Edition 1.2

15 December 2011

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History of the Ancient and Modern Hebrew Language

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Excursus 2

Evolution of Pronunciation and Stress Patterns

(See also *Biblical Hebrew Poetry and Word Play - Reconstructing the Original Oral, Aural and Visual Experience*)

Box 21 - The Nature of Stress in Ancient and Israeli Hebrew and MSA

"…The term *stress* is applied to the phonetic elevation of the voice, although, strictly speaking, the (Biblical) Hebrew stress, unlike that in ancient Greek and Latin, refers rather to more forceful articulation than higher musical pitch, the latter being a secondary element as in Modern Greek, Vulgar Latin… English, Italian etc. That **the (Biblical) Hebrew stress is essentially a prominence of intensity or force of articulation is manifest in its effects on the vocalisation. In contrast, the contemporary Israeli pronunciation of Hebrew is characterised by a musical pitch accent**."
Quoted from Joüon-Muraoka 1991 § 15a

"Stress and syllabification are closely related in Hebrew, as in many languages .... In Biblical Hebrew pitch had no phonemic function, and expiratory stress prevailed... As its results make clear, stress was strongly centralizing (i.e., it used up most of the breath in the pronunciation of the stressed syllables). Accordingly, other syllables became blurred and were shortened."
Quoted from Blau 2010 §2.9.

Among those who have studied stress, there is no single acceptable definition of what it is and what acoustic parameters may contribute to it. This paper focuses on the dynamic, rhythmic distribution of stress on the

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Box 21 - The Nature of Stress in Ancient and Israeli Hebrew and MSA

phrase level in Arabic. It attempts to determine which of the **three acoustic properties intensity, frequency, and duration** contributes most to the stressed syllable in an utterance. It also tries to ascertain whether these properties function collectively or individually....

Intensity is an acoustic property that corresponds to loudness. According to Ladefoged (1993:187), "intensity is proportional to the average size, or ampli- tude, of the variations and air pressure." Different phonetic segments differ in sonority. Vowels within the syllable structure normally receive higher sonority than consonants; in particular, long and open vowels are the most sonorous and thus affect both the syllable type and structure in an utterance....

Frequency is an acoustic feature of sound that correlates with pitch and is measured in hertz (Hz). The pitch of a sound can be high or low, depending primarily on the vibration of the vocal cords. The vocal cords complete a cycle of closing and opening that depends on the varia- tion in air pressure that occurs in one second (Cruttenden 1986:1-8; Ladefoged 1993:186-87)....

The duration of a sound may affect the prominence of a syllable. In Arabic, all vowels may occur in either short or long forms; length is phonemic and is indicated in the transcription by a double vowel. At the same time, all of the consonants in Arabic may occur in either single or [geminated](#) forms. Accordingly, length for vowels and gemination for consonants are contrastive and phonemic. Vowels can only occur medially and finally, since no syllable or word in Arabic can have an initial vowel. Geminate consonants also occur in medial and final position. Consequently, a word or a syllable can start only with a single consonant. In addition, consonant clusters with a maximum of two members occur medially or finally....

The tentative results obtained from the analysis of the two production experiments ... prove that the placement of stress is on the long syllable, CVV, initially or medially.... The intensity, frequency, and duration measurements of each of the 1,540 syllables tested form the basis of these results. **The intensity measurements contributed the most to this conclusion**, since they are more directly associated with loudness, which is one feature that results in the relative prominence of a syllable in an utterance. The duration measurements support the positive results obtained from the intensity measurements....

Quoted from [Al Ani 1992](#)

Box 22 - The Independent Pronouns in *EBHP and Colloquial Arabic Dialects[1]

"In its system of pronouns, Hebrew discloses, for a number of persons, two allomorphs - one terminating in a vowel, the other with a consonant.

Person	Independent Pronouns in *EBHP	
	Allomorph Originally Ending with a Short Vowel which may have been Elided	Allomorph Ending with a Long Vowel
2 *ms.*	את /ˈʾatta/ **>** /ˈʾat(t)/ [2]	אתה /ˈʾattaː/[3]
2 *fs.*	את /ˈʾatti/ > /ˈʾat(t)/	אתי /ˈʾattiː/[4]
3 *ms.*	הוא /ˈhuʾa/ > /ˈhuʾ/ > /ˈhû/	הואה /ˈhuʾaː/[5]
3 *fs.*	היא /ˈhiʾa/ > /ˈhiʾ/ > /ˈhî/	היאה /ˈhiʾaː/[6]
2 *mp.*	אתם /ʾatˈtima/ > /ʾatˈtim/	אתמה /ʾatˈtimaː/[7]
2 *fp.*	אתן /ʾatˈtinna/ > /ʾatˈtin(n)/	אתנה /ʾatˈtinnaː/[8]
3 *mp.*	הם /ˈhimma/ **>** /ˈhim(m)/	המה /ˈhimmaː/
3 *fp.*	הן /ˈhinna/ > /ˈhin(n)/ [9]	הנה /ˈhinnaː/

A somewhat similar picture obtains in the pronominal systems of Arabic dialects. To exemplify the lines of resemblance, we shall here present the pronominal systems of some dialects in the Syro-Israeli area.

