

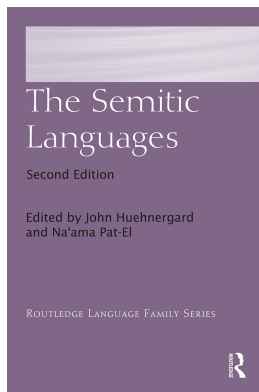
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SAMARITAN ARAMAIC

Christian Stadel

1 INTRODUCTION

Samaritan Aramaic belongs with the Jewish and Christian Palestinian Aramaic languages to the Late Western Aramaic dialect group within the Aramaic branch of Northwest Semitic. The Western Aramaic dialects are literary languages from the first centuries CE that are based on vernaculars spoken in different areas of Palestine. Immediate predecessors are unattested, but are rather to be sought in western Old Aramaic than in the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid Aramaic literary languages in use in Palestine from the 5th century BCE to the 1st century CE (viz. Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic). The ancestor of Western Neo-Aramaic (Chapter 24) also belonged to the Late Western Aramaic dialect group, and this affiliation is still borne out by shared lexical and morphological features (Stadel 2013).

Samaritan Aramaic was spoken by adherents of the Samaritan religion (a close sibling of Judaism) in the Samaritan hill country and adjacent areas (Map 23.1) during the 1st to 12th centuries CE, approximately. It replaced a Hebrew vernacular and after the Muslim conquest subsequently gave way to Arabic. The late, medieval literary language Hybrid Samaritan Hebrew still preserves Aramaic elements (Florentin 2005).



MAP 23.1 THE SAMARITAN ARAMAIC SPEECH AREA

The lifespan of the dialect can be divided into three phases. Only a few manuscripts with Aramaic translations of the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch, so-called Targums (Tal 1980–1983), reflect Early Samaritan Aramaic (1st–3rd c.). Presumably, the orthographic principles for writing the dialect were fixed during this time. Classical Samaritan Aramaic (4th–9th c.), the stage described in this chapter, is also attested in Targum manuscripts, as well as in the first two books of *Tibat Marqe* (Ben-Hayyim 1988), a collection of exegetical pieces, and in more than 60 liturgical poems, most of which are still recited by Samaritans today (Ben-Hayyim 1967: 41–121, 133–274). The latter are the only Samaritan Aramaic texts with a pronunciation tradition. Less than half a dozen short inscriptions can be dated to the classical phase. The dialect continued to be written as Late Samaritan Aramaic (Tal 2009) when the language was in decline and gradually gave way to Arabic (10th–12th c.).

There are no clear indications for distinct dialects of Samaritan Aramaic, but three genres are attested: only the exegetical texts contain narrative sections (intertwined with poetic pieces), the liturgical poems show constraints of rhyme and acrostic, and the Targum is a strictly literal translation of the Hebrew. The Targumic language represents a distinct register of Samaritan Aramaic (Stadel 2017b online).

2 WRITING SYSTEM

Samaritan Aramaic is written in the Samaritan script, which is also employed for Samaritan Hebrew and rarely Samaritan Arabic. It is an offshoot of the ancient Hebrew script, which was still used by the Samaritans (besides a form of the Aramaic square script) in a few inscriptions on Mt. Gerizim from ca. 3rd century BCE. The Samaritan alphabet has 22 graphemes and is first attested as a distinct script in epigraphic sources from the 3rd/4th century CE (Barag 2009). Subsequently, more ornate letter forms evolved. These are found in medieval manuscripts and are given in alphabetical order in Table 23.1.

Texts are written without spaces, with dots used as word dividers. The characters represent consonantal phonemes, except for four vowel letters, {ʔ, h, w, y} (and occasionally {h, ʕ}), which can indicate vowels, but not systematically. The letters {ʔ, h, h, ʕ} all represent /ʔ/ and can be used interchangeably. The digraphs {-wy} and {-yw} represent final /o/. Although Samaritans developed various systems of diacritics to indicate vowels, these were never systematized and their use is mainly restricted to Hebrew texts.

The principles of Samaritan Aramaic orthography were fixed at a relatively early date (presumably before the 4th century CE) and sometimes reveal the phonology of stages of the language that clearly precede the traditional pronunciation, e.g., in the use of {y} for historically long /i:/.

3 PHONOLOGY

This presentation of Samaritan Aramaic phonology takes as its starting point the traditional pronunciation of some 50 liturgical poems that are still regularly recited in the Samaritan community; examples from other texts are given in transliteration only. The IPA notation is adapted from Ben-Hayyim (1967), based on my own acquaintance with a limited number of recordings. The Samaritan Aramaic inventory of phonemes, phonotactics and morphophonology are almost identical with the pronunciation of Samaritan

TABLE 23.1 THE SAMARITAN SCRIPT

SIGN	NAME OF LETTER	TRANSLITERATION	REPRESENTS
𐤀	[ʔæ:'læ:'f]	ʔ	/ʔ/, /a/, /æ/
𐤁	[bi:t]	b	/b/, /f/
𐤂	[gæ:'mæ:'n]	g	/g/
𐤃	[dæ:'læ:'t]	d	/d/
𐤄	[ʔi:j]	h	/ʔ/, /a/, /æ/
𐤅	[ba:]	w	/o/, /b/, /w/
𐤆	[ze:n]	z	/z/
𐤇	[ʔi:t]	ḥ	/ʔ/, /ʕ/
𐤈	[tʕi:t]	t	/tʕ/
𐤉	[ju:t]	y	/j/, /i/, /e/
𐤊	[ka:f]	k	/k/
𐤋	[læ:'bæ:'t]	l	/l/
𐤌	[mi:m]	m	/m/
𐤍	[nu:n]	n	/n/
𐤎	[sin'ga:t, sin'ka:t]	s	/s/
𐤏	[ʔi:n]	ʕ	/ʔ/, /ʕ/
𐤐	[fi:]	p	/f/, /b/
𐤑	[sʕa:'di:j]	ʕ	/ʕ/
𐤒	[qu:f]	q	/q/
𐤓	[ri:j]	r	/r/
𐤔	[ʔæ:n]	š	/ʕ/
𐤕	[ta:f]	t	/t/

Hebrew (Ben-Hayyim 2000). Transcriptions into Arabic script and descriptions in medieval grammatical treatises prove that the Hebrew pronunciation has been stable since the 13th century CE (Ben-Hayyim 2000: 30–8), and presumably this holds true for the Aramaic as well. Nevertheless, the traditional pronunciation contains some clearly late features, and previous stages of Samaritan Aramaic phonology can be inferred from the grammatical treatises, from orthography and from internal reconstruction. Some reconstructed traits might have been in effect in the spoken language, and some might be proto-Samaritan Aramaic.

3.1 Consonants

Samaritan Aramaic has 20 consonantal phonemes (Table 23.2). In previous stages of Aramaic and until Middle Aramaic (around the turn of the first millennium) – the proto-Samaritan Aramaic stage – the 30 Proto-Semitic consonants had gradually been reduced to 22 by the following mergers:

- *θ, *t > /t/
- *ð, *d > /d/
- *θʔ, *tʔ > /tʕ/
- *lʕ, *y, *ʕ > /ʕ/
- *xʔ, *x, *ḥ > /ḥ/
- *l, *s > /s/

TABLE 23.2 CONSONANTS

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL-ALVEOLAR	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL-ALVEOLAR	VELAR	UVULAR	PHARYNGEAL	GLOTTAL
Stop	b		t d t[ʔ]			k g	q		ʔ
Fricative		f	s z s[ʔ]		ʃ[ʃ]			ħ	
Trill				[r]					
Nasal	m		n						
Approx.	w			l	j				

Two additional mergers, **ħ*, **ʕ* > /ʃ/ and **ħ*, **ʕ* > /ʔ/, produced the early Samaritan Aramaic stage, which is presumably reflected in the orthography (Tarshin 2017: 44–7). Later on **ʕ*, **ʔ* > /ʔ/, except in word-initial position with a following *a*-vowel: *ʕlmh* [ʃa:la:ma] ‘eternity’ but *l-ʕlmh* [l-a:la:ma] ‘for eternity’.

