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History of the Ancient and Modern Hebrew Language
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Box 20

The Nature of Stress in Ancient and Modern 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

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 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 amplitude, 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 variation 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 21

The Independent Pronouns in EBHP and [Colloquial Arabic](#) Dialects¹

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

<i>Person</i>	<i>Independent Pronouns in EBHP</i>	
	Allomorph Originally Ending with a Short Vowel which may have been Elided	Allomorph Ending with a Long Vowel
2 ms.	את /ˈatta/ > /ˈat(t)/ ²	אתה /ˈatta:/ ³
2 fs.	את /ˈatti/ > /ˈat(t)/	אתי /ˈatti:/ ⁴
3 <i>ms.</i>	הוא /ˈhuˈa/ > /ˈhuˈ/ > /ˈhū/	הואה /ˈhuˈa:/ ⁵
3 <i>fs.</i>	היא /ˈhiˈa/ > /ˈhiˈ/ > /ˈhî/	היאה /ˈhiˈa:/ ⁶
2 mp.	אתם /atˈtima/ > /atˈtim/	אתמה /atˈtima:/ ⁷
2 fp.	אתן /atˈtinna/ > /atˈtin(n)/	אתנה /atˈtinna:/ ⁸
3 <i>mp.</i>	הם /ˈhimma/ > /ˈhim(m)/	המה /ˈhimma:/
3 <i>fp.</i>	הן /ˈhinna/ > /ˈhin(n)/ ⁹	הנה /ˈhinna:/

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.

<i>Person</i>	<i>Urban Dialects</i>		<i>Rural Dialects</i>	
	Damascus	Bišmizzīn (Lebanon)	Hōrān	Bīr Zēt
1 <u>cs.</u>	'ana	'ana	ani	ana
2 <u>ms.</u>	'ente	'inti, 'int	ente, ent	inte, int
2 <u>fs.</u>	'enti	'inti	enti	inti
3 <i>ms.</i>	hūwe	huwwi, hū	hū, hūwa	hū
3 <i>fs.</i>	hiye	hiyyi, hī	hī, hīye	hī
1 <i>cp.</i>	nəḥna	niḥna	əḥne, əḥna	iḥna
2 <u>mp.</u>	'entu	'intu	entu	intu
2 <u>fp.</u>			entenn	intin
3 <i>mp.</i>	honne	hinni, hin	huMM, huMMa	him
3 <i>fp.</i>			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 *'atta*, 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 - *hu'a*, *hi'a*, *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 genitive-accusative pronominal morphemes *šūātu/i*, *šāti/u* (third pers. masc. sing.), *šūiāti*, *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 *hīye*, *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 intricate question, the existence of a final vowel in a number pronominal forms (cf. above table) in many Arabic dialects.

Box 22

The Case System¹⁰ 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 Arabic¹¹. 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 cases¹² (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 cases¹³ -

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 *í:*); 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'sukā/

Accusative ([acc](#)) - /sū'sakā/

Genitive ([gen.](#)) - /sū'sikā/

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

Nominative - /sūsa'tukā/

Accusative - /sūsa'takā/

Genitive - /sūsa'tikā/

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

Nominative - /sū'sākā/

Oblique ([obl.](#)) - /sū'saykā/

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

Nominative - /sū'sūkā/

Oblique - /sū'sīkã/

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

Nominative - /sūsō'tukã/

Oblique - /sūsō'tikã/

At some time, presumably related to the drastic reduction in the use of the dual¹⁵ and the decline of the case system in late [BHA phase 2](#), the oblique ending (*í:ma* > *í: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, where possible, the PH vocalization that developed into the BH form.