Box 22 - The Independent Pronouns in *EBHP and [Colloquial Arabic](#) Dialects[1]

Person	Urban Dialects		Rural Dialects	
	Damascus	Bišmizzīn (Lebanon)	Hōrān	Bīr Zēt
1 *cs.*	ʾana	ʾana	ani	ana
2 *ms.*	ʾənte	ʾinti, ʾint	ənte, ənt	inte, int
2 *fs.*	ʾənti	ʾinti	ənti	inti
3 *ms.*	hūwe	huwwi, hū	hū, hūwa	hū
3 *fs.*	hiye	hiyyi, hī	hī, hīye	hī
1 *cp.*	nəḥna	niḥna	əḥne, əḥna	iḥna
2 *mp.*	ʾəntu	ʾintu	əntu	intu
2 *fp.*			əntenn	intin
3 *mp.*	henne	hinni, hin	huMM, huMMa	him
3 *fp.*			henn, henne	hin

The following points are worthwhile noting;

(a) the preservation, from a historical point of view, of the final vowel in the 2nd pers. masc. sing.: Hebrew *ʾatta*, Arabic dialects *inte* (and variants).

(b) in the Hebrew forms for the 3rd pers. mast. and fem. sing. and plur. which have a vowel termination - *huʾa, hiʾa, hemma, henna* - the final vowel *ā* possibly goes back to ancient -*at*. Cf, *hmt* in ancient Phoenician (Byblian) and *hwt, hyt, hmt* in Ugaritic (in the genitive-accusative case) as well as the genetive-accusative pronominal morphemes *šuātu/i, šāti/u* (third pers. masc. sing.), *šuiāti, šāti* (fem. sing.), *šunūti* (mast. plur.) and *šināti* (fem. plur.) in Akkadian.

As to the longer forms in Arabic dialects (*hūwe, huwwi*, etc, for the masc. and *hīyeʾ, hiyyi* for the fem.), there seems to be no evidence to indicate such a historical development. What would seem plausible is either the assumption that the longer forms have preserved the final vowel of Classical Arabic (*huwa, hiya*), or, that they developed a new final vowel. But here we touch upon a rather

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Box 22 - The Independent Pronouns in *EBHP and Colloquial Arabic Dialects[1]

intricate question, the existence of a final vowel in a number pronominal forms (cf. above table) in many Arabic dialects.

Box 23 - The Case System[10] of Proto-Hebrew and the Pronominal Suffixes of the Noun

As illustrated elsewhere, PH originally had a system of case endings similar to that of Classical Arabic[11]. As in Classical Arabic, attached pronominal suffixes, if any, followed the case endings. For the noun forms in the singular, feminine singular this consisted of a system of three cases[12] (nominative - suffix *u* (constr. *u* > Ø during PH period); accusative - suffix *a* (constr. *a* > Ø during PH period); genitive - suffix *i* (constr. *i* > Ø during PH period)). Nouns in the dual, masculine plural and feminine plural all had two cases[13] -

 dual - nominative - suffix *á:mi* (constr. and before pronominal suffix *a:*); oblique (= accusative plus genitive) - suffix *áymi* (constr. and before pronominal suffix *ay*);

masculine plural - nominative - suffix *ú:ma* (constr. and before pronominal suffix *u:*); oblique - suffix *í:ma* (constr. and before pronominal suffix *i:*); and,

feminine plural - nominative - suffix *ó:tu* (constr. and before pronominal suffix *o:t*); oblique - suffix *ó:ti* (constr. and before pronominal suffix *o:t*).[14]

Thus -

(1) your (ms.) male horse would have been -

      Nominative (nom.) - /sū'sukā̃/

      Accusative (acc) - /sū'sakã/

      Genitive (gen.) - /sū'sikã/

(2) your (ms.) female horse would have been -

      Nominative - /sūsa'tukā̃/

      Accusative - /sūsa'takã/

Box 23 - The Case System[10] of Proto-Hebrew and the Pronominal Suffixes of the Noun

Genitive - /sūsa'tikā/

(3) your (ms.) two male horses would have been (suffixes added to construct form) -

Nominative - /sū'sākā/

Oblique ([obl.](obl.)) - /sū'saykā/

(4) your (ms.) male horses would have been (suffixes added to construct form) -

Nominative - /sū'sūkā/

Oblique - /sū'sīkā/

(5) your (ms.) female horses would have been (suffixes added to construct form) -

Nominative - /sūsō'tukā/

Oblique - /sūsō'tikā/

At some time, presumably related to the drastic reduction in the use of the dual[15] and the decline of the case system in late *BHA phase 2*, the oblique ending (*ī:ma* > *ī:m*) became the single suffix for mp. absolute nouns and the dual oblique construct (*ay*) became the single suffix for mp. construct nouns and preceded pronominal suffixes attached to plural nouns.

For this reason, in the following table, I will use the general approach in PH reconstructions of showing, <u>where possible</u>, the PH vocalization that developed into the BH form.

