאדי (10) ובימי ·
יתמרב־[...]קי · לנצב · קירת · ולנצב · זררי · ולבני · כפירי · חלבבה · ־־יקח · (11) אש ·
רעיה · ויתר · הדד · ואל · ורכבאל · ושמש · וארקרשף · וכברו · נתנה · לי · ואמן · ־כעת
(12) בי · ובימי/ה · חלבב/ת־־ת־ יהב · לאלהי · ומת · יקחו · מן · ידי · ומה · אשאל · מן ·
אלהי · מת · יתר (13) לי · וארקו · ו[..]ב · קרל · אלהי · מת · פלו · נתן · הדד · מת ·
ל־־ת/כי · קרני · לבנא · ובחלבבתי (14) נתן · מת הד[ד ....] לבנא · פבנית · מת ·
ו[ה]קמת · נצב · הדד · זן · ומקם · פנמו · בר · קרל · מלך (15) יאדי · עם · נצב · חד־־
מן מן · בני · יאחז[· חט]ר · וישב · על · משבי · ויסעד · אברו · ויזבח (16) הדד · זן ־וי־־־־
נשי · ויזבח · ג/פ[...]ו/ם ב/ר/ע־ יזבח · הדד · ויזכר · אשם · הדד · או · (17) [.]א · פא ·
יאמר · [תא]כל · נבש · פנמו · עמך · ותש[תי ־נ]בש פנמו · עמך · עד · יזכר · נבש · פנמו · עם
(18) [.]־־־דד־[....] זבחה · זא · ־־־[...]י]רקי · בה · שי · להדד · ולאל · ולרכבאל ·
ולשמש (19) [.....]־־מ־־־־־[....]י · ק־זא · פב[..]ה · והושבת · בה · אלהי ·
ובחלבבתה · חנאת (20) [.....] · נתנו · לי · זרע · חבא [.....]י[..]אם [· מן מן] ·
בני · יאחז · חטר · וישב · על · משבי · מלך (21) על · יאדי · ויסעד · אברו · וי[ז]בח [· הדד ·
זן · ויזכ]ר · אשם · פנמו · יאמר · תאכל · נבש · פנמו (22) עם · הדד · ותשתי · נבש · פנמו ·
עם · הדד · הא · [.....]חהן · זבחה · ואל · ירקי · בה · ומז (23) ישאל · אל ·
יתן · לה · הדד · והדד · חרא · ליתכה [.....]־־[.. א]ל · יתן · לה · לאכל ·
ברגז (24) ושנה · למנע · מנה · בלילא · ודלח · נתן · ל[ה] ־־י[.....] איח
[..] מודדי · ־־־־[..]תי (25) יאחז · חטר · ביאד[י] · וישב · על · משבי · וימלך · ....
וישל]ח · ידה · בחרב · ב[....]י · או (26) [.....] חמס · אל · יהרג · או · ברגז · או ·
על · א[.]־־־־־־י · מומת · או · על · קשתה · או · על · אמרתה · (27) [.....]
חה · ירשי · שחת · באשר · חד · איחיה · או · באשר · חד · מודדיה · או · באשר · (28) חדה ·
איח[תה .....]ב · ירשי · שחת · יגנב · איחיה · זכרי · ויקם · ותה · במצעת · מת · ו/נ/כשה
(29) יאמר · אחכם · השחת · והנ[.....]מא · ידיה · לאלה · אבה · נשה · יאמר · הן · אם ·
שמת · אמרת · אל · בפם · (30) זר · אמר · קם · עיני · או · דלח · או · [.....]י · בפם ·
אנשי · צרי · פהנו · זכר · הא · לתגמרו · איחה (31) זכרו · פלכתשה · באבני · והנו · ־־[...
.....]רן · איחתה · פלכתשנה · באבני · והנו · לו · שחת · (32) באשרה · ותלעי · עינך ·
בא[.]ב/ר ב/ר־[.....] על · קשתה · או · על · גברתה · או · על · אמרתה · (33) או ·
על · נדבה · את · פא · ישרה · ־־[.]ר־־[.....]ו · תהרגה · בחמ[. · או ·] בחמא ·
או · (34) תחק · עליה · או · תאלב · אש · זר [· ל]הרגה · י[.....]־ו[.....
.....]