Box 23

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 דְּבַר צְדָקָה (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 כֹּחַ-, כֹּן- (and הֶם, הֵן; e.g., הַיְדֹכֶם), 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 24

History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Pronoun¹⁶

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>JEH</u> ¹⁷ */JEH/ (mainly c. 750- 586 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁸ */EBHP/+ *[EBHP] ¹⁹ (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/+ * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> /TH/+ * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)	<u>MT</u> pronounced as <u>IH [IH]</u> (present)
1 <u>cs.</u>	/ʔanā/ > (≈ suffix /l/ and verbal object suffix /nī/) /ʔanī/ ²⁰	אני	אני	/ʔanī/ ²¹ [ʔeniː]	/ʔanī/ > /ʔānī/ ²² <i>contextual</i> /ʔa:nī/ <i>pausal</i> ²³	/ʔāni/ [ʔəˈniː] <i>contextual</i> /ʔāni/ [ʔoːniː] <i>pausal</i>	[aˈni]
	/ʔaˈna:kū/ > (≈ suffixes /l/ and object suffix /nī/) /ʔaˈno:kī/	[אנכי] ? ²⁴	אנכי	/ʔaˈno:kī/ ²⁵ [ʔeˈnoːkiː]	/ʔaˈno:kī/ → /ʔaˈno:kī/ <i>contextual</i> /ʔaˈno:kī/ <i>pausal</i>	/ʔānoˈki/ [ʔoːnoːˈxiː] <i>contextual</i> /ʔānoki/ [ʔoːˈnoːxiː] <i>pausal</i>	[anoˈxi] (pausal [aˈnoxɪ])
2 ms.	/ʔanta/ > /ʔattā/	[את]	אתה	/ʔatta(:)/ [ʔetteː]	/ʔatta:/ → /ʔatˈtaː/ <i>contextual</i> /ʔaːttaː/ <i>pausal</i>	/ʔatˈtā/ [ʔetˈtoː] <i>contextual</i> /ʔāttā/ [ʔoːttoː] <i>pausal</i>	[aˈta]
2 fs.	/ʔantī/ > /ʔattī/ ²⁶		את	/ʔat(t)/ [ʔett] <i>standard</i> /ʔatti(:)/ [ʔettiː] <i>occasion possibly northern</i>	/ʔat/ ²⁷	/ʔat/ [ʔeːt]	[at]
3 ms.	/ʔhuwat/ > /ʔhuˈā/	הא	הוא	/ʔhū/ [ʔhuː] /ʔhuː/ [ʔhʊʔ] or /ʔhuˈa(:)/ [ʔhʊʔeː] ²⁸	/ʔhū/	/ʔhu/ [ʔhuː]	[ʔhu] or [ʔʊ]
3 fs.	/ʔhiyat/ > /ʔhiˈā/		היא	/ʔhī/ [ʔhiː] *ʔhīʔ/[ʔhɪʔ] or *ʔhīˈa(:)/ [ʔhɪʔeː]	/ʔhī/	/ʔhi/ [ʔhiː]	[ʔhi] or [ʔɪ]
1 cp.	/ʔniḥnā/ >	נחנו	אנחנו	/ʔaˈnaḥnū/	/ʔāˈnaːḥnū/	/ʔāˈnaḥnu/	[aˈnaxnu]