Box 24

Nouns - Absolute, Construct and Pronominal Forms

From [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.3

4.4.3.1. The normal position of nouns, when they do not stand in a special relationship to a following noun, is the ***status absolutus***. If, however, a noun is proclitic, forming a stress unit with the following noun (which stands in the same relation to it as the genitive stands to its governing noun in languages with case inflection), it stands in the construct (***status constructus***). Since in the construct no pretonic lengthening occurs and the noun behaves as if stress were on the following (governed) noun, it is often quite different from the absolute: דְּבַר־ 'the speech of' as opposed to the absolute דָּבָר; צִדְקַת (with the construct feminine ending) 'righteousness of' as opposed to the absolute צְדָקָה.... The construct noun is ... proclitic in Biblical Hebrew when the construct is hyphenated. On the other hand, the fact that [Philippi's Law](#) (see §3.5.8.6, p. 133) operates in construct nouns attests that they are in fact stressed. One should not be surprised by the operation of Philippi's Law in hyphenated construct nouns, as is the case, e.g., in בַּת־צִיּוֹן 'the daughter of Zion'. The vowel of the stressed construct noun was changed by Philippi's Law and *afterward* the noun became hyphenated.

4.4.3.2. The **status pronominalis**, i.e., the status of nouns governing pronominal suffixes (which perform a function similar to that of English possessive pronouns), resembles the construct, not only in function but also in form. It exhibits a shift of stress (which rests on the pronominal suffix or the vowel "connecting" it with the noun) and the feminine ending -*at*. Pretonic lengthening is excluded only before the so-called "heavy" suffixes כֶם-, כֶן- (and הֶם, הֶן; e.g., יֶדְכֶם), whereas it may occur before the others (the "light" suffixes), because the noun forms one word with its pronominal suffixes (i.e., they stand in internal close juncture). Therefore, pretonic lengthening acts as it does in simple words, whereas the construct and the *nomen rectum* stand in internal open juncture and, therefore, in the construct no pretonic lengthening occurs. For the "connecting" vowels....

Table 2 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Independent Pronoun							
	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	**JEH**[16] */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	**PMT** (c. 400-300 BCE)	**EBHP** */EBHP/+[17] *[EBHP][18] (c. 850-550 BCE)	**PTH** */PTH/+	**TH** /TH/+ *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	**BH_IH** [BH_IH] = [IH] (present)
1 **cs.**	/"anã̱/ > (≈ suffix /ī̱/ and verbal object suffix /nī/) /"anī̱/[19]	אני	אני	/"anī̱/[20] ['ʔeniˑ]	/"anī̱/ > /ʾăˈnī̱/[21] *contextual* /"aːnī̱/ *pausal*[22]	/ʾăˈni/ [ʔěˈniː] *contextual* /ʾåni/ [ʔɔːniː] *pausal*	[eˈni]
	/ʾaˈnaːkū̱/ > (≈suffixs /ī̱/ and object suffix /nī/) /ʾaˈnoːkī̱/	[אנכ]י ?[23]	אנכי	/ʾaˈnoːkī̱/[24] [ʔeˈnoːkiˑ]	/ʾaˈnoːkī̱/ → /ʾaːnoːˈkī̱/ *contextual* /ʾaːˈnoːkī̱/ *pausal*	/ʾånoˈki/ [ʔɔːnoːˈxiː] *contextual* /ʾåˈnoki/ [ʔɔːˈnoːxiː] *pausal*	[enoˈxi] (pausal [eˈnoxi])
2 **ms.**	/"anta/ > /"attã̱/	[א]ת	אתה	/"atta(ː)/ [ʔetteˑ]	/"attaː/ → /ʾatˈtaː/ *contextual* /"aːttaː/ *pausal*	/ʾatˈtå/ [ʔetˈtɔː] *contextual* /"åttå/ ['ʔɔːttɔː] *pausal*	[eˈte]
2 **fs.**	/"antī̱/ > /"attī̱/[25]		את	/"at(t)/ ["ett] *standard* /"atti(ː)/ [ʔettiˑ] *occasion possibly northern*	/"at/[26]	/"at/ [ʔeːt]	[et]
3 **ms.**	/ˈhuwat/ > /ˈhuˈã̱/	הא	הוא	/ˈhû/? [ˈhuː] /ˈhuʾ/? [ˈhʊʔ] /ˈhuʾa(ː)/? [ˈhʊʔeˑ][27]	/ˈhû/	/ˈhu/ [ˈhuː]	[ˈhu] ~ [ˈʔu]
3 **fs.**	/ˈhiyat/ > /ˈhiˈã̱/		הוא היא	/ˈhî/? [ˈhiː] */ˈhiʾ/? [ˈhɪʔ] */ˈhiʾa(ː)/? [ˈhɪʔeˑ]	/ˈhî/	/ˈhi/ [ˈhiː]	[ˈhi] ~ [ˈʔi]
1 **cp.**	/ˈniḥnã̱/ > /ˈnaḥnū̱/ (≈	נחנו	אנחנו נחנו (rare)	/ʾaˈnaḥnū/ [ʔeˈneħnuˑ]	/ʾăˈnaːḥnū/	/ʾăˈnaḥnu/ [ʔăˈnɐːħnuː]	[eˈnexnu]