Panammu II

(1) נצב · זן · שם · ברוכב · לאבה · לפנמו · בר · ברצר · מלך · יאדי [....] שב · שנת [.]
קל [..] אבי · פנמו · ב[צד]ק (2) אבה · פלטוה · אלה · יאדי · מן · שחתה · אזה · הות ·
בבית · אבוה · וקם · אלה · הדד [...]ק[...] משבה · אל ו[..]ו[..]א[.] ושב[.]ו[.] שחת[...]
(3) בבית · אבה · והרג · אבה · ברצר · והרג · שבעי (7) איחי · אבה · ס־י · בעל · רכב ·
[ה]א · [....]בה · עלמ[..]א[..]ך · בעל · [....]חל מלך · פנמו · [....] (4) ויתרה · מת ·
מלא · מסגרת · והכבר · קירת · חרבת · מן · קירת · ישבת · ומ[.]נ[.....] ק [.....
.....] · ש[...]א · תשמ[ו(?)] (5) חרב · בביתי · ותהרגו · חד · בני · ואגם · הוית ·
חרב · בארק · יאדי · וחל[..]אל פנמו · בר · קרל · א[ב אב(?)] · אבי · [..]ם · ב[.]ר · אבד
[....] (6) שאה · ושורה · והטה · ושערה · וקם · פרס · בשקל · ושטרה · ־־ך · בשקל ·
ואסנב · משח · בשקל · ויבל · אבי · בר[....] · [..] (7) עד · מלך · אשור · ומלכה · על ·
בית · אבה · והרג · אבן · שחת · מן · בית · אבה [....] מן · אצר [· אלה] · ארק · יאדי · מן ·
ב[....] (8) ופשש · מסגרת · והרפי · שבי · יאדי · וקם · אבי · והרפי · נשי · ב־[.....] ·
[..]בא[.] · בית · קתילת · וקנואל [..]ב[..] (9) בית · אבה · והיטבה · מן · קדמתה · וכברת ·
חטה · ושערה · ושאה · ושורה · ביומיה · ואז · אכלת · ושת[ת ....] (10) [illegible]

וביומי · אבי · פנמו · שם · מת · בעלי · כפירי · ובעלי · ריכב · והושב · אבי · פנמו · במצעת ·
מלכי · כבר [. . . . א](11)בי · לו · בעל · כסף · הא · ולו · בעל · זהב · בחכמתה · ובצדקה ·
פי · אחז · בכנף · מראה · מלך · אשור · ר[. . . .] (12) אשור · פחי · ואהי · יאדי · וחנאה ·
מראה · מלך · אשור · על · מלכי · כבר · ברש[. . ורץ] (13) בגלגל · מראה · תגלתפלסר ·
מלך · אשור · מחנת · תק(?) · מן · מוקא · שמש · ועד · מערב · ו[מן] · [. . .] (14) ויבעתארק ·
ובנת · מוקא · שמש · יבל · מערב · ובנת · מערב · יבל · מו[קא · ש]מש · ואבי · [. . . .]
(15) גבלה · מראה · תגלתפלסר · מלך · אשור · קירת · מן · גבול · גרגם · [. . .]וי[.] · ואבי · פנמו ·
בר · ב[רצר · . .] (16) שמרג · וגם · מת · אבי · פנמו · בלגוי · מראה · תגלתפלסר · מלך ·
אשור · במחנת · גם [. . . .] (17) ובכיה · איחה · מלכו · ובכיתה · מחנת · מראה · מלך ·
אשור · כלה · ולקח · מראה · מלך · אשור [. . . .] (18) י · נבשה · והקם · לה · משכי ·
בארח · והעבר · אבי · מן · דמשק · לאשר · ביומי · שר[. . . .] (19) יה · ביתה · כלה ·
ואנך · בר(ר)כב · בר · פנמו · בצד]ק · אבי · ובצדקי · הושבני · מרא[י · . . .] (20) אבי ·
פנמו · בר · ברצר · ושמת · נצב · זן · [לאב]י · לפנמו · בר · ברצר · ומ[. .]ת · בט[. . .]
(21) ואמר · במשות · ועל · יבל · אמן · יס/המ/ב[. .] · מלך · [. . . . .] · ויבל · יו־א · קדם · קרב ·
אבי · פנמו · [. . .] (22) וזכר · זנה · הא · פא · הדד · ואל · ורכבאל · בעל · בית · ושמש ·
וכל · אלהי · יאדי [. . . .] (23) י · קדם · אלהי · וקדם · אנש ·