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	JEH ¹⁷ */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP ¹⁸ */EBHP/* *[EBHP] ¹⁹ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	MT pronounced as IH [IH] (present)
	/ˈnaħnū/ (≈ object suffix /nū/) /(*a)ˈnaħnū/		נחנּו (rare)	[ʔeˈneħnuː]		[ʔəˈneːħnuː]	
2 mp.	/ˈantumā/ ²⁹ > /atˈtimā/		אתם	/atˈtim/ [ʔetˈtim] or [ʔetˈtɛm]	/atˈtɛm/	/atˈtɛm/ [ʔetˈtɛːm]	[atɛm]
2 fp.	/ˈantinnā/ > /atˈtinnā/ ³⁰		אתנה	Form 1. /atˈtin(n)/ [ʔetˈtɪnn] or [ʔetˈtɛn] Form 2. /atˈtinnɑː/ [ʔetˈtɪnnɛː]	/atˈtɛn/	/atˈtɛn/ [ʔetˈtɛːn]	[atɛn]
3 mp.	/ˈhum(ū) > /ˈhimmā/		המה הם	Form 1. /ˈhim(m)/ [ˈħɪmm] or [ˈħɛm] Form 2. /ˈhimmɑː/ [ˈħɪmmɛː] or [ˈħɛmmɛː]	Form 1. /ˈheːm/ Form 2. /ˈheːmmɑː/	Form 1. /ˈħɛm/ [ˈħɛːm] Form 2. /ˈħɛmmɔː/ [ˈħɛːmmɔː]	Form 1. [ˈħɛm], [ˈʔɛm] or [ˈɛm] Form 2. [ˈɛma]
3 fp.	/ˈhinn(ā)/		הנה הן	Form 1. /ˈhin(n)/ [ˈħɪnn] or [ˈħɛn] Form 2. /ˈhinna(:)/ [ˈħɪnnɛː] or [ˈħɛnnɛː]	Form 1. /ˈheːn/ Form 2. /ˈheːnɑː/	Form 1. /ˈħɛn/ [ˈħɛːn] Form 2. /ˈħɛnnɑː/ [ˈħɛːnnɔː]	Form 1. [ˈħɛn], [ˈʔɛn] or [ˈɛn] Form 2. [ˈħɛna], [ˈʔɛna] or [ˈɛna]
1 cs. s. noun	/iya/ > /iya/ (obl.) /i/ [iː] (nom.)	י	י	/i/ [iː]	/i/ [iː]	/i/ [iː]	[i]
1 cs. pl.	/áyiya/ ³¹ > /áyya/ > /áyy/	י	י	/áy(y)/ ³² [éy] ³³	/áy/	/áy/ [éy]	[áy]

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	JEH ¹⁷ */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP ¹⁸ */EBHP/* *[EBHP] ¹⁹ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	MT pronounced as IH [IH] (present)
noun							
1 cs. SC	/nī/	י, נִי	י, נִי	/nī/ [niː]	/nī/	/ni/ [ni:]	[ni]
2 ms. s. noun	<i>Singular Noun</i> unstressed <i>/ákā</i> ³⁴	כָּכֹּ	ךָ or rarely כֹּה e.g. Ps 139.5; Pr 24.10 Your (ms.)	<i>/áka(:)</i> ³⁶ [éékə]	<i>/áka(:)</i> /→ <i>/éka(:)</i> / > <i>/ə'ka:</i> / <i>contextual</i> <i>/éka:</i> / <i>pausal</i>	<i>/ə'ká/</i> [ə'xɔ:] <i>contextual</i> <i>/éxá/</i> [éxɔ:] <i>pausal</i>	['xa] (pausal [ééxa])
2 ms. pl. noun	<i>Plural Noun</i> <i>/áyká</i> ³⁷	יכּ and יכה occur ³⁸ .	יך	<i>/áyka(:)</i> ³⁹ [éyke] or <i>[éyke]</i>	<i>/é:ka:</i> /	<i>/éxá/</i> [éxɔ:]	[ééxa]
2 fs. s. noun	<i>Singular Noun</i> <i>/íkī</i> ⁴⁰		ךָ	<i>/íki(:)</i> ⁴¹ > <i>/e:k</i> ⁴² [e:k]	<i>/é:k/</i>	<i>/ékk</i> [éːx]	[éxk]
2 fs. pl. noun	<i>Plural Noun</i> <i>/áyki</i> ⁴¹		יכי יך (very rare)	<i>/áyki(:)</i> / > <i>/áyk/</i> [éyɔk]	<i>/áyik/</i>	<i>/áyik/</i> [éyix]	[áyix]
3 ms. s. noun	<i>/yáhū</i> / > <i>/áhū</i> ⁴³	ה (normal form), ו ⁴⁴ , יו(?)	ה ו (rare)	<h, w, yw> ⁴⁵ (Form 1 (usual) <i>/áhu</i> / > <i>/áhū</i> / > <i>/áw</i> / > <i>/ô</i> / [ó:] OR <i>/úhū</i> / > <i>/ô(h)</i> / [ó:h] Form 2 (rare) <i>/hu(:)</i> / [huː]	Form 1 <i>/ô</i> / [ó:] Form 2 <i>/hu</i> /	Form 1 <i>/ó</i> / [ó:] Form 2 <i>/hu</i> ⁴⁶ [hu:]	Form 1 [ó] Form 2 [ʔu]
3 ms. p. noun	<i>/áyhū</i> /	ו, יו, יוה(?)	יו	Form 1 usual <i>/áyhu(:)</i> / > <i>/áyū</i> / > <i>/áyō</i> / > <i>/áw</i> / [á:w] ⁴⁷ or <i>/áyhu(:)</i> / > <i>/áwhu(:)</i> / > <i>/áwwu(:)</i> / >	Form 1 <i>/a:w</i> / Form 2 <i>/êhu:</i> /	Form 1 <i>/áw</i> / [ɔ:w] Form 2 <i>/êhu</i> / [éːhu:]	Form 1 [áv] Form 2 [áʔu]