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	**JEH**[16] */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	**PMT** (c. 400-300 BCE)	**EBHP** */EBHP/[+17] *[EBHP][18] (c. 850-550 BCE)	**PTH** */PTH/[+] (c. 400 CE)	**TH** /TH/[+] *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	**BH**[IH] [BH[IH]] = [IH] (present)
	object suffix /nū/) /('a)'naḥnū/						
2 mp.	/ˈˀantumā̃/[28] > /ˀatˈtimā̃/		אתם	/ˀatˈtim/ [ʔetˈtɪm]? [ʔetˈtɛm]?	/ˀatˈtem/	/ˀatˈtɛm/ [ʔetˈtɛːm]	[eˈtɛm]
2 fp.	/ˈˀantinnā̃/ > /ˀatˈtinnā̃/[29]		אתנה	Form 1. /ˀatˈtin(n)/ [ʔetˈtɪnn]? [ʔetˈtɛn]? Form 2. /ˀatˈtinnaː/ [ʔetˈtɪnneˑ]	/ˀatˈten/	/ˀatˈtɛn/ [ʔetˈtɛːn]	[eˈtɛn]
3 mp.	/ˈhum(ū̃)/ > /ˈhimmā̃/		Form 1. הם Form 2. המה	/ˈhim(m)/ [ˈhɪmm]? [ˈhɛm]? /ˈhimmaː/ [ˈhɪmmeˑ]? [ˈhɛmmeˑ]?	/ˈheːm/ /ˈheːmmaː/	/ˈhẹm/ [ˈhẹːm] /ˈhẹmmɔ/ [ˈhẹːmmɔː]	[ˈhɛm], [ˈʔɛm] ~ [ˈɛm] [ˈɛmɐ]
3 fp.	/ˈhinn(ā̃)/		Form 1. הן Form 2. הנה	/ˈhin(n)/ [ˈhɪnn]? [ˈhɛn]? /ˈhinna(ː)/ [ˈhɪnneˑ]? [ˈhɛnneˑ]?	/ˈheːn/ /ˈheːnːaː/	/ˈhẹn/ [ˈhẹːn] /ˈhẹnnå/ [ˈhẹːnnɔː]	[ˈhɛn] ~ [ˈʔɛn] ~ [ˈɛn] [ˈhɛnɐ] ~ [ˈʔɛnɐ] ~ [ˈɛnɐ]

Table 25 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Pronominal Suffixes of the Noun						
	PH (c. 1200 BCE)	**JEH**[30] */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	**PMT** (c. 400-300 BCE)	**EBHP** */EBHP/+ *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	**PTH** */PTH/+ (c. 400 CE)	**TH** /TH/+ *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	**BH**[IH] [BH[IH]] = [IH] (present)
1 cs. s. noun	/íya/ > /íya/ (obl.) /ī/ [í:] (nom.)	י	י	/î/ [í:]	/î/ [í:]	/í/ [í:]	[í]
1 cs. pl. noun	/áyiya/[31] > /áyya/ > /áyy/	י	י	/áy(y)/[32] [éyy][33]	/áy/	/áy/ [éyy]	[áy]
1 cs. SC	/nī/	י ,ני	י ,ני	/nī/ [ni·]	/nī/	/ni/ [ni:]	[ni]
2 ms. s. noun	/ákā/[34]	כ[35]	ך or rarely כה e.g. Ps 139.5; Pr 24.10 **Your (ms.)**	/áka(:)/[36] [ééká·]	/áka(:)/→ /éka(:)/ > /əˈka:/ *contextual* /éka:/ *pausal*	/əˈkå/ [əˈxɔ:] *contextual* /ɛ́ɛ̱å/ [ɛ́x̱ɔ:] *pausal*	['xa] (pausal [ɛ́ɛxa])
2 ms. pl. noun	/áykā/[37]	יכ and יכה occur[38].	יך	/áyka(:)/[39] [éyye·]? [éyye·]?	/é:ka:/	/ɛ́x̱å/ [ɛ́x̱ɔ:]	[ɛ́ɛxa]
2 fs. s. noun	/íkī/[40]		ך	/íki(:)/[41] > /e:k/[42] [ẹ:k]	/é:k/	/ɛ́x̱/ [é:x̱]	[ɛ́x̱]
2 fs. pl. noun	/áykī/		יכי יך (very rare)	/áyki(:)/ > /áyk/ [éyk]	/áyik/	/áyik/ [éyix̱]	[áyix]
3 ms. s. noun	/yáhū/ > /áhū/[43]	ה (normal form), יו[44] ,ו(?)	ה ו (rare)	*See Tequ* (Form 1 (usual) /áhu/ > /áhū/ > /áw/ > /ô/ [ó:] OR /úhū/ > /ô(h)/ > /ô/ [ó:] Form 2 (rare) /hu (:)/ [hu·]	Form 1 /ô/ Form 2 /hu:/	Form 1 /ó/ [ó:] Form 2 /hu/[45] [hu:]	Form 1 [ó] Form 2 [ʔu]
3 ms. p. noun	/áyhū/	יה, יו, ו(?)	יו[46]	*See Tequ* Form 1 usual	Form 1 /a:w/ Form 2 /êhu:/	Form 1 /åw/	Form 1 [áv]