Bar-rekub

(1) אנה · ב[ר]רכב · (2) בר · פנמו · מלך · שמ(3)אל · עבד · תגלתפליסר · מרא ·
(4) רבעי · ארקא · בצדק · אבי · ובצד(5)קי · הושבני · מראי · רכבאל · (6) ומראי ·
תגלתפליסר · על · (7) כרסא · אבי · ובית · אבי · [ע](8)מל · מן · כל · ורצת · בגלגל ·
(9) מראי · מלך · אשור · במצע(10)ת · מלכן · רברבן · בעלי · כ(11)סף · ובעלי · זהב ·
ואחזת · (12) בית · אבי · והיטבתה · (13) מן · בית · חד · מלכן · רברב(14)ן · והתנאבו ·
אחי · מלכי(15)א · לכל · מה · טבת · ביתי · ו(16)בי · טב · לישה · לאבהי · מ(17)לכי · שמאל ·
הא · בית · כלמ(18)ו · להם · פהא · בית · שתוא · ל(19)הם · והא · בית · כיצא · ו(20)אנה ·
בנית · ביתא · זנה ·

Sefire I

A (1) עדי ברגאיה מלך כתך עם מתעאל בר עתרסמך מלך [ארפד וע](2)די בני
ברגאיה עם בני מתעאל ועדי בני בני ברגא[יה ועקר](3)ה עם עקר מתעאל בר
עתרסמך מלך ארפד ועדי כתך עם [עדי] (4) ארפד ועדי בעלי כתך עם עדי
בעלי ארפד ועדי הב[ר(?) . . . .] (5) ו עם ארם כלה ועם מצר ועם בנוה זי יסקן
באשר[ה] ו[עם מלכי(?)] (6) כל עלי ארם ותחתה ועם כל עלל בית מלך ו[צבא
עם ספרא(?) ז](7)נה שם ועדיא אלן ועדיא אלן זי גזר ברגא[יה קדם . . . . . .] (8) ומלש
וקדם מרדך וזרפנת וקדם נבא ות[שמת וקדם אר(א) ונש](9)ך וקדם נרגל ולץ וקדם
שמש ונר וקדם סן ונכל . . . . (?) וק](10)דם נכר וכדאה וקדם כל אלהי רחבה ואדמ[ה
וקדם הדד ה](11)לב וקדם סבת וקדם אל ועלין וקדם שמי[ן וארק וקדם צו](12)לה
ומעינן וקדם יום ולילה שהדן כל א[להי כתך ואלהי אר(13)פד(?)] פקחו עיניכם
לחזיה עדי ברגאיה [עם מתעאל מלך (14) ארפד] והן ישקר מתעאל בר עתרסמך
מל[ך ארפד לברגאי(15)ה מלך כתך וה]ן ישקר עקר מתעאל [לעקר ברגאיה . . .]
(16) [. . . . . והן ישקרן בני (בית)] גש כ־־[. . . . . .] (19-17) [Lücke]
(20) [ ]מן ימ[. . . . . .] (21) [. . . . . .] שאת ואל תהרי ושבע
[מהי]נקן ימשח[ן שדיהן ו](22)יהינקן עלים ואל ישבע ושבע ססיה יהינקן על ואל
יש[בע ושבע] (23) שורה יהינקן עגל ואל ישבע ושבע שאן יהינקן אמר ו[אל
יש](24)בע ושבע בכתה יהכן בשט לחם ואל יהרגן והן ישקר מתע[אל ⟨לברגאיה⟩
ול](25)ברה ולעקרה תהוי מלכתה כמלכת חל מלכת חלם זי ימלך אשר [יסך
ה](26)דד כלמה לחיה בארק ובשמין וכלמה עמל ויסך על ארפד [אבני ב(?)](27)רד
ושבע שנן יאכל ארבה ושבע שנן תאכל תולעה ושבע [שנן יס(?)](28)ק תוי על אפי
ארקה ואל יפק חצר וליתהזה ירק ולי[תחזה] (29) אחוה ואל יתשבע קל כנר
בארפד ובעמה המל מרק והמ[ון ל(?)](30)קה ויללה וישלחן אלהן מן כלמה אכל
בארפד ובעמה [יאכל פ](31)ם חוה ופם עקרב ופם דבהה ופם נמרה וסס וקמל
וא[ף יפלן(?)] (32) עלה קקבתן [יש]תחט לישמן אחוה ותהוי ארפד תל ל[רבק צי