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	JEH ¹⁷ */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP ¹⁸ */EBHP/+ *[EBHP] ¹⁹ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/+ * [PTH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/+ * [TH] (c. 850 CE)	MT pronounced as IH [IH] (present)
				/áww/ > /âw/ [á:w] Form 2 (rare) /áyhu(:)/ > [éyhu] or [éyhu]			
3 ms. <i>SC</i>	/'yahū/ > /áhū/ 	ה		Form 1 /áhu/ > /áw/ > /ô(h)/ [o:(h)] (usual) Form 2 /hu(:)/ [hu:] or /áhu(:)/ [ééhü] e.g. קטלה and קטלו	Form 1 /ô/ Form 2 /a:hu:/ 	Form 1 /o/ [ó:]: Form 2 /áhu/ [ó:hu:] קטלה and קטלו	Form 1 [ó] Form 2 [áʔu]
3 ms. <i>PC</i>	<i>Verb Imperfect</i> Form 1 /hū/ > /hū/ Form 2 /inhū/ > /innū/	הו		Form 1 /áy:hu(:)/ [éyhu] or [éyhu] Form 2 /innu(:)/ [ínnu] or [éánu]	Form 1 /éhu:/ Form 2 /ennu:/	Form 1 /é'hu/ [é:hu:] Form 2 /énnu/ [é:nnu:]	Form 1 [ééʔu] Form 2 [éáu]
3 fs. s. noun	/hā/		ה	/áha/ > /â/ [éé]: Or /áha/ > /â/ > /âh/ [á:h] ⁴⁸	/â/ > /âh/ ⁴⁹ OR /âh/	/âh/ [ó:h]	[á]
3 fs. p. noun	/ha/		יה	/áyha(:)/ [éyhe] or [éyhe]	/áyha/ → /éha:/ 	/é'há/ [é:hó:]	[éʔa]
1 cp. s. noun	<i>Singular Noun</i> /nī/ > (≈ independent pronoun		נו	/ínū/ ⁵⁰ [ínnu] or [éénu]	/é:nnū/ 	/é'nu/ [é:nu:]	[éénu]