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	JEH[30] */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/+ *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/+ (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/+ *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	BHIH [BHIH] = [IH] (present)
				/áyhu(:)/ > /áyū/ > /áyō/ > /âw/ [á:w][47] OR /áyhu(:)/ > /áwhu(:)/ > /áwwu(:)/ > /áww/ > /âw/ [á:w] Form 2 (rare) /áyhu(:)/ > [éýẙu·]? [éýẙu·]?		[ɔ:w] Form 2 /ệhu/ [ẹ́ːħuː]	Form 2 [áʔu]
3 fs. s. noun	/hã/		ה	*See Tequ* /áha/ > /â/ [éẙ][48]	/â/ > /âh/[49] OR /âh/	/åh/ [ɔ́ːħ]	[á]
3 fs. p. noun	/áyha/		יה	/áyha(:)/ [éýẙe·]? [éýẙe·]?	/áyha/ → /ệha/	/ɛ́ɛħå/ [ɛ́ħɔ·]	[ɛʔa]
1 cp. s. noun	*Singular Noun* /nĩ/ > (≈ independent pronoun ('a)naḥnū and the subject suffix -nū) /nū/		נו	/ínū/[50] [ɨ́ ɨnʉ]? [ɛ́ɛnʉ]?	/éːnū/	/ẹ́´nu/ [ẹ́ːnuː]	[ɛ́ɛnu]
1 cp. p. noun	*Plural Noun* /áyna/ (≈ object suffix /nū/) /áynū/		ינו	/áynū/ [éýẙu·]? [éýẙu·]?	/éːnū/	/ẹ́´nu/ [ẹ́ːnuː]	[ɛ́ɛnu]
2 mp. s. noun	/a'kumu/ > /a'kima/ (acc	כם	כם	/a'kima/ > /a'kim/[51]	/'kem/[53]	/'kɛm/ ['xɛːm]	['xɛm]

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	JEH[30] */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	BHɪH [BHɪH] = [IH] (present)
	.) /i'kumu/ > /i'kima/ (gen.)			[ɐ'kɪm]? [ɐ'kɛm]? OR /i'kima/ > /i'kim/[52] [ɪ'kɪm]? [ɪ'kɛm]?			
2 mp. pl. noun	/ay'kumu/ > /ay'kima/		יכם	/áy'kima/ > /ay'kim/ [ɐy'kɪm]? [ɛy'kɪm]?	/ê'kem/	/ẹ'kɛm/ [ẹː'xɛːm]	[ɛ'xɛm]
2 fp. s. noun	/a'kinna/ (acc.) /i'kinna/ (gen.)		כן	/a'kinna/ > /a'kin(n)/ [ɐ'kɪnn]? [ɐ'kɛn]? OR /i'kinna/ > /i'kin(n)/ [ɪ'kɪnn]? [ɪ'kɛn]?	/'ken/ [ə'xen]	/'kɛn/ ['xɛːn]	['xɛn]
2 fp. pl. noun	*Plural Noun* /ay'kinna/		יכן	/áy'kinna/ > /ay'kin/ [ɐy'kɪn]? [ɛy'kɪn]?	/ê'ken/	/ẹ'kɛn/ [ẹː'xɛːn]	[ɛ'xɛn]
3 mp. s. noun	/a'humu/ > /a'hima/ (acc.) /i'humu/ > /i'hima/ (gen.)	ם	*Form 1* הם *Form 2* ם	/a'hima/ > /a'him/ [ɐ'hɪm] OR /i'hima/ > /i'him/ [ɪ'hɪm] /a'hima/ → /á(ː)m/ [á:m]	/'heːm/[54] /á:m/	/'hɛm/ ['hɛːm] /åm/ [ɔ́ːm]	['ɛ́m̩ɦ] Form 1 [ɛ́m̩ɦ] Form 2 [ám̩ɦ]
3 mp. pl. noun	/ay'humu/		*Form 1* יהם *Form 2*	/ay'him/ [ɐy'hɪm]? [ɛy'hɪm]? /áymuː/ >	/ê'hem/ /êmoː/	/ẹ'hɛm/ [ẹː'hɛːm] /ẹ'mo/	[ɛ'ʔɛm] [ɛmo]

Table 25 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Pronominal Suffixes of the Noun						
*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	**JEH**[30] */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	**PMT** (c. 400-300 BCE)	**EBHP** */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	**PTH** */PTH/* (c. 400 CE)	**TH** /TH/* *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	**BH**ɪʜ [BHɪʜ] = [IH] (present)
		ימו (Poetic)	/áymoː/[55] [ɐymoˑ]? [ɛymoˑ]?		[ẹːmoː]	
3 fp. /aˈhinna/ (acc.) /iˈhinna/ (gen.)		*Form 1* הן *Form 2* ן	/aˈhinna/ > /aˈhin(n)/ [eˈhɪnn]? [eˈhɛn]? OR /iˈhinna/ > /iˈhin(n)/ [ɪˈhɪnn]? [ɪˈhɛn]? /ˈhinna/ > /ˈhin/ > /á(ː)n/ [áːn]	/aˈhinn/ → /ˈheːn/[56] /áːn/	/ˈhɛn/ [ˈhɛːn] /ån/ [ɔːn]	[ˈɛɐ̃ĥ] [ˈáɳ̃ĥ]

Table 26

Pronominal Object Suffixes of the SC Verb[57]

	Suffixed to Forms Ending in Consonant		Suffixed to Forms Ending in Vowel	
	EBHP */EBHP/* *[EBHP] [58] (c. 850-550 BCE)	**TH**	**EBHP** */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	**TH** (c. 850 CE)
1 cs.	ánî	נִי◌	nî	נִי
2 ms.	áka(ː)	ךָ◌	ka(ː)	ךָ
2 fs.	éːk	ךְ◌/ךְ◌	k	ךְ
3 ms.	áhu(ː)	הוּ◌/וֹ	hu(ː)	הוּ
3 fs.	áː	הָ◌	ha(ː)	הָ
1 cp.	ánū	נוּ◌	nū	נוּ
2 mp.	aˈkim	כֶם◌		
2 fp.	aˈkin	כֶן◌		
3 mp.	áːm	ם◌	m	ם