ו(?)](33)צבי ושעל ארנב ושרן וצדה ו-- ועקה ואל תאמר קר[יתא הא ו](34)מדרא
ומרבה ומוה ומבלה ושרן ותואם וביתאל ובינן ו[....וא](35)רנה וחזו ואדם איך זי
תקד שעותא זא באש כן תקד ארפד ו[בנתה ר(?)](36)בת ויזרע בהן הדד מלח ושחלין
ואל תאמר גנבא זנה ו[.....] (37) מתעאל ונבשה הא איכה זי תקד שעותא זא
באש כן יקד מ[תעאל בא](38)ש ואיך זי תשבר קשתא וחציא אלן כן ישבר אנהת
והדד [קשת מתעאל] (39) וקשת רבוה ואיך זי יער גבר שעותא כן יער מתעא[ל
ואיך ז(40)י] יגזר עגלא זנה כן יגזר מתעאל ויגזרן רבוה [ואיך זי יע(?)(41)רר
ז]נ[ה(?)] כן יערר[ן נשי מתעאל ונשי עקרה ונשי ר[בוה ואיך ז(42)י תקח גברת שעותא
זא] וימחא על אפיה כן יקחן [נשי מתעאל ו] .....

B (עדי ברגאיה מלך כתך עם מתעאל בר עת)(1)[רסמך מלך אר]פד ועדי בני
ברגאיה עם בני מתעאל ועדי [ב(2)ני בני בר]גאיה עם עקר מתעאל ועם עקר כלמה
מלך זי (3) [יסק וימלך] באשרה ועם בני גש ועם בית אלל ועם אר(4)[ם כלה ועד]י
כתך עם עדי אדפד ועדי בעלי כתך עם ע(5)[די בעלי א]רפד ועם עמה ועדי אלהי
כתך עם עדי א(6)[להי ארפד ו]עדי אלהן הם זי שמו אלהן טב ימלך (7) [ברגאיה
לעל(?)]מן מלך רב ומע[די]א(?) אלן ...]ו שמין ועדיא (8) [אלן כל אלהיא] יצרן
ואל תשתק חדה מן מלי ספרא זנ(9)[ה ויתשמען מן(?)] -רקו ועד יאד[י(?) ו]בו מן לבנן
ועד יב (10) [.....]ק וערערו ומ--ו [ומ]ן בקעת ועד כתך (11) [.....
....ב]ית גש ועמה עם אשרתהם עדיא אל(12)[ן.....] יתה השכ- הוא--
במצר ומרבה (13) [.....]--דש -------תם למתעאל ב- (14) [.....
.....]- ו------למ--- ירב[.(15).....]-----ע-ש---
[.....] (20-16) [Lücke] (21) [.....] לביתכם ולישמע מתעאל [ולישמען
בנוה ולישמע עמ(22)ה ולישמע]ן כל מלכיא זי ימלכן בארפד ל-[.....
(23).....]-- לשמין(?) שקרתם לכל אלהי עדיא ז[י בספרא זנה והן (24) תשמען
ותש(?)]למן עדיא אלן ותאמר גבר עדן הא [אנה לאכהל לא(25)שלח ידי(?)]
בך וליכהל ברי [ל]ישלח יד בבר[ך] ועקרי בעק[רך והן מל(26)לה(?) ימלל] עלי
חד מלכן או חד שנאי ותאמר ל[כל]מה מלך מה ת[עבד(?) ויש(27)לח יד ב]ברי
ויקתלנה וישלח ידה ויקח מן ארקי או מן מקני ש[ק(28)רת בעד]יא זי בספרא זנה
והן יאתה חד מלכן ויסבן יאתה ח[ילך (29) אלי עם] כל [..] חציא וכל נאפ--כות
קפי קפי ותנת עליה [.... (30) .....]- ופגר ארבאם על פגר באר[פ]ד --- מן חד
מלך לאוין ומות (31) [.....]ם והן ביום זי אלהן ----- מרהיא לתאתה בחילך
וא(32)[תם לתא]תון בחילכם לשגב ב[י]תי [והן עק]ר[ך ל]יאתה לשגב אית עקר(33)[י
שקרת ל]אלהי עדיא זי בספרא זנה וחב--- יעפן עמי ואכהל מי (34) [ביר(?)....]ל
ובירא [ה]א כל זי יסב ליכ[הל ל]פרק ולמשלח יד במי בי(35)[רא ומלכ(?)]א זי
יעל וילקח לבכה או ח------ זי ילקח ---- בעה- (36) [.....ל]אבדת אנגדא--
מלהם --מ--כד בקרית אימאם והן להן שק(37)[רת בעדא ז]נה והן --ק- לי ---
לאכ-ל --- להמי -י- ונשא תשלח --א- (38) [.....]ם והן לתהב להמי ---[.]שא
לי לחם ולתסך שקרת בעדיא אלן (39) [.....]הל לתשא לחם אנה כאים יקם
לך ותבעה נבשך ותאזל - (40) [.....]תך ולביתך ינ-- זר א-- לנבשי [ולכ]ל
נבש ביתי ולט- (41) [.....] בה ברך וליגז---לה מלכי א[..] מנהם זי עדן
חי(42)[.....]ה---- טלל הא וסח הא ובל הא נתרחם לנבשך אמ-
(43) [.....]---------- כע-- עמך כן תגזר אפלא והן ------ (44) [.....
..]נק---- יעזז קלבת ביתי על---ל-ח-אי אקל---- (45) [.....]-----
פדיאכעלחבסרחי ויקחקח בהם ו-נת[ ]