The phoneme /ʔ/ has allophones in the pronunciation tradition. If /ʔ/ is preceded and followed by vowels of the same quality, it is elided and an extra-long vowel emerges, e.g., *nħt* [næ:t] ‘he descended’; Initial /ʔ/ is also lost with the addition of proclitic elements to the word. If preceded by *a*-, *i*- or *u*-vowels, respectively, and followed by a vowel of a different quality, /ʔ/ is realized as [ʔ], [jj] or [ww], respectively, e.g., *yhb* [ja:ʔib] ‘giver’, *ʕqyhh* [ʔæʃqijja] ‘the one who is present’, *nʕwhh* [na:sʔwwa] ‘the victor’. In coda, /ʔ/ is elided and causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel, of the following consonant, or both, e.g., *nʔmn* [na:mɪn] ‘we shall believe’, *zʕt* [ze:rættæ] ‘you (MSG) sowed’, *ʕʕbd* [ʃe:bbod] ‘subordination’. The reflexes of original **p* and **b* hearken back to the post-vocalic fricative realization of stops that is characteristic of all Late Aramaic dialects from the first centuries CE. Today, **p* is always realized as [f], but **pp* as [bb], e.g., *nʔʕh* [næʃe] ‘his soul’, *mnpʕyn* [ʔæmnabba:ʃɪn] ‘they benefit’. But during the lifetime of Samaritan Aramaic, /p/ was probably pronounced [p] when geminated or following a consonant and [f] when post-vocalic. In medieval times, under the influence of the Arabic vernacular, which lacks [p], **p* > [f], but **pp* > [bb]. This late shift is rarely reflected in the orthography, which has mainly ⟨p⟩ for **p*. A post-vocalic fricative allophone [v] can also be inferred for original **b*. Most cases of [v] were subsequently shifted back to [b] under the influence of Arabic, which lacks [v], but the allophone [f] (< **v* < **b*) is still attested today, e.g., *b-qrbh* [ʔæf-qirba] ‘in proximity’, though it is not reflected in the orthography. The existence of fricative allophones for /t/ and /d/ (presumably [θ] and [ð]) can be deduced from medieval diacritical marks and Arabic transcriptions (Tal 2013: 26), but there is no evidence for the double pronunciation of /g/ and /k/. Possibly, the voiced-unvoiced distinction was at least partly given up with non-pharyngealized final stops and fricatives, as evinced by variant spellings such as *ħryd* ~ *ħryt* /ʔa:rid/ ‘incised’, *ʕsp* ~ *ʕsb* /ʔa:sap/ ‘earthenware’, *ħwd* ~ *ħwt* /lu:d/ ‘only’ or *tmwz* ~ *tmws* ‘Tammuz’. The phenomenon also shows in the letter names [ju:t], [læ:bæ:t], and [ta:f] (Vilsker 1981: 32).

During the lifetime of Samaritan Aramaic, original **w* was presumably realized as [v], like the fricative allophone of /b/. This situation is reflected in numerous spellings of **w* with (b), e.g., *kbth* ‘like him’. Under the influence of Arabic, **v* (< **w*) > /b/, as in today’s pronunciation *ka:ba:te*, though /w/ is sometimes preserved as a marginal phoneme after an *u*-vowel. /k/ might have been realized as palatalized [tʃ] or [kʲ] (as in the rural Arabic dialects of Samaria today), and the spelling ⟨k⟩ of the 2nd person suffix conjugation

endings in III-*j* verbs can also be interpreted as indicating palatalized [tʃ] (for */t/) after an *i*-vowel (Stadel 2015).

3.2 Vowels, syllable structure and stress

The pronunciation tradition attests to five vocalic phonemes: /i/, /e/, /æ/, /a/ and /o/ (Table 23.3).

Syllable structure determines vowel length: Short vowels appear in closed syllables (CvC), long vowels in open syllables (Cv:) – though they are realized as short in the ultima – and extra-long vowels in syllables that evolved from the elision of /ʔ/ (Cv:·, Cv:·C; v₁:· < *v₁:ʔv₁). The distinction between long and extra-long vowels is sometimes blurred. /o/ has the allophones [u:] and [u:·], /i/ and /e/ are not distinguished in a closed, unstressed ultima and are both realized as [ɪ]. /æ/ and /a/ are not always kept apart by the informants and the difference between the two phonemes is not consistently retained (e.g., [rabb] ~ [ræbb] in the sample text), but there are minimal pairs such as ʔn [ʔæn] ‘if’ and hn [ʔan] ‘grace’. Stress invariably falls on the penult, except when the ultima and penult merged with the elision of /ʔ/, e.g., d-nht [ʔæd-‘næ:t] ‘who descended’. The historical diphthongs **ay* and **aw* contracted to /e/ and /o/, respectively. Presumably, this happened early on in the history of Samaritan Aramaic, since unequivocal spellings of the diphthongs such as *ybnh* for /jawna/ ‘dove’ are very rare.

The inventory of vocalic phonemes and the stress pattern of proto-Samaritan Aramaic and of the early Samaritan Aramaic reflected in the orthography were demonstrably different in certain aspects from the traditional pronunciation. As in contemporaneous Aramaic dialects, short, unstressed vowels in open syllables were reduced to zero in proto-Samaritan Aramaic. Since this deletion also affected the penult, the stress pattern must have been different at this stage: **da'ki:r* > **'dki:r* ‘remembered’. The resulting consonant clusters were subsequently broken up by an anaptyctic *a*-vowel (less often *e*) or by prosthetic ʔæ-. The latter became part of the lexemes, was stressed in penultimate position, and is occasionally represented in writing: **'dki:r* > **ad'ki:r* > [ʔædkɪr] (ʔdkyr). In two-syllable nouns with initial **j*, the elision of the unstressed vowel resulted in *#jVC > *#jC > #ʔiC, e.g., ʔytm [ʔi:tam] ‘orphan’ (as against Samaritan Hebrew [je:tom]). Possibly, vowel length was still phonemic when orthographic principles were fixed: ⟨y⟩ represents historically long /i:/, irrespective of vowel length in the pronunciation, as in the homonyms tryd [tʰa:ɾɪd] (< *tari:d) ‘driven out’ vs. trd [tʰa:ɾɪd] (< *tɑ:ɾɪd) ‘driving out’. Similarly, the vowel letters ⟨ʔ⟩ and ⟨h⟩ usually mark historically long /a:/, as in the FPL.CST morpheme *-a:t (-ʔt) or (-ht) (and FPL.NCST *-a:n (-ʔn)) as against FSG.CST *-at (-t).

TABLE 23.3 VOWELS

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
Close	i		
Close-mid	e		o
		æ	
Open		a	

Some changes in the quality of short vowels in closed syllables affected the pronunciation during the lifetime of the dialect and previous stages are occasionally revealed in the orthography. In a number of monosyllabic words /i/ shifted to /æ/ (*CiC# > CæC#), e.g., *ʔin > [ʔæn] ‘if’, but the word is still spelled ʔyn in an epigraphic source (Stadel 2014: 168). The shift of short *o (< *u) > a in closed syllables had not yet occurred when exceptional spellings such as *ḥwršh* ‘forest’ (< *ḥurʃa) or *ḥwšnh* ‘breastplate’ (< *ḥuʃn; Samaritan Hebrew [ʔa:ʃin]) were produced. *CaC\$ > ‘CiC\$ is restricted to the penult of multi-syllable words and must postdate the fixation of penultimate stress, e.g., *ʕamadnan > [ʕæ:midnan] ‘we stood’.