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>JEH</u> ¹⁷ */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁸ */EBHP/* *[EBHP] ¹⁹ (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	<u>MT</u> pronounced as <u>IH</u> [IH] (present)
	(*a)naḥnū and the subject suffix -nū /nū/						
1 cp. p. noun	<i>Plural Noun</i> /áyna/ (≈ object suffix /nū/) /áynū/		ינ	/áy ^{nū} / [éʔy ^{nū}] or [éʔy ^{nū}]	/éːnū/	/éːnu/ [éːnuː]	[éénu]
2 mp. s. noun	<i>Singular Noun</i> /a'kumu/ > /a'kimal (acc.) /i'kumu/ > /i'kimal (gen.)	כ	כ.	/a'kima/ > /a'kim/ ⁵¹ [e'kɪm] or [e'kɛm] OR /i'kima/ > /i'kim/ ⁵² [ɪ'kɪm] or [ɪ'kɛm]	/'kɛm/ [ə'xɛm]	/'kɛm/ ['xɛ:m]	['xɛm]
2 mp. pl. noun	<i>Plural Noun</i> /ay'kumu/ > /ay'kimal		כ'	/áy'kima/ > /ay'kim/ [ey'kɪm] or [ey'kɪm]	/ê'kɛm/	/e'kɛm/ [ɛː'xɛ:m]	[ɛ'xɛm]
2 fp. s. noun	<i>Singular Noun</i> /a'kinna/ (acc.) /i'kinna/ (gen.)		כ	/a'kinna/ > /a'kin(n)/ [e'kɪnn] or [e'kɛn] OR /i'kinna/ > /i'kin(n)/ [ɪ'kɪnn] or [ɪ'kɛn]	/'kɛn/ [ə'xɛn]	/'kɛn/ ['xɛ:n]	['xɛn]
2 fp. pl. noun	<i>Plural Noun</i> /ay'kinna/		כ'	/ay'kinna/ > /ay'kin/ [ey'kɪn] or [ey'kɪn]	/êkɛn/	/e'kɛn/ [ɛː'xɛ:n]	[ɛ'xɛn]
3 mp.	/a'humu/ > /a'himal (acc.)	ם	ם ה ם	Form 1 /a'himal/ >	Form 1 /'he:m/	Form 1 /'hɛm/	Form 1 [éím̩]

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>JEH</u> ¹⁷ */JEH/ (mainly c. 750-586 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁸ */EBHP/* *[EBHP] ¹⁹ (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	<u>MT</u> pronounced as <u>IH [IH]</u> (present)
	/i'humu/ > /i'hima/ (gen.)			/a'him/ <u>[e'hɪm]</u> OR /i'hima/ > /i'him/ [ɪ'hɪm] Form 2 /a'hima/ → <u>/á(:)m/</u> [á:m]	[ě'he:m] Form 2 /á:m/	['hɛ:m] Form 2 /ám/ [ó:m]	Form 2 [áɪ̯ɪ]
3 mp. pl. noun	/ay'humu/ > /ay'mu:/		מ (Poetic)	/mu:/ > /mo:/ ⁵³ [moː]	/mo:/	/mo/ [mo:]	[mo]
3 mp.	/a'hinna/ (acc.) /i'hinna/ (gen.)		י ה י	Form 1 /a'hinna/ > /a'hin(n)/ <u>[e'hɪnn]</u> or [e'hɛn] OR /i'hinna/ > /i'hin(n)/ [ɪ'hɪnn] or [ɪ'hɛn] Form 2 /'hinna/ > /'hin/ > /á(:)n/ [á:n]	Form 1 /a'hinn/ → /'he:n/ [ě'he:m] Form 2 /á:n/	Form 1 /'hɛn/ [hɛ:n] Form 2 /án/ [ó:n]	Form 1 [éɪ̯ɪ] Form 2 [áɪ̯ɪ]

Table 25

History of the Accusative Particle *'et*
and its Inflected Form *'ōtô* = "him"

*PH ⁵⁴ (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> */EBHP/* * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/* * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> / <u>TH</u> /* * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)	<u>MT</u> pronounced as IH <u>[H]</u> (present)
/iyyāt/ > /'at/	/'at/ [,ʔet] or [,ʔɛt]	/,ʔe:t/	תַּעַת /,ʔe:t/ *[,ʔe:θ]	[ɛt] or [t]
		/,ʔɛt/	תַּעַת /,ʔɛt/ *[,ʔɛθ]	
/iy'yātahū/ > (by elision of yy) /'ātahū/ > /'ā'tahū/ > /'ō'tahū/) ⁵⁵	/'ō'tahū/ > /'ō'taw/ > /'ō'tô(h)/ [ʔo:'to:h] or [ʔo:'to:]	/'ō'tô/	יְתֹ /'ō'to/ [ʔo:'θo:]	[o'to]