C (1) כה אמרן [וכה כ(?)]תבן מה (2) כתבת א[נה מתע]אל לזכ(3)רן לברי [ולבר]
ברי ז(4)י יסקן ב[אשר]י לטבת(5)[א] יעבד[ו תחת] שמשא (6) [ל]ב[י]ת מ[לכתי(?)
ז]י כל לה(7)[יה לתתעבד על] בית מ(8)[תעאל וברה ובר] ברה ע[ד (9) עלם
.....]-ו-[..] [Lücke] (13-10) (14) [.....]מ--- (15) יצרו אלהן מן
יו(16)מה ומן ביתה ומן (17) ליצר מלי ספרא זי בנצבא זנה (18) ויאמר אהלד
מן מלו(19)ה או אהפך טבתא ואשם (20) [ל]לחית ביום זי יעב(21)[ד] כן יהפכו
אלהן אש(22)[א ה]א וביתה וכל זי [ב](23)ה וישמו תחתיתה [ל(24)ע]ליתה ואל ירת
שר(25)[ש]ה אשם

A
(1) [יהינקן על ואל ישבע ושבע שורה יהינקן עגל וא]ל ישבע ושבע
(2) [שאן יהינקן אמר ואל ישבע ושבע עון יהי]נקן גדה ואל יש
(3) [בע ושבע בכתה יזכן בשט לחם ואל יהרגן וזן יש]קר לברגאיה ול
(4) [ברה ולעקרה ותהי מלכתה כמלכת חלם ואשמה(?) י(?)]חנשי ויהוה קב
(5) [.....וש]בע שנן שית שב
(6) [.....וש]בע שנן ותהי [.]
(7) [.....]- בכל רברבי -
(8) [.....]-ואת-[....]- וארקה וצע
(9) [.....ויאכל] פם אריה ופם [..]- ופם נמר[ה] --
(10) [ ]--הו----פ[..]-ת--מ[...]
(11) [ ]אד----בדב[...]-----[...]
(12) [ ]-א וי בית---[..]-פ-נ-י
(13) [ ]--ון-נ---[...]-----
(14) [ ]---ל-צ---[....]---

.....

B
(1) [ ]----------[ ]
(2) עדיא וטבתא ז[י] עבדו אלהן ב[ארפד ובעמה(?) ולישמע מתעאל ו]
(2') ולישמען בנה
(3) לישמען ורבוה ולישמע עמה ולי[שמען כל מלכי ארפד.....]
(4) ים זי יעולן פהן תשמע נחת מ[.....ו]
(5) הן תאמר בנבשך ותעשת בלבבך[גבר עדן (הא) אנה ואשמע(?) לברגאיה(?)]
(6) ובנוה ועקרה פלאכזהל לאשלח י[ד(?) בך וברי בברך ועקרי בעקרך]
(7) ולחבזתהם ולאבדת אשמהם ו[הן יאמר מן חד בני אשב על כרסא]
(8) אבי ויבע ויזקן ויבעה ברי א[ית ראשי להמתתי ותאמר בנבשך י]
(9) קתל מן יקגל שקרתם לכל אלהי עדיא זי בספרא זנה.....]
(10) [..]-נך ובית גש ובית צלל ו[ ]
(11) [.....]--י ופגר --ך על פגר[ ]
(12) [.....]-י וביום חרן לכל [ ]
(13) -------- יאתה [א]ל ברי ובני בנ[יך]
(14) מן יד שנאיו ----ון שקרתם [בעדיא אלן .....]
(15) רבאב--כמי--- שמרובשק-[ ]
(16) ולאש יהונה הן יהונה בקר[ ]
(17) -להו-ה--- הן תבעה ולת-[שק]
(18) [ר]ת לכל [אלהי ע]דיא זי בספר[א זנה]
(19) [.]ליע[.....]לך יגבר עד --[ ]
(20) [.]הנ[.....] זי יעו מנך [ ]
(21) [.]-[.....]-----[ ]

.....