4 MORPHOLOGY

Samaritan Aramaic morphology is rather conservative in comparison with contemporaneous Eastern Aramaic dialects. Wherever a form is unattested in the pronunciation tradition and cannot be reconstructed with reasonable certainty, only the transliteration is provided (except in verbal paradigms). The vocalization of some morphemes and nominal patterns may show secondary influence from Samaritan Hebrew.

4.1 Pronouns

Independent pronouns (Table 23.4) denote the subject, suffixed pronouns express a possessive or object relation.

The archaic 1PL variant *ʔnhnn* is restricted to the Targum. The spellings *ʔth* (as against *ʔr*; Tal 2000: 70) and *hwʔ/hyʔ* are also much more common in this text, presumably under Hebrew influence. Masculine pronouns are sometimes used instead of the 2FSG, 2FPL and 3FPL. Enclitic forms of the independent pronouns that consist only of the last syllable are attached to certain particles, e.g., *dw* [du:] (contraction of *d-ʔu:) ‘that he’, *ʔlyt* [ʔillittā] (contraction of *ʔin lit ʔatta) ‘if not you (MSG)’.

Possessive suffix pronouns (Table 23.5) are attached to the construct state of nouns. On MPL constructs that end in /i/, some suffixes have variant forms.

The 1SG suffix is not found on nouns denoting close relatives and was replaced by the definite form, e.g., *ʔb-h* father-DEF ‘my father’. The unique 2MPL suffix [-u:kon] is typical for proclitic prepositions and monosyllabic words, e.g., *l-wkwn* [l-u:kon] ‘for you’, *mn-wkwn* ‘from you’. The 3MSG suffix [-o] developed from a common Western Aramaic *-oj (< *o:hi:) already attested around the turn of the era at Qumran. The orthography -wy was fixed before the contraction of *oj# > [o#] in Samaritan Aramaic (the variant spelling -yw is of Hebrew origin). With monosyllabic primary nouns whose construct historically ended in an *u*-vowel, the suffix [-o] can also be spelled -h, as in *ʔbw-h* ~ *ʔb-yw* [ʔa:b-o] ‘his father’. The original /h/ of the 3MPL suffix [-on] (< *hon) was elided in the proto-Samaritan stage before the general weakening of the gutturals, as shown by the defective spelling -ywn for [-ijjon] on plural nouns.

The suffix pronouns used on constructs that end in a consonant also double as object pronouns on verbal forms (excluding the participle, for which see §5.3.2). In this function, the suffixes from Table 23.5 may be preceded by -n- [-inn-] ~ [-nn-] (a remnant of so-called *energicum* forms) or -t- (< *yāt, the direct object marker). Originally, the

TABLE 23.4 INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1C	<i>ʔnh</i> [ʔa:næ]	<i>ʔnn</i> [ʔa:nan]
2M	<i>ʔt</i> [ʔæt], <i>ʔth</i> [ʔatta]	<i>ʔtwn</i> [ʔætton]
2F	<i>ʔty</i> [ʔatti]	<i>ʔtyn</i> [ʔættin]
3M	<i>hw</i> [ʔu:]	<i>ʔnwn</i> [ʔinnon]
3F	<i>hy</i> [ʔi:]	<i>ʔnyn</i> [ʔinnin]

TABLE 23.5 POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

	SINGULAR SUFFIX, ON CONSTRUCT ENDING . . .		PLURAL SUFFIX, ON CONSTRUCT ENDING . . .	
	. . . IN CONSONANT	. . . IN /i/	. . . IN CONSONANT	. . . IN /i/
1C	-y [-i]	-y [-i]	-n [-an], -nn [-nan]	-ynn [-i:nan]
2M	-k [-ak]	-yk [-ik]	-kwn [-kon], -wkwn [-u:kon]	-ykwn [-i:kon]
2F	-yk [-ik]	-yk [-ik]	-kyn [-kin]	-ykyn [-i:kin]
3M	-h [-e]	-wy, -yw [-o]	-wn [-on]	-ywn [-ijjon]
3F	-h [-a]	-yh [-ijja]	-yn [-in]	-yyn

forms with the *-nn-* element were used on the prefix conjugation, the bare suffixes on the suffix conjugation and imperatives with a final consonant (including /ʔ/ < *h, h, ʕ), and the forms with *-t-* on any suffix conjugation or imperative form with a vocalic ending (Florentin 1991, Stadel 2011), e.g., *yšbh-n-h* [je:ʃæbbæ:ʔ-inn-e] ‘he will praise him’, *ʔwšt-h* [ʔu:ʃe:tʰ-a] ‘he extended it’, *ml-t-h* [ma:la:-t-e] ‘he filled it’. Gradually, analogical processes led to the breakdown of the system and in Late Samaritan Aramaic the various forms were in free variation.

4.2 Demonstratives

The form and syntax of proximal demonstratives differs according to text genre (Table 23.6). The Targum and clauses with a clear affinity to a biblical verse show more archaic forms (Stadel 2013: 41–3).

In the Targum, the adjectival use of forms with an initial *h-* and the head-demonstrative word order are probably due to Hebrew influence. In non-translational texts, the demonstrative precedes its nominal head (§5.2). The archaic [dæn] from the Targum survived in Classical Samaritan Aramaic only in a syntagm expressing reciprocity, e.g., *ʔmrw dn l-dn* [ʔa:ma:ru dæn æl-dæn] ‘they said to each other’.

There is no evidence for a different set of distal pronouns; The use of *hhwʔ* and *hhyʔ* in the Targum mimics the Hebrew. In non-translated text, the direct object marker [jæt] with cataphoric possessive pronouns precedes its head and functions as adjectival demonstrative, e.g., *y-t-h qdš-h* [ja:t-e qa:de:ʃ-a] OBJ-3MSG_i holiness(MSG)_i-DEF ‘this holiness’.

TABLE 23.6 DEMONSTRATIVES

	IN NON-TRANSLATIONAL TEXT	IN TARGUM	
		ADJECTIVAL USE	PRONOMINAL USE
MSG	<i>ʔhn</i> [ʔa:ʔm]	<i>hɔn</i>	<i>ɔn</i> [dæɪ]
FSG	<i>hdh</i> [ʔa:dæ]	<i>hdh</i> [ʔa:dæ]	<i>dh</i>
PL	<i>ʔlyn</i> [ʔa:lɪm]	<i>hʔlyn</i> [ʔa:lɪm]	<i>ʔlyn</i> [ʔa:lɪm]

4.3 Interrogatives

Most interrogatives are not inflected: *ʔmt* [ʔimmat] ‘when’, *ʔhn* [ʔa:n] ‘where’, *hk* [ʔik] ‘how’. The pair *mn* [mæn] ‘who’ and *mh* [ma:] ‘what’ distinguishes humans from other animates and inanimates. Presumably, the dialect had three interrogative pronouns, but only the MSG form is attested: *ʔydn* [ʔi:ɔm] ‘which (MSG)’ (cf. the demonstrative [dæɪ], §4.2). The basic interrogatives can be combined with prepositions, e.g., *k-mh* [ka:-ma] ‘how much’, *l-mh* and *m-mh* ‘why’ (the latter is restricted to the Targum).

4.4 Relative complementizer

Relative clauses are marked with the proclitic *d-* [ʔæd-] ~ [d-], a nominalizing particle sometimes written separately as *ʔd* in the Targum. When the interrogatives [mæn] ‘who’, [ma:] ‘what’, or [ʔa:n] ‘where’ serve as indefinite head of a relative clause, the complementizer can be missing (Stadel 2013: 53–4). In the Targum, and occasionally elsewhere, *h-* can mark a relative clause that opens with a participle. This feature is possibly a result of contact with Hebrew.

4.5 Nominals

Substantives and adjectives inflect for gender (M/F), number (SG/PL) and state. Gender is lexical and not predictable on substantives, but regular on adjectives (Table 23.7). State marks a noun as independent and indefinite (absolute = nonconstruct NCST), bound (construct: CST) or definite (DEF).