	Suffixed to Forms Ending in Consonant		Suffixed to Forms Ending in Vowel	
3 fp.	á:n	‍ן	n	ן

Table 27

Pronominal Object Suffixes of the PC Verb

	Suffixed to Forms Ending in Consonant				Suffixed to Forms Ending in Vowel			
	Simple Suffixes		Suffixes With Epenthetic *nun*[59]		Simple Suffixes		Suffixes With Epenthetic *nun*	
	/EBHP/	TH	*/EBHP/*	TH	*/EBHP/*	TH	*/EBHP/*	TH
1 cs.	íní	נִי	ínnî	נֶּנִי	nî	נִי	ínnū	נֶּנּוּ
2 ms.	íka(:)	ךָ	íkka(:)	כָּ	ka(:)	ךָ		
2 fs.	é:k	ךְ			k	ךְ		
3 ms.	íhu(:)	הוּ	ínnu(:)	נּוּ	hu(:)	הוּ		
3 fs.	íha(:)	הָ	ínna(:)	נָּה	ha(:)	הָ		
1 cp.	ínū	נוּ			nū	נוּ		
2 mp.	i'kim	כֶם			kim	כֶם		
2 fp.	i'kin	כֶן			kin	כֶן		
3 mp.	é:m	ם			m	ם		
3 fp.	é:n	ן			n	ן		

Table 28

History of the Accusative Particle ʾeṯ and its Inflected Form ʾōṯô = "him"

*PH[60] (c. 1200 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *[PTH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	BHIH [BHIH] = [IH] (present)
/iyyāt/ > /ʾat/	/ˌʾat/ [ˌʔet]? [ˌʔɛt]?	/ˌʾeːṯ/ /ʾɛt/	אֶת /ˌʾeṯ/ *[ˌʔeːθ] אֶת־ /ʾɛṯ/ *[ʔɛθ]	[ɛt] ~ [t]
/iyˈyāṯahū̃/ > (by elision of yy) /ˈˈʾâtahū̃/ > /ʾâˈtahū̃/ > /ʾôˈtahū̃/)[61]	/ʾôˈtahū̃/ > /ʾôˈtaw/ > /ʾôˈtô/ [ʔoːˈtoː]	/ʾôˈtô/	אוֹתוֹ /ʾôˈto/ [ʔoːˈθoː]	[oˈto]

Table 29 - Stressed Noun Suffixes in <u>Biblical</u> Hebrew					
Meaning	***PH** (c. 1200 BCE)	**EBHP** */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	**PTH** */PTH/* *[PTH] (c. 400 CE)	**TH** /TH/* *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	**BH_{IH}** [BH_{IH}] = [IH] (present)
Number and Gender Inflections					
Fem. Sing.[62]	/átum/[63] > /átu/	ה /át/ > /á: / > /á:/[64] [á:]	/á: /[65]	/å/ [ɔ:]	[ɐ]
	/ītu/[66]	ית /īt̲/ [íːt]	/īt̲/ [íːθ]	/ít̲/ [íːθ]	[ít]
	/ūtu/	ות /ūt̲/ [úːt]	/ūt̲/ [úːθ]	/út̲/ [úːθ]	[út]
Dual	/áymi/[67]	ים /áym/ [éym]	/áyim/	/áyim/ [éyim]	[éyim]
Masc. Plural	/īma/ > /īma/ > /īm/	ים /īm/ [íːm]	/īm/ [íːm]	/ím/ [íːm]	[ím]
Fem. Plural	/ātum/ > /ātu/ > /ōtu/ > /ōt/	ות /ōt̲/ [óːt]	/ōt̲/ [óːθ]	/ót̲/ [óːθ]	[ót]
Nouns formed with Suffixes					
Agent of action and/or adjective	/ānu/ > /ān/	ן /ān/ [áːn]	/ān/ [áːn]	/ån/ [ɔ́ːn]	[ɔ́n]
	/ānu/ > /ōn/	ון /ōn/ [óːn]	/ōn/ [óːn]	/ón/ [óːn]	[ón]
Nisba - gentilic and, more generally " belonging to".	/īyu/ > /īy/ > /î/[68]	י (ms.) /ī/ [íː] ים (mp.) /iˈyīm/ [iːˈyiːm] ית (fs.) /īt̲/ [íːt] יות (fp.) /iˈyōt̲/	/ī/ [íː] /iˈyīm/ [iːˈyiːm] /īt̲/ [íːθ] /iˈyōt̲/	/í/ [íː] /iˈyim/ [iːˈyiːm] /ít̲/ [íːθ] /iˈyot̲/ [iːˈyoːθ]	[î] [iˈyim] [ít] [iˈyot]

Table 29 - Stressed Noun Suffixes in <u>Biblical</u> Hebrew					
Meaning	***PH** (c. 1200 BCE)	**EBHP** ***/EBHP/*** ***[EBHP]** (c. 850-550 BCE)	**PTH** ***/PTH/* *[PTH]** (c. 400 CE)	**TH** **/TH/* *[TH]** (c. 850 CE)	**BH_{IH}** [BH_{IH}] = [IH] (present)
		[iːˈyoːt]			
Abstract	/ūtu/ > /ūt/[69]	ות (sing.) /ūt/ [úːt]	/ūt̲/ [úːθ]	/út̲/ [úːθ]	[út]
		ויות (pl.) /ūˈyōt/ [uːˈyoːt]	/ū'yōt̲/	/u'yot̲/ [uːˈyoːθ]	[u'yot]