C
(1) [..... ומן י]א
(2) מה להלדת ספריא [א]לן מן ב
(3) תי אלהיא אן זי י[ר]שמן ו
(4) [י]אמר אהאבד ספר[י]א ולמ[ל]
(5) ן אזבד אית כתך ואית מלכ
(6) ה ויזחל הא מן לד ספר
(7) [י]א מן בתי אלהיא ויאמר ל
(8) זי לידע אנה אגר אגר ו[י]
(9) אמר לד[ת(?) ספ]ריא אלן מן בת
(10) י [א]להיא ובלחן עלב י[מת הא]
(11) ובנוה
(12) ----את--------מ-----
(13) [ישא(?)]ן כל אלה[י עד]יא זי בספרא
(14) [זנ]ה אית מתעאל וברה וברי ברה
(15) ועקרה וכל מלכי ארפד וכל רב
(16) וה ועמהם מן בתיהם ומן
(17) יומיהם

Sefire III

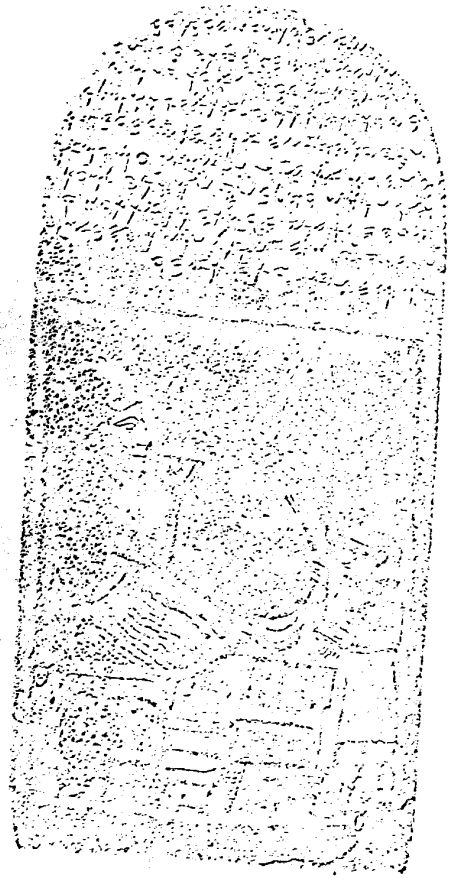
..... (וכל זי יאתה אליך) (1) או אל ברך (או
אל בר ברך) או אל עקרך או אל חד מלכי ארפד ו[מל]ל [ע]לי או על ברי או
על בר ברי או על עקרי כים כל גב(2)ר זי יבעה רוח אפוה וימלל מלן לחוית
לעלי[ל]תי(?) ותקח מליא מן ידה הסכר תהסכרהם בידי וב(3)רך יהסכר לברי
ועקרך יסכר לעקרי ועקר [כל מ]לכי ארפד יהטכרן לי מה טב בעיני אעבד להם
ו(4)הן להן שקרתם לכל אלהי עדיא זי בספרא [זנה] והן יקרק מני קרק חד פקדי
או חד אחי או חד (5) סרסי או חד עמא זי בידי ויהכן חלב להטלך ל]הם להם
ולתאמר להם שלו על אשרכם ולתהרם נ(6)בשהם מני רקה תרקהם ותהשבהם לי
והן לי[שב]ן בארקך ולקו שם על אהך אנה ואריקהם והן תהרם נבשה(7)ם מני
ותסך להם לחם ותאמר להם שבו לתחתכ[ם] ואל תפנו באשרה שקרתם בעדיא אלן
וכל מלכיא זי ס(8)חרתי או כל זי רחם הא לי ואשלח מלאכי א[ל]וה לשלח או לכל
חפצי או ישלח מלאכה אלי פתה(9)ה לי ארחא להמשל בי בוא ולתרשה לי על[ה
ו]הן להן ש[ק]רת בעדיא אלן והן מן חד אחי או מן חד בי(10)ת אבי או מן חד
בני או מן חד נגרי או מן חד [פ]קדי או מן חד עמיא זי בידי או מן חד שנאי
ו(11)יבעה ראשי להמתתי ולהמתת ברי ועקרי הן א[ת]י יקתלן את תאתה ותקם
דמי מן יד שנאי וברך יאתה (12)-יקם דם ברי מן שנאוה וכר ברך יאתה יקם דם