4.5.1 Inflection

The three feminine endings /-a/, /-i/, /-u/ (NCST) all show an additional /-t/ in the construct and emphatic states. Nouns with the *-u* ending are predictably of feminine gender. The MPL.NCST morpheme has a common variant [-im] *-ym*. Vowel length of construct endings changes when attached possessive suffixes alter syllabification; in the FSG, original short **a* is usually elided, e.g., *ʔbdɔwn* [ʔe:bidɔn] (< *ʔe.bi:dat + *-on*) ‘their work’. The extra-long vowel in the FPL morphemes is either a secondary spelling pronunciation of ⟨ʔ⟩ (for original */a:/; Macuch 1982: 124) or a deliberate attempt to maintain the distinction between the construct (without suffixes) and emphatic FSG and FPL forms that would have become homophonous once phonemic length was lost. Notably, the FPL absolute and emphatic morphemes attest to the variants [-an] and [-a:ta] (spelled defectively), respectively, which reflect the regular outcomes of original **-a.n* and

TABLE 23.7 NOMINAL STATES ([T⁶AB] ‘GOOD’)

	NONCONSTRUCT (ABSOLUTE)	CONSTRUCT	DEFINITE
MSG	[t ⁶ ab]	[t ⁶ ab]	[t ⁶ a:b-a] -h
FSG	[t ⁶ a:b-a] -h	[t ⁶ a:b-at] -t	[t ⁶ a:b-a:ta] -th
MPL	[t ⁶ a:b-in] -yn	[t ⁶ a:b-i] -y	[t ⁶ a:b-æjja] -yh
FPL	[t ⁶ a:b-a:n] -ʔn	[t ⁶ a:b-a:t] -ʔt	[t ⁶ a:b-a:ta] -ʔth

*-a:ta:, e.g., *ʔb-n* [t⁶a:b-an] ‘good ones (FP)’, *yld-th* [jild-a:ta] ‘the mothers’ (Tarshin 2017: 75–6).

4.5.2 Nominal patterns

Apart from a limited set of primary nouns, the morphology of nominals typically consists of a combination of a discontinuous triconsonantal root and a discontinuous pattern of vowels and consonant gemination, and sometimes prefixes or suffixes or both. Frequent patterns without affixes include $C_1a:C_2aC_3$, e.g., *ʔtr* [ʔa:tar] ‘place’, $C_1a:C_2oC_3$, typically indicating an agent noun, e.g., *yhw b* [ja:ʔob] ‘giver’, $C_1aC_2C_3$, e.g., *šlyt* [ʃallit⁶] ‘ruler’, $C_1iC_2oC_3$, e.g., *npwš* [nibboʃ] ‘relief’. The most common derivational prefixes are *mæ-* and *tæ-*, as in *m-ml* [mæ-mlal] ‘speech’ and *t-šnyq* [tæ-ʃniq] ‘affliction’, derivational suffixes include *-an* and *-on*, as in *zšwr-n* [zu:r-an] ‘little’ and *rhš-wn* [re:s⁶s-on] ‘refuge’.

4.5.3 Numerals

Cardinal numbers are substantives and precede the counted noun, except for the numeral ‘1’, which is adjectival and follows its head. Counted definite nouns of both genders are preceded either by the regular construct form of the masculine numeral (mainly in the Targum), e.g., *ʔlt-t ywm-yh* [ta:la:t-at ju:m-æjja] three.M-CST day(M)-PL.DEF ‘the three days’ vs. *ʔlt-t qry-ʔth* three.M-CST city(F)-PL.DEF ‘the three cities’, or by unique forms with an additional MPL.CST morpheme /-i/ as given in Table 23.8.

With definite nouns, only ‘2’ evinces gender distinction: M [ta:ri] but F [tærti]. The pronunciation [ʃæmfæ] ‘5’ differs from the Hebrew cognate and homograph [ʔe:miʃfæ]. The form ʔšš ‘9’ is unique to Samaritan Aramaic; it was probably pronounced *ʔæffie (< *ʔaθʃa < *tʃaʃ < *tiʃaʃ), assuming assimilation of the fricative allophone [θ] of the original /t/ to the following /ʃ/. Construct forms can be combined with the definite article or possessive suffixes, e.g., *trtyh* [tærtæjja] ‘the two’, *trykwn* ‘the two of you (MPL)’.

Numerals of the second decade combine the single number with ʃsry (M) or ʃsr (F) ‘10’ of the opposite gender, but gender agreement with the counted noun is not observed consistently. Contraction in the pronunciation of these numerals is frequently reflected in the orthography, e.g., *ʔrbʃsr* ‘14’, *hmfʃsr* ‘15’, *tmnsr* ‘18’. Tens are formed by adding the MPL morpheme [-in] to the ones, e.g., *ʔšty n* [ʔæʃtun] ‘60’, but ‘20’ is ʃsryn. Tens do not distinguish gender.

Ordinals from 3 to 10 combine the nominal pattern $C_1e:C_2iC_3$ with the *nisba*-ending -ʔy [-‘a:j], e.g., *štytʔy* [ʃe:ti:ta:j] ‘sixth’, *ʔšyʃy th* ‘the ninth (F)’, *qmʔy* [qam‘ma:j] (< *qadmay) is ‘first’ and *tnyʔn* [tinjan] ‘second’.

TABLE 23.8 CARDINAL NUMERALS

	WITH M NOUN	WITH F NOUN	WITH DEF NOUN
1	<i>ʔhd</i> [ʕæːd]	<i>hdh</i> [ʕæːda]	N/A
2	<i>tryn</i> [taːrɪn]	<i>trtyn</i> [tærtɪn]	<i>try</i> [taːri], <i>trty</i> [tærti]
3	<i>tlth</i> [taːlaːta]	<i>ltl</i> [taːlat]	<i>tlty</i> [taːlaːti]
4	<i>ʔrbʕh</i> [ʔærbæː]	<i>ʔrbʕ</i> [ʔærbæː]	<i>ʔrbʕty</i>
5	<i>hmʂh</i> [ʕæmʂæ]	<i>hmʂ</i>	<i>hmʂty</i>
6	<i>ʔsth</i> [ʔæʃtæ]	<i>ʂt</i> [ʃat]	<i>ʔstty</i> [ʔæʃtætti]
7	<i>ʂbʕh</i> [ʃaːbæː]	<i>ʂbʕ</i> [ʃaːbæː]	<i>ʂbʕty</i>
8	<i>tmnyh</i>	<i>tmny</i>	<i>tmnty</i>
9	<i>ʔʂʕh</i>	<i>ʔʂʕ</i>	<i>ʔʂʕty</i>
10	<i>ʕsrh</i> [ʕaːsaːra]	<i>ʕsr</i> [ʕaːsar]	<i>ʕsrty</i> [ʕaːsarti]

4.6 Verbs

Verbal forms combine a lexical root and a vocalic pattern that modifies the basic meaning of the root with inflectional morphemes to form four paradigms: suffix conjugation (SC), prefix conjugation (PC), imperative (IMP) and participle (PTCP). These mark tense, aspect and mood. Paradigms will be exemplified with the dummy root *q-t-l* ‘kill’. So-called weak roots that have one or more of the consonants /ʔ/, /w/ or /j/ as radicals or that have identical second and third radicals may exhibit different forms due to phonological processes; these will be mentioned only if they are extraordinary and not deducible from regular phonological rules.

4.6.1 Verbal stems

Samaritan Aramaic has a system of six verbal stems. In principle, the meaning of a stem is lexical for any given root, but the C stem is often the causative counterpart of the G stem (German *Grundstamm*, ‘basic stem’), and the t stems usually function as reflexive and/or passive counterparts of their primary stem (see Table 23.9).