Table 30

Locative [70] ה

(e.g. הַבַּיְתָה 'homeward'**)**

EBHP ***/EBHP/* *[EBHP]** (c. 850-550 BCE)	**PTH** ***/PTH/* *[PTH]** (c. 400 CE)	**TH** **/TH/* *[TH]** (c. 850 CE)	**BH_{IH}** [BH_{IH}] = [IH] (present)
/ah/ [ɐh]+	/â/+	/å̄/ [ɔː]+	/a/ [ɐ]+

+ unstressed suffix.

See - Tequ - Locative ה

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[1] The material in this box was adapted from Morag 1989 pp. 111-114.

[2] Rare in BH (Num. 11.15; Dt. 5.24; Ezek. 2814), common in post-biblical Hebrew (see Kutscher 1977 p. 10).

3 According to Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard p. 19 ʾattāh (BH).

4 Only as a *ketib* form. See Gesenius, p. 106. We shall not deal here with the forms for this person.

5 In the Dead Sea Scrolls. See Morag 1954.

6 In the Dead Sea Scrolls. See Morag 1954.

7 In the Dead Sea Scrolls. See Morag 1954.

8 Four occurrences in the Bible (Gen. 31.6; Ezek. 13.11,20; 3417).

9 This form occurs in BH only when preceded by prepositions.

10 See Blau 2010 §4.4.4.

11 Cf. Classical and Modern Standard Arabic Haywood and Nahmad 1965 chapt. 9.

12 Cf. Classical and Modern Standard Arabic Haywood and Nahmad 1965 chapt. 4.

13 Cf. Classical and Modern Standard Arabic Haywood and Nahmad 1965 chapt. 5.

14 See Blau 2010 §4.4.5.8.

15 See Blau 2010 §4.4.5.2.

16 Unless otherwise noted source for JEH is Gogel ch.3.

17 See *Phones and Phonemes* - http://www.houseofdavid.ca/anc_heb_6.htm#phone_phonym.

18 Note, in reconstructed [EBHP] transliterations and sound files -

  1.there is no spirantization of the *bgdkpt* consonants - http://www.houseofdavid.ca/anc_heb_tequ.htm#bgdpt;

  2. vowel qualities are outlined here - http://www.houseofdavid.ca/anc_heb_6.htm#ebhp_vow_qual;

  3. I use the most probable form. Where no one form stands out as most probable, I select the one closest to the MT vocalization.

  4. when multiple forms are possible, the form used is underlined.

19 See Harris 1939 p. 74 for אני displacing אנכי.

20 According to Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard p. 19 ʾănî (BH).

21 Blau 2010 §3.5.12.2.11.

22 See Blau 2010 §3.5.13.

23 Proposed by Pardee (nk[y], L 6:8) but not proven - Gogel p. 153.

24 According to Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard p. 19 ʾānōkī (BH).

25 See Harris 1939 p. 75.

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[26] [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.1.1.3.

[27] See [Gogel](#) p. 153 footnote 179. [QH](#) *uses the longer forms.* [Morag 1988](#) (pp. 156-157) states -

> Not much is known about the history of *hw'h* and *hy'h* in Hebrew prior to the Qumran period. One may only surmise that at an earlier period there was a dialectal variation as to the distribution of the short forms *hw', hy', hm, hn* (possibly also *'tm, 'tn*) and the long ones *hw'h, hy'h, hmh, hnh* (*'tmh, 'tnh*). Needless to say, the long forms *hw'h, hy'h,* unattested outside *QH,* are in no way to be regarded as a continuation of LBH. They definitely constitute a particularly interesting feature of GQH, which, as proposed above, may be traced back to the morphological structure of some old dialects.

[28] According to [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 19 ʾantum(ŭ).

[29] [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 19 would have ʾattin(nā).

[30] Unless otherwise noted source for JEH is Gogel ch.3.

[31] Dual oblique form which formed the basis for BH form.

[32] See also [Beyer](#) p.40.

[33] "When ו and י are not used as *mater lectionis*, they are pronounced. This is true in the following cases where the preceding vowel is heterogeneous …. In these combinations the ו and י probably have a consonantal value, e.g. יַ =*ay,* and not *ai,* וָ = *åw* and not *åu.*". From [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) § 7d.

[34] Accusative form which formed the basis for BH form due to affect of vowel harmony.

[35] N.b. there are no special final letter forms in Paleo-Hebrew script.

[36] From [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.3.2n.

> The "heavy" suffixes are invariably stressed. The suffix ךָ- attached to singular nouns (as in יָדְךָ) bears the stress as well, but this stress is secondary (see §3.5.12.2.8, p. 147). The original penultimate stress has also been preserved in pause (יָדֶךָ) in plural nouns (יָדֶיךָ).

Swee also [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.7.3.1, 4.2.3.3.