ב]ן ברי ועקרך יאתה יקם דם עקרי והן קריה הא נכה (13) תפוה בחרב והן
חד אחי הא או חד עבדי או [חד] פקדי או חד עמא זי בידי נכה תפה איה ועקרה
ושג/ר(14)בוה ומודזוה בחרב והן להן שקרת לכל אלהי ע]דיא זי בספרא זנה והן
יסק על לבבך ותשא על ש(15)פתיך להמותי ויסק על לבב בר ברך וישא על
שפתוה להמתת בר ברי או הן יסק על לבב עקרך (16) וישא על שפתוה להמתת
עקרי והן יסק על [ל]בב מלכי ארפד בכלמה זי ימות בר אנש שקרתם לכ(17)ל
אלהי עדיא זי בספרא זנה והן ירב בר[י] זי ישב על כה(?)סאי חד אזוה או יעברנה
לתשלח לש(18)נך בניהם ותאמר לה קתל אחך או אסרה ו[אל] תשריה [ו]הן רקה
תרקה בניהם ליקתל וליאסר (19) והן לתרקה בניהם שקרת בעדיא אלן ו[מ]לכן
[זי סהר]תי ויקרק קוקי אל חדהם ויקרק קו(20)קהם ויאתה אלי הן השב זי לי
אהשב [זי לה וא]ל תעשקני את והן לזן שקרת בעדיא א(21)לן ולתשלח לשן בביתי
ובני בני ובני א[זי ובני ע]קרי ובני עמי ותאמר להם קתלו מרא(22)כם וזי חלפה
כי לטב הא מך ויקם חד [דמי והן ת]עבד מרמת עלי או על בני או על עקר[י]
(23) [ש]קרתם לכל אלהי עדיא זי בספרא זנ[ה ותלאי]ם וכפריה ובעליה וגבלה
לאבי ול(24)[ביתה(?) עד] עלם וכוי חבוו אלהן בית [אבי הא ה]ות לאזרן וכעת
השבו אלהן שיבת בי(25)[ת אבי ורבה(?) בית] אבי ושבת תלאים ל[ברגא]ה ולברה
ולבר ברה ולעקרה עד עלם ו(26)[הן ירב ברי וירב בר ב]רי וירב עקרי [עם עקרך
ע]ל תלאים וכפריה ובעליה מן ישא (27) [.....מל]כי ארפד [.....
.....]לנה שקרת בעדיא אלן והן (28) [.....
.....] וישחדן כלמה מלך זי י(29)[.....
כלמה(?) זי שפר וכלמה זי ט[ב(?) ..] .....

Nerab I

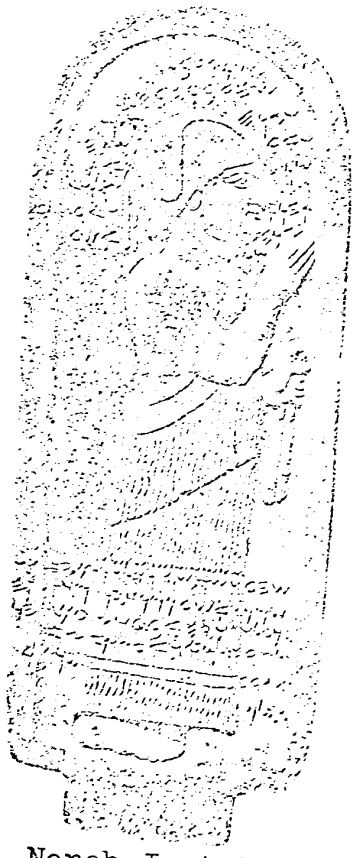
(1) שנורבן כמר (2) שהר בנרב מת (3) וזנה צלמה (4) וארצתה (5) מן את
(6) תהנס צלמא (7) זנה וארצתא (8) מן אשרה (9) שהר ושמש ונכל ונשך יסחו
(10) שמך ואשרך מן חין ומות לחה (11) יכטלוך ויהאבדו זרעך והן (12) תנצר
צלמא וארצתא זא (13) אחרת ינצר (14) זי לך