Except for the G stem, each stem has a single, recurring vowel pattern for its base in all conjugations. D stem forms (German *Dopplungsstamm*, ‘geminated stem’) are characterized by gemination of the second radical, C stem forms by the prefix *ʔæ-*, and t stem forms by the infix *-t-*. In Gt and Dt stem forms, the *-t-* infix often assimilates to the following consonant (but not consistently so), except for /ʔ/ or sibilants (which exhibit metathesis), and might then be dropped in writing, e.g., *y-bʕʂ* [ji-bbaːliʃ] 3MSG-be.sought.after(Gt).PC ‘he will be sought after’, but *y-tʕbd* [jeːtæːbid] ‘it will be done’ and *y-stgd* [jistæːgɪd] ‘he shall be worshipped’. In roots II-j/w (and rarely C₁C₂C₃), the *quːhl* pattern is used instead of the regular D stem, e.g., *l-mpwggħ* [l-æmfuːgeːgɑ] ‘to relieve’.

4.6.2 Inflection of finite verbal forms

The suffix conjugation, prefix conjugation and imperative inflect for person, gender and number. In the SC and IMP, these are marked by suffixes, in the PC by a combination of prefixes and suffixes. The inflection will be exemplified on a G stem form, but the suffixes are the same in the derived stems, though the prefix vowel may vary from stem to stem.

TABLE 23.9 PRIMARY FORMS OF THE VERBAL STEMS

	<i>G STEM</i>	<i>D STEM</i>	<i>C STEM</i>	
Primary	SC	<i>qa:tal</i> , <i>ʔæqʔal</i> (qʔl)	<i>qaʔʔil</i> (qʔl)	<i>ʔæqʔil</i> (ʔqʔl)
	PC	<i>jiqʔal</i> (yqʔl)	<i>je:qæʔʔil</i> (yqʔl)	<i>jæqʔil</i> (yqʔl)
	IMP	<i>qe:ʔil</i> , <i>ʔiqʔal</i> (qʔl)	<i>qaʔʔil</i> (qʔl)	<i>ʔæqʔil</i> (ʔqʔl)
	PTCP	<i>qa:ʔil</i> (qʔl)	<i>ʔæmqæʔʔil</i> (mqʔl)	<i>mæqʔil</i> (mqʔl)
	PTCP PASS	<i>qa:ʔil</i> (qʔyl)	<i>ʔæmqæʔʔal</i> (mqʔl)	<i>mæqʔal</i> (mqʔl)
	INF	<i>mæqʔal</i> (mqʔl)	<i>ʔæmqæʔʔa:la</i> (mqʔlh)	<i>mæqʔa:la</i> (mqʔlh)
t stems: Ct, Dt, Ct	SC	<i>ʔiqqa:ʔil</i> (ʔqʔl), (ʔʔqʔl)	<i>ʔiqqaʔʔal</i> (ʔqʔl), (ʔʔqʔl)	<i>ʔittaqʔil</i> (ʔqʔl)
	PC	<i>jiqqa:ʔil</i> (yqʔl), (ytqʔl)	<i>jiqqaʔʔal</i> (yqʔl), (ytqʔl)	<i>jittaqʔil</i> (ytqʔl)
	IMP	<i>ʔiqqa:ʔil</i> (ʔqʔl), (ʔʔqʔl)	<i>ʔiqqaʔʔal</i> (ʔqʔl), (ʔʔqʔl)	<i>ʔittaqʔil</i> (ʔqʔl)
	PTCP	<i>miqqa:ʔil</i> (mqʔl), (mtqʔl)	<i>miqqaʔʔal</i> (mqʔl), (mtqʔl)	<i>mittaqʔil</i> (mtqʔl)
	INF	<i>miqqa:ʔa:la</i> (mqʔlh), (mtqʔlh)	<i>miqqaʔʔa:la</i> (mqʔlh), (mtqʔlh)	<i>mittaqʔa:la</i> (mtqʔlh)

TABLE 23.10 THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION

	<i>SINGULAR</i>	<i>PLURAL</i>
1C	<i>qa:ʔa:l-it</i> (-t)	<i>qa:ʔil-nan</i> (-nn)
2M	<i>qa:ʔal-ta</i> (-t)	<i>qa:ʔal-ton</i> (-twn)
2F	<i>qa:ʔal-ti</i> (-t)/(-ty)	<i>qa:ʔal-tin</i> (-tyn)
3M	<i>qa:ʔal-Ø</i>	<i>qa:ʔa:l-u</i> (-w)
3F	<i>qa:ʔa:l-at</i> (-t)	<i>qa:ʔa:l-i</i> (-y)

The sc (Table 23.10) usually expresses past tense, but it is also used as counterfactual conditional mood.

The vowel pattern of the sc base is predictable for derived stems, but in the G stem different patterns are attested for different lexemes. The most common patterns are *qa:ʔal-* and *ʔæqʔal-*, but other patterns are also found: *qa:ʔil-*, *qe:ʔal-* and *qe:ʔil-*, e.g., *dh̄l* [dæ:ʔil] ‘he was afraid’, *gml* [ge:mal] ‘he recompensed’, *qdm* [qe:d̄im] ‘he preceded’, respectively. The G stem base of either pattern does not normally change throughout the paradigm, but exceptional forms such as [sǣlq-i] ‘they (F) went up’ reveal different syllabification in proto-Samaritan Aramaic.

The final vowel of the 2MSG ending [-ta] is probably secondary (Florentin 1982: 6–7) and might reflect Hebrew influence. The /t/ suffix of all 2nd person endings is spelled (k) in forms from roots III-*j*, e.g., *th̄y-k* ‘you (MSG) lifted up’, *hwy-kwn* ‘you (MPL) were’, which are traditionally pronounced [ta:l-k] and [ʔa:bi:-kon], respectively, but the orthography might reflect palatalization ([tʃ] or [kʃ]; see §3.1). Some III-*j* roots attest to 3MSG forms that end in -w [-u], e.g., *ʔmtw* [ʔæmtʃu] ‘he arrived’. These forms are homophonous with the 3MPL and their origin is contested (Tarshin 2017: 263–4, Fassberg 2017).

The pc (Table 23.11) expresses future tense or nuances of deontic modality, including the negation of the imperative. It is also sometimes used as a subordinate verbal form.

The vowel pattern of the G stem is almost always *ji-CCaC* (*ji-qʔal* < **ja-qʔil*, **ji-qʔal*), but a rare variant *ja-qʔil* is also attested, e.g., *y-prs* [ja-fr̄is] ‘he shall spread out’. In late texts, the final /n/ of the 2FSG, 2MPL, and 3MPL endings is often not represented in writing,

TABLE 23.11 THE PREFIX CONJUGATION

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1C	<i>ʔi-qtal</i> ⟨ʔ-⟩	<i>ni-qtal</i> ⟨n-⟩
2M	<i>ti-qtal</i> ⟨t-⟩	<i>ti-qtal:l-on</i> ⟨t- . . . -wn⟩
2F	<i>ti-qtal:l-m</i> ⟨t- . . . -yn⟩	<i>ti-qtal:l-m</i> ⟨t- . . . -yn⟩
3M	<i>ji-qtal</i> ⟨y-⟩	<i>ji-qtal:l-on</i> ⟨y- . . . -wn⟩
3F	<i>ti-qtal</i> ⟨t-⟩	<i>ji-qtal:l-an</i> ⟨y- . . . -n⟩

TABLE 23.12 THE IMPERATIVE

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
M	<i>qe:tal</i>	<i>qe:tal:l-u</i> ⟨-w⟩
F	<i>qe:tal:l-i</i> ⟨-y⟩	* <i>qe:tal:l-an</i> ⟨-n⟩

e.g., *yml-l-w* ‘they will speak’ (instead of *yml-l-wn*), presumably reflecting leveling of the respective SC, IMP and PC endings.

Imperatives (Table 23.12) share their base with the PC, but lack the pronominal prefix. Imperatives exist only for 2nd person and inflect for gender and number. The consonant cluster in the G stem base *-qtal-* is resolved either by anaptyxis, e.g., *dbq* [de:baq] ‘redeem (MSG)’, or by a prosthetic *i*-vowel, e.g., *pšf* [ʔifʃatʔ] ‘extend (MSG)’, depending on the lexeme.