[37] From [Blau 2010](#)

> 4.2.3.3.4. Pronominal suffixes added to a noun in the dual/plural are preceded by **-ay* ([the former dual ending](#)): יָדֶיךָ, יְדֵיכֶם. The feminine suffix is -*k* after dual/plural as well: **yadaykī* > **yadayk* > (by opening of the final cluster) יָדַיִךְ.

> 4.2.3.3.4n. Because of the frequency of pronominal suffixes after nouns denoting double body parts (יָדֶיךָ 'your hands', עֵינֶיךָ 'your eyes'), the Proto-Semitic dual ending **-ay* superseded the [plural ending **-i*](#).

Since it was only in closed syllables that the diphthong *ay* developed an anaptyctic vowel (*ayi*; see §3.4.2.2, p. 96), one has to assume that *ay* persisted after the -*i* of the feminine pronominal suffix was elided (*yadaykī > *yadayk > (by opening of the final cluster) יָדַ֫יִךְ;).

[38] Gogel p. 155.

[39] For long vowel ā see Gogel pp. 59 footnote 94.

[40] Genitive form which formed the basis for BH form due to affect of vowel harmony.

[41] So Blau 2010 §4.2.3.3.1. The last vowel that was lost displaced the original case vowel. However, Beyer p.40 favors /áki:/.

[42] See Harris 1939 p. 75.

[43] See Harris 1939 pp. 55-56.

[44] Only probable case is <bw> in Ketef Hinnom inscription - Barkay et. al. 2003 p. 70.

[45] Cf. Gen 1:11(למינו) to vs. 12 (למינהו).

[46] Anderson 1999 p. 21 "... the adding of a (silent!) *yod* to -āw, "his" on plural noun stems, apparently a purely scribal marker with no phonetic value." Sarfatti 1982 p. 65 -

> Third m.s. suffix added to plural endings, -*w*: *ʾnšw* "his men" (Lachish 3:18); *ʾlw* "unto him" (Yavneh-Yam 13). According to Gordis ... there are 158 words in the Bible in which the 3 m.s. pronominal suffix appears in the *ketib* with the defective spelling -*w*, while the *Qere* is -*yw*.... The purpose of the *Qere* is not to correct the text (i.e. *yādāw* instead of *yādô*), but to point out the vocalization tradition followed by the Masoretes (read *yādāw*!).... Since the historical development of this suffix is **-ayhu* > **-āhu* > **-āu* (e.g. **-yādayhu* > **-yādāhu* > **-yādāu*), the defective spelling (= MT יָ֫) is phonetic, while the *plene* spelling (= MT יָ֫יו) retains the etymological *yod*.

[47] Blau 2010 §4.2.3.4.2.

[48] Blau 2010 §3.3.5.3.4.

[49] the restoration of the [h] could be due to the influence of Aramaic where it is retained in 2ms and 2fs pronominal suffixes.

[50] See Beyer p.40.

[51] See Harris 1939 p. 51.

[52] See Harris 1939 p. 51.

[53] Probably pronounced [ə'xem].

[54] Probably pronounced [ĕ'ħe:m].

[55] For the מו ending see Robertson 1972 pp. 65-69.

[56] Probably pronounced [ĕˈħeːm].

[57] See any standard grammar e.g. van der Merwe et al. §17.

[58] Note, in reconstructed [EBHP] transliterations and sound files -

1. there is no spirantization of the bgdkpt consonants;

2. vowel qualities are outlined here;

3. I use the most probable form. Where no one form stands out as most probable, I select the one closest to the MT vocalization.

4. when multiple forms are possible, the form used is underlined.

[59] These forms were originally appended to the imperfect, later spreading to other SC forms (see Rainey 1985 pp. 10-12). In the MT these forms should be considered to carry no semantic value. (See Joüon-Muraoka 1991 §61f; Greenstein 1988 p. 8 ff..)

[60] See Blau 2010 §4.4.4.3n.

[61] Blau 1998 p. 151.

[62] For development see Harris 1939 p. 67-68.

[63] For loss of mimation see Harris 1939 pp. 32-33.

[64] See Blau 2010 §4.2.3.5.2n.

[65] the restoration of the [h] could be due to the influence of Aramaic where it is retained in 2ms and 2fs pronominal suffixes.

[66] See Blau 2010 §4.4.6.9.

[67] From Blau 2010 §4.4.5.5.

4.4.5.5. According to the evidence from the other Semitic languages, the nominative ending of the dual was *-ani* and that of the oblique case was *-ayni*. In Biblical Hebrew, as generally in Semitic languages that lost case endings, the oblique case ending, representing two cases and therefore being more frequent, superseded the nominative ending. The dual ending is added to the singular noun (יָד - יָדַיִם). The feminine ending is preserved before the dual ending (שְׁנָתַיִם). In construct and *status pronominalis* the *-n* is omitted....

[68] See Blau 2010 §4.4.6.8.

[69] See Blau 2010 §4.4.6.9.

[70] Joüon-Muraoka 1991 §93c; Blau 2010 § 3.3.5.1.5, 3.3.5.2.4, 3.3.5.3.3.4, 3.3.5.3.3.4n, 3.5.7.2.3, 3.5.12.2.8n, 3.5.12.2.12, 4.4.4.13.; Blau 1981 §5.1; Manuel 1995 p. 57. For the possible origin and history of this form see The Terminative-Adverbial in Canaanite-Ugaritic and Akkadian by E. A. Speiser, *Israel Exploration Journal* Vol 4, No. 2, 1954.