Nerab II

(1) שאובר כמר שהר בנרב (2) זנה צלמה בצדקתי קדמוה (3) שמני שם טב
והארך יומי (4) ביום מתת פמי לאתאחז מן מלן (5) ובעיני מחזה אנה בני רבע
בכוג(6)י והום אתהמו ולשמו עמי מאן (7) כסף ונחש עם לבשי שמוני למען
(8) לאחרה לתהנס ארצתי מן את העשק (9) ותהנסני שהר ונכל ונשך יהבאשו
(10) ממתתה ואחרתה תאבד

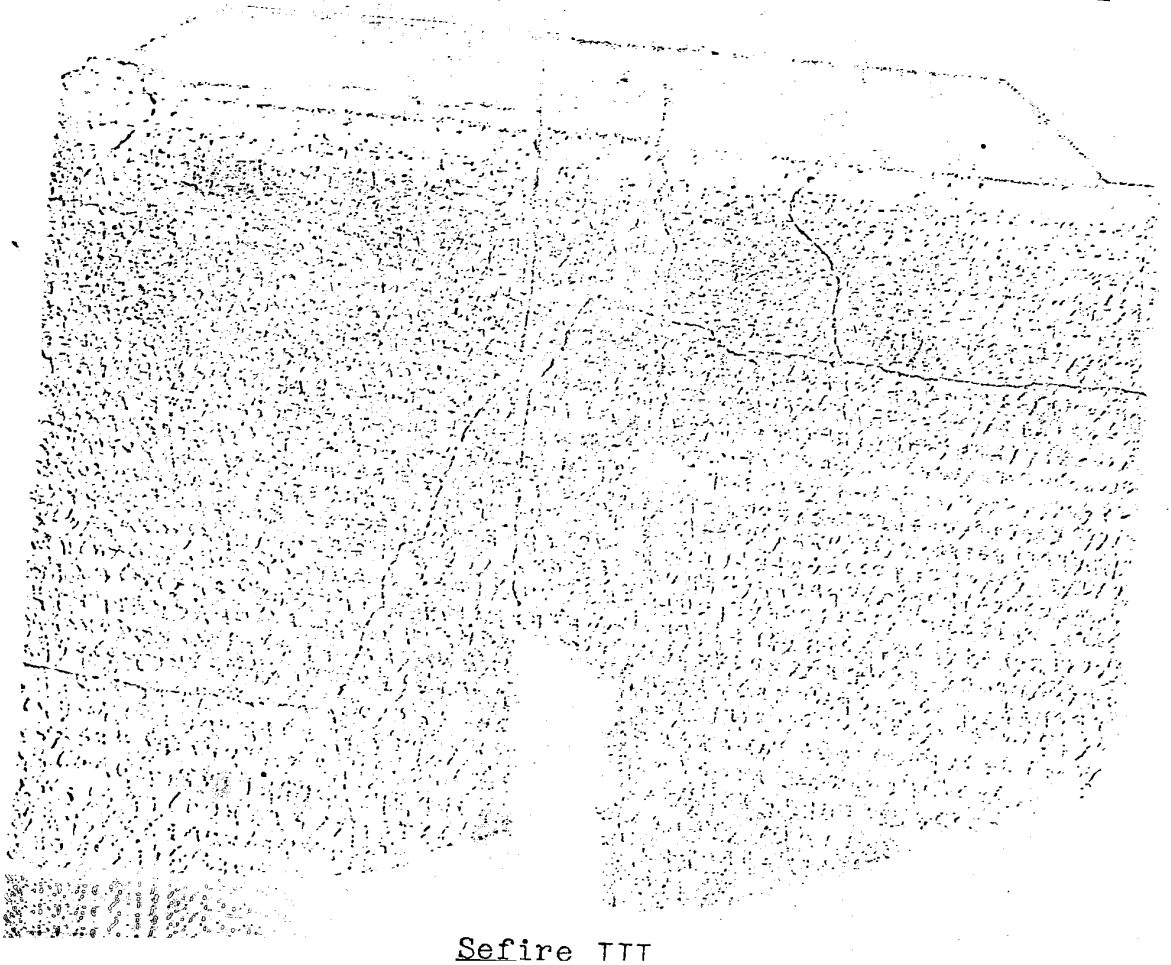


Nerab II stele



Nerab I stele

Sefire I



Sefire III