The G stem imperatives of roots I-*j* and I-*n* are derived from a biconsonantal base without the first radical, e.g., *hb* [ʔæb] ‘give (MSG)’ (*j-ʔ-b*), *tr* [tʔar] ‘watch (MSG)’ (*n-ʔ-r*).

4.6.3 Non-finite verbal forms

Samaritan Aramaic has two sets of non-finite verbal forms: active and passive participles and infinitives (see Table 23.9 for forms). Participles are adjectives and show a regular gender-number adjectival inflection (Table 23.7). All participles, whether definite or not, may be used as substantives. The absolute form of the active participle is also part of the verbal system and expresses present and sometimes future tense and functions as a subordinate verbal form.

In the G stem, the variant patterns *qa:tal* and *qa:tol* are occasionally attested. The latter, originally an agent noun, became part of the verbal system in Late Samaritan Aramaic, e.g., *nʔwr* [na:tʔor] ‘watcher’ > ‘(he) watches’. G stem participles of roots II-*j/w* usually have [ʔ] in lieu of the second radical, e.g., *sʕm* [sʕa:ʔim] ‘(he) fasts’.

The G, D and C stems attest to passive participles as well, which are not part of the verbal system and differ from their active counterparts in vocalization. The D and C stem passive participle forms are characterized by an *-a-* vowel after the second radical: *ʔæmqattal* and *mæqtal*, respectively, as opposed to an *-i-* for the active participle. Of the half a dozen patterns attested in the G stem, *qa:til*, *ʔæqtil* and *qe:til*, all spelled *qiyil*, are the most common.

In non-translated texts, the infinitive mainly functions as a complement. Infinitives all have an *m-* prefix, with different vocalic patterns in different stems. In the derived stems, all forms show the feminine ending /-a/. In the G stem, a by-form *maqtol* is attested, e.g.,

mḥkw̄m [mæ:kkom] ‘to know’; Similar forms in other Late Western Aramaic dialects have been connected to the stem vowel of the PC of the respective roots, but this explanation does not hold for Samaritan Aramaic, which attests to the stem vowels /a/ and /i/ only. In the D stem, the *qittol* pattern (originally designating a verbal noun) is also employed as infinitive, e.g., *l-qdwš-h* [ʔæl-qiddu:f-e] to-sanctifying.INF-3MSG ‘to sanctify him’.

4.7 Prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs

Samaritan Aramaic displays great variation in the forms of prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs. However, many forms are only attested in the Targum and are probably artificial formations, based on learned principles of translation technique and on Hebrew influence (Margain 1993).

Except for the primary and proclitic *l-* [ʔæl-] ~ [læ-] ‘to’, *b-* [ʔæf-] ~ [bæ-] ‘in’, *k-* [kæ-] ‘like’ and [mæn] ‘from’ (sometimes with assimilation of /n/, unlike in earlier Aramaic: *m-ṭwr syny* [mitʔ-ʔor si:ni] ‘from Mount Sinai’), most prepositions are grammaticalized nominals in the construct state, e.g., *ʔystr* ‘side’ > ‘beside’. *b-yd* ‘in hand’ > [bid] ‘by’ indicates the agent of a passive verbal form.

There is a limited number of primary conjugations like *ʔy* [ʔi:] ‘or’, *brn* [ba:ran] ‘but’ or *ʔp* [ʔaf] ‘also’. Subordinating conjunctions are formed by combining prepositions or interrogatives with the nominalizing particle *d-*, e.g., *btr d-* [ba:tar ʔæd-] ‘after’, *bgl d-* [ʔæfge:lal ʔæd-] ‘in order to’, *ʔmt d-* [ʔimmat ʔæd-] ‘when’. The particle *d-* assimilated to the final /d/ of [ʔæd] ‘so that’, which is therefore often simply spelled *ʔd*.

Common adverbs are *tmm* [tamman] ‘there’, *kdw* [kæddu] ‘now’, *ywmn* ‘today’, *lhwd* [lu:d] ‘only’, *šwy* [ʃe:bi] ‘immediately’ and *šryr* [ʃa:rɪr] ‘much, very’. The forms *ʔkh* [ʔa:kæ], originally ‘here’, and *ʔkhn*, originally ‘now’ or ‘thus’, are used interchangeably. *ʔth* ‘then’ and *ʔkh* ‘perhaps’ are Greek loan words.

5 SYNTAX

Aspects of morphosyntax that have been treated in §4 will not be repeated here.

5.1 Types of predication

There are two main predication types: verbal and nominal. In verbal predication (Example 1), a finite verbal form serves as predicate and its subject is encoded in verbal morphology. In nominal predication, a nominal (including the participle), adverb or prepositional phrase is the predicate, and a pronoun or noun serves as the subject. Adjectival predicates agree with their subjects in gender and number, but not in definiteness (Example 2).

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | <i>n-ptḥ</i>
[ni-ftæ
1PL-open.PC | <i>pmm-y-nn</i>
fe:ma:m-i:-nan]
mouth(M)-PL-1PL |
| | ‘We shall open our mouths’. | |
| 2 | <i>rhm-yh</i>
[re:mm-æjja
mercy(M)-PL.DEF | <i>prys-yn</i>
fa:ri:s-in]
spread.out.PTCP.PASS-MPL |
| | ‘The mercy is spread out’. | |

Nominal sentences are unmarked for tense, but past or future tense can be made explicit with a finite form of the root **h-w-y* ‘to be’.

Samaritan Aramaic has a negated existential particle (NEG.EXIST) that is used to express existence or possession (Example 3). The positive counterpart is found only in the Targum, where it mimics the underlying Hebrew.

- 3 *lyt* *l-n* *ʔp-ym* *l-mšbš*
 [lit l-an ʔæbb-ɪm ʔæl-mis^sbæ]
 NEG.EXIST for-1PL face(M)-PL to-shout.INF
 ‘We do not have the guts (literally: face) to shout’.

Apparent nominal sentences with a 3rd person pronoun between the subject and predicate are best interpreted as complex, cleft variants of the simple clause without the pronoun (Example 4). If the simple clause is verbal or has a participle predicate (Example 5), the original predication is nominalized by the particle *d-* (Stadel 2013: 27–8, 51). Unlike in other functions, singular pronouns in cleft sentences are often enclitic (§4.1).

- 4 *hywl-yn* *ʔnwn* *ʔnš-h*
 [ʕæjju:l-ɪm ʔinnon ʔe:na:f-æ]
 mighty-MPL.NCST 3MPL mankind(M)-DEF
 ‘Mighty it is, what men are’.
- 5 *ʔt-hw* *d-bry-k* *ʕlm-h*
 [ʔat'ta:ʔu ʔæd-ba:r-ɪk ʕa:la:m-a]
 2MSG-3MSG NMLZ-create.SC-2MSG world-DEF
 ‘It is you who created the world’.

5.2 Phrasal and sentential word order

Noun phrases generally have a Head-Dependent word order (Examples 6–9).

- 6 noun.CST – noun (construct phrase)
gʕwz-y *ʕlm-h*
 [gæ:ʔu:z-i ʕa:la:m-a]
 pass.PTCP-MPL.CST world-DEF
 ‘(Those) passing from the world’.
- 7 noun – adjective (gender, number and definiteness agreement)
b-ʔdrʕ *rm-h*
 [b-idra ra:m-a]
 with-arm(F) high-F
 ‘With a raised arm’.
- 8 noun – relative clause
ʔlh *d-brʔ-th*
 [ʔe:læ ʔæd-ba:ra:ta]
 god(MSG) REL-create.SC.3MSG-3FSG
 ‘God, who created it’.

9 noun – noun (apposition, no bound form)

yhwšʕ ngwd-h
 [je:ʔu:ʃæ na:gu:d-a]
 Joshua(MSG) leader(MSG)-DEF
 ‘Joshua, the leader’.

Regular exceptions occur in the collocation *nbyh rbh mšh* [nibya rabba mu:ʃi] ‘the great prophet Moses’, in which the apposition precedes its head, and with demonstratives (Example 10), which are normally positioned before the noun they modify (§4.2).

10 demonstrative – noun

ʔhn ywm-h
 [ʔa:ʔm ju:m-a]
 DEM.MSG day(MSG)-DEF
 ‘This day’.

On the clause level, unmarked word order differs slightly according to the type of predication but is generally VSO. In verbal clauses of narrative sections, the following order is most common: (temporal adjunct) – finite verb – independent subject – verbal complements – adjuncts (Example 11).

11 *šʕl-h d-ʕl-w lgw mn trh-h ʔmlʔ mdwr-h nhr*
 hour(FSG)-DEF NMLZ-enter.SC-3MPL into gate(MSG)-DEF be.filled.SC.3MSG house(MSG)-DEF light
 ‘When they entered the gate, the house was filled with light’.

With participles, the subject usually precedes the predicate, e.g.:

12 *ʔbh-n w-bn-ym mthnn-ym l-mlkw-t-k*
 [ʔa:ʔba:-n w-ba:n-im meta:ʔna:n-im ʔæl-ma:la:ku:t-ak]
 father(M)-PL and-son(M)-PL beg.PTCP-MPL to-kingdom(FSG)-2MSG
 ‘Fathers and sons beg for your kingdom’.

Except for the temporal adjunct in a verbal clause, fronted elements are marked for contrastive focus (Examples 13–14).

13 *mn-k hwʔ ʕlm-h w-lyd-k hwʔ mʕzr*
 [minn-ak ʔu: ʕa:la:m-a w-li:d-ak ʔu: mæ:ʔzar]
 from-2MSG 3MSG world(MSG)-DEF and-to-2MSG 3MSG return.PTCP.MSG
 ‘From you is the world, and to you it will return’.

14 *ʔpq-y mn-h w-ʔnh ʔ-pq ʕm-k*
 lead.out.SC.3MSG-1SG from-3MSG and-1SG 1SG-lead.out.PC people(MSG)-2MSG
 ‘He led me out from it, and as for me, I will lead out your people’.

5.3 Analytic constructions

Various analytic constructions are used to express aspect, future tense and simultaneity in the verbal system, to mark a pronominal direct object on participles and to replace the construct nominal phrase.

5.3.1 Analytic verbal constructions

Active participles can be combined with finite forms of the root **h-w-y* ‘to be’ to express habitual or frequentative aspect, e.g.:

- 15 *hw-w* *šmr-ym* *l-h*
 [ʔe:b-u ʃa:me:r-im l-e:]
 be.IMP-MPL keep.PTCP-MPL to-3MSG
 ‘Go on keeping it!’

Participle forms of three lexemes have begun to grammaticalize and may express future tense when combined with a subordinated verbal form: The passive participle *ʃtyd* [ʃæ:tid], literally ‘prepared’ (Example 16), and active participles of the roots *b-ʔ-y* (< **b-ʃ-y*) ‘to want’ (Example 17) and *ʔ-z-l* ‘to go’ (Example 18) (Stadel 2013: 138–9, 192–93).

- 16 *d-w* *ʃtyd* *krz*
 [d-u: ʃæ:tid ka:rɪz]
 REL-3MSG prepare.PTCP.PASS.MSG call.out.PTCP.MSG
 ‘That he is about to call out’.
- 17 *symh* *ʔnh* *bʃy* *mʃbd*
 sign(FSG) 1SG want.PTCP.MSG make.INF
 ‘A sign I shall make’.
- 18 *nʃwħ-h* *ʔzl* *mpq* *l-qrb-h*
 victor(MSG)-DEF go.PTCP.MSG go.out.INF to-war-DEF
 ‘The victor is going to go to war’.

In a limited number of examples, the active participle preceded by the preposition *mæn* ‘from’ expresses simultaneity (Stadel 2013: 147), e.g.:

- 19 *l-qnwm-h* *hwh* *mn* *ʃbd* *ʃwbd-yw*
 [ʔæ:l-qe:nu:m-e a:ba mæn ʃæ:bid ʔu:ba:d-o]
 to-self-3MSG be.SC.3MSG from make.PTCP.MSG deed.PL-3MSG
 ‘He was on his own when doing his deeds’.

5.3.2 Analytic pronominal object

Pronominal direct objects are usually not attached to participles, but rather require the preposition *l-*, e.g.:

- 20 *ʃmy* *l-h*
 [ʃæ:mi l-e:]
 see.PTCP.MSG to-3MSG
 ‘He sees it’.

The infix *-t-* that precedes object suffixes on some finite verbal forms (§4.1) originates from an analytic construction, which is occasionally still preserved in the orthography (Stadel 2011: 240).

5.3.3 Analytic genitive constructions

The dependency between two nouns that is marked by a construct head (§5.2) can also be expressed analytically by two constructions with the nominalizing particle *d-*. In the more common one, the first noun is in the emphatic state (Example 21), while in the other, it carries a cataphoric possessive pronoun that agrees with the second noun (Example 22).

- 21 *ktb-h* *d-mlk-h*
 [ʔæktɑ:b-a ʔæd-mælk-a]
 book-DEF NMLZ-king(MSG)-DEF
 ‘The book of the king’.
- 22 *ql-h* *d-nby-h*
 [qæ:l-e ʔæd-niby-a]
 voice-3MSG_i NMLZ-prophet(MSG)_i-DEF
 ‘The voice of the prophet’.

In Samaritan Aramaic, the construct phrase is the default. The choice of the analytic constructions is determined by the specificity and definiteness of their members (Stadel 2013: 79–86). The analytic constructions are not used with a pronominalized second member.

5.4 Subordination

Subordinated clauses are usually introduced by the nominalizing particle *d-* (for conjunctions see §4.7), e.g.:

- 23 *yhb-t* *l-h* *šm-y* *bdyl* *d-lʔ* *y-dhl*
 give.SC-1SG to-3MSG name-1SG so.that NMLZ-NEG 3MSG-be.afraid.PC
 ‘I gave him my name in order that he not be afraid’.

In relative clauses, the head is represented by a resumptive pronoun (Example 24), except when it functions as subject or direct object (Stadel 2013: 55–8).

- 24 *mlk-h* *d-ʔty-kwn* *b-šm-h*
 king(MSG)-DEF_i REL-come.SC-2MPL in-name-3MSG_i
 ‘The king in whose name you came’.

Indirect speech is also introduced by *d-* and can be interpreted as an object clause, while direct speech is not integrated into the matrix sentence syntactically (Stadel 2017a).

5.5 Negation

The particle *lʔ* [la:] negates final verbal forms. In most cases, it directly precedes the verb, e.g.:

- 25 *lʔ* *ʔnš-w*
 [la: ʔænʃ-u]
 NEG forget.SC-3MPL
 ‘They did not forget’.

In the Targum, negated 2nd person PC forms that express a negative command are occasionally spelled as one word, e.g., *l-tdhlwn* NEG-fear.PC.2MPL ‘don’t be afraid!’. Apparently, the orthography reflects contraction, and it could be interpreted as a reflex of the original negation particle *ʔal (see Chapter 3, §3.9).

Nominal clauses are negated with the negative existential particle *lit* (§5.1). Clauses with participle predicates take a medial position: (Example 26) *lit* is used only when an overt subject is present in the clause (subject pronouns are enclitic to the negation particle), otherwise (Example 27) the verbal negation *la:* is employed (Stadel 2013: 150–2).

- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 26 | <i>lyt-w</i>
[li:t-u
NEG.EXIST-3MSG | <i>dmy</i>
d:ami
resemble.PTCP.MSG | <i>l-mʔwr-yh</i>
ʔæl-ma:ʔu:t-æjja]
to-light-MPL.DEF |
| | ‘He does not resemble the lights’. | | |
| | | | |
| 27 | <i>nʔr</i>
[na:tʔar
guard(MSG) | <i>l-n</i>
l-an
for-1PL | <i>d-lʔ</i>
ʔæd-la
REL-NEG |
| | <i>mtʕmy</i>
me:ta:mmi]
be.seen.PTCP.MSG | ‘A guard for us who cannot be seen’. | |

dlʔ [ʔædla] and *blʔ* [ʔæbla] ‘without’ are used for nominal negation and precede the noun, e.g., *blʔ mzwn* [ʔæbla ma:zon] ‘without food’.

6 LEXICON

The core of the Samaritan Aramaic lexicon includes common Aramaic words. The dialect shares some distinctive Western Aramaic isoglosses with Jewish and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, e.g., the roots *ʕ-m-y* (< **h-m-y*) ‘to see’, *g-l-g* ‘to praise’, *p-s-q-l* ‘to make an agreement’, but also shows unique lexical traits, e.g., *ktv* ‘under’ or the root *t-l-m-s* ‘to create’ (< *t-l-m* ‘to knead’?). A number of Hebrew substrate words survive in the texts, e.g., *rbq* ‘young man’ (Rabbinic Hebrew /rawwɔq/), *ʔylm* ‘pillars’ (Biblical Hebrew /ʔe:li:m/, unattested in the Pentateuch and therefore no literary loan). More Hebrew terms are loan words, in particular from the religious sphere, e.g., [ʃu:far] ‘shofar’. Some 70 Greek loan words occur in the corpus, including adverbs and denominalized roots (Stadel and Shemesh 2018). Most are common to the Western Aramaic dialects, but some occur only in Samaritan Aramaic, e.g., *ʔzbys* ‘disgraceful’.

7 SAMPLE TEXT

Beginning of a liturgical poem by Amram Dare

Amram Dare (3rd/4th century CE) is traditionally seen as the earliest Samaritan Aramaic poet. This poem reflects an early stage in the Samaritan Aramaic poetic composition, without rhyme or acrostics. Lines usually consist of about four words.

<i>ʔlh</i>	<i>rb</i>	<i>w-lyt</i>	<i>kwt-h</i>	<i>qhl</i>	<i>rb</i>	<i>w-lyt</i>
[ʔe:læ	rabb	u-lit	ka:ba:t-e	qæ:l	rabb	u-lit]
god(MSG)	great(MSG)	and-NEG.EXIST	like-3MSG	congregation(MSG)	great(MSG)	and-NEG.EXIST

<i>dmy</i> [da:mi resemble.PTCP.MSG	<i>l-h</i> l-e: l to-3MSG	<i>nby</i> ne:bi prophet(MSG)	<i>rb</i> ræbb great(MSG)	<i>w-lyt</i> u-lit and-NEG.EXIST	<i>qʕm</i> qæ:m rise.PTCP.MSG	<i>kwt-h</i> ka:ba:t-e l] like-3MSG
<i>ʔzdmn-w</i> [ʔizda:ma:n-u gather.SC-3MPL	<i>ʕl</i> ʕæl on	<i>ʔwr</i> ʔ'or mount.CST	<i>syny</i> si:ni l Sinai	<i>ywm-h</i> ju:m-a day-DEF	<i>d-nht</i> ʔæd-'næ:t REL-descend.SC.3MSG	<i>ktb-h</i> ʔækta:b-a l] book(MSG)-DEF
<i>šry</i> [ʃa:ri begin.SC.3MSG	<i>šwpr-h</i> ʃu:fa:r-a shofar(MSG)-DEF	<i>krz</i> ka:raz l call.out.PTCP.MSG		<i>w-ql-h</i> w-qæ:l-e and-voice-3MSG	<i>d-nby-h</i> ʔæd-nibj-a] NMLZ-prophet(MSG)-DEF	
<i>mthyl</i> [me:tæ:jjal l intensify.PTCP.MSG	<i>w-ʔwb-h</i> w-ʔ'u:b-a and-good(MSG)-DEF	<i>ʔmr</i> ʔa:mar say.PTCP.MSG	<i>y-rwm</i> je:rom 3MSG-rise.PC	<i>nby</i> ne:bi l] prophet(MSG)		
<i>w-y-rby</i> [w-ji-rbi and-3MSG-be.great.PC	<i>nby-h</i> nibj-a prophet(MSG)-DEF	<i>w-y-špr</i> w-ji-ʃfar l and-3MSG-be.beautiful.PC		<i>w-y-qlʕ</i> w-ji-qlæ] and-3MSG-grow.PC		
<i>w-y-mty</i> [w-ji-mʔi and-3MSG-reach.PC	<i>l-ʕrpl-h</i> l-ærfill-a l to-mist-DEF	[. . .] [. . .] [. . .]	<i>ky-y</i> kæjj-i indeed-3MSG	<i>mksy</i> ʔæmkæssi cover.PTCP.PASS.MSG	<i>b-ʕnn-h</i> b-a:na:n-a l] in-cloud-DEF	
<i>w-ʔp-yw</i> [w-æbb-o and-face(MPL)-3MSG	<i>mlbš-yn</i> mælba:ʃ-in vest.PTCP.PASS-MPL	<i>b-qrn</i> ʔæf-qa:ran in-beam.CST	<i>ʔwr-h</i> ʔu:r-a l light-DEF	<i>ʕd</i> ʕæd so.that	<i>y-dʕ-n</i> ji-d'dæ: -n] 3-know.PC-FP	
<i>kl</i> [kæl all.CST	<i>ʔm-yh</i> ʔæmm-æjja l nation(F)-PL.DEF	<i>ʔn</i> ʔæn that	<i>mšh</i> mu:ʃi Moses	<i>ʕbd-h</i> ʕæbd-e servant-3MSG	<i>d-ʔlh</i> d-e:læ NMLZ-god(MSG)	<i>w-mhymn-h</i> w-mi: me:n-a l] and-believe.PTCP.MSG-DEF
<i>ʔdkyr-h</i> [ʔædkɪ:r-a remember.PTCP.PASS-FSG	<i>hy</i> ʔi: 3FSG	<i>l-ʔb</i> ʔæl-ʔ'ab for-good	<i>ywkbđ</i> ju:ka:bid l Jochebed	<i>gpn-h</i> gafn-a vine(F)-DEF	<i>dky-th</i> ʔædkɪ:-ta] be.pure.PTCP.PASS-FSG.DEF	
<i>qdyš-th</i> [qæddɪʃ-ta l holy-FSG.DEF	<i>d-ʔhlyn</i> d-a:lɪm REL-DEM.PL	<i>nkl-yh</i> ʔænka:l-æjja bunch.of.grapes-MPL.DEF	<i>mn-h</i> minn-a l from-3FSG	<i>ʔhd-h</i> ʕæ:d-a one-F	<i>nby-h</i> ne:bijj-a] prophet-FSG.NCST	
<i>w-ʔhd</i> [w-æ:d and-one(M)	<i>khn</i> ka:ʔm l priest(M)	<i>w-ʔhd</i> w-æ:d and-one(M)	<i>ʔlhym</i> ʔe:luwwim god(M)	<i>l-mšrʔy</i> ʔæl-mis'ra:ʔi l] for-Egyptian.MPL.DEF		

‘A great god, and there is no one like him,
a great congregation, and there is none resembling it,
a great prophet, and no one like him rises up:
They gathered on Mount Sinai,
the day that the Book descended.
The shofar began to call out,
and the voice of the prophet intensifies.
The Good says: “A prophet shall rise!”

And the prophet will be great and beautiful,
and he will grow and reach the Divine Presence (literally: mist).
[. . .]
Indeed, he is covered in the cloud,
and his face is vested with the beam of light,
so that all nations may know that Moses is the servant of God and the believer.

Remembered for good be Jochebed,
the pure and holy vine,
that these are her grapes:
One prophetess and one priest,
and one god for the Egyptians.’

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