Table 26

Stressed Noun Suffixes in Biblical Hebrew

Meaning	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> */EBHP/* * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/* * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> / <u>TH</u> /* * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)	<u>MT</u> pronounced as IH <u>[H]</u> (present)
<i>Number and Gender Inflections</i>					
Fem. Sing. ⁵⁶	/átu ^m / ⁵⁷ > /átu/	ה /át/ > /á: / > /á:(h)/ ⁵⁸ [á:h] or [á:]	/á: / ⁵⁹	/á/ [ɔ:]	[a]
	/ítu/ ⁶⁰	תִּי /it/ [i:t]	/it/ [i:θ]	/it/ [i:θ]	[it]
	/ūtū/	תִּי /ūt/ [ú:t]	/ūt/ [ú:θ]	/út/ [ú:θ]	[út]

Meaning	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	MT pronounced as IH [IH] (present)
Dual	/áymil/ ⁶¹	אָיִם /áym/ [éyím]	/áyim/	/áyim/ [éáyim]	[áyim]
Masc. Plural	/íma/ > /íma/ > /ím/	אִים /ím/ [í:m]	/ím/ [í:m]	/ím/ [í:m]	[ím]
Fem. Plural	/ātum/ > /ātu/ > /ōtu/ > /ōt/	אִתּוֹת /ōt/ [ó:t]	/ōt/ [ó:θ]	/ót/ [ó:θ]	[ót]
<i>Nouns formed with Suffixes</i>					
Agent of action and/or adjective	/ānu/ > /ān/	אָנִי /ān/ [á:n]	/ān/ [á:n]	/ān/ [ó:n]	[án]
	/ānu/ > /ōn/	אֲנֵינוּ /ōn/ [ó:n]	/ōn/ [ó:n]	/ón/ [ó:n]	[ón]
<i>Nisba</i> - gentilic and, more generally “ belonging to”.	/īyu/ > /īy/ > /ī/ ⁶²	יָ (ms.) /ī/ [í:] אִיִּים (mp.) /ī'yīm/ [i:'yi:m] אִיתִי (fs.) /ī/ [í:t] אִיתֵינוּ (fp.) /ī'yōt/ [i:'yo:t]	/ī/ [í:] /ī'yīm/ [i:'yi:m] /ī/ [í:θ] /ī'yōt/	/ī/ [í:] /ī'yim/ [i:'yi:m] /īt/ [í:θ] /ī'yot/ [i:'yo:θ]	[ī] [i'yim] [ít] [i'yot]
Abstract	/ūt/ > /ūt/ ⁶³	אִתּוֹ (sing.) /ūt/ [ú:t]	/ūt/ [ú:θ]	/út/ [ú:θ]	[út]
		אִיתֵנוּ (pl.) /ū'yōt/ [u:'yo:t]	/ū'yōt/	/u'yot/ [u:'yo:θ]	[u'yot]

Table 27
Locative ⁶⁴ה

(e.g. הביתה 'homeward')

<u>EBHP</u> */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/* *[PTH] (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> /TH/* *[TH] (c. 850 CE)	<u>MT</u> pronounced as IH [IH] (present)
<u>/ah/</u> [eh]+	/â/+	/ã/ [ɔː]+	/a/+

+ 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. 28.14), common in post-biblical Hebrew (see [Kutscher 1977](#) p. 10).

³ According to [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 19 'attāh (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; 34.17).

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 See [Blau 2010](#) §4.2; [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) pp. 19-22.

¹⁷ Unless otherwise noted source for JEH is Gogel ch.3.

¹⁸ From [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.1.1.3.

4.4.4.6. The so-called “connective” vowels in *status pronominalis* (as in יְדִנּוּ) are clearly vestiges of case endings. It cannot be claimed that they are anaptyctic vowels, because this does not account for the different behavior of the 3fs of the suffix-tense preceding pronominal suffixes *without* these vowels (as שְׂמֵרְתָּנוּ).

4.4.4.7. In prepositions the “connective” vowel is sometimes *a*. This can only be accounted for if we consider the “connective” vowels originally to have been case endings. Prepositions, being originally adverbials in construct ... terminated in *-a*, which was accordingly preserved (as in לָנוּ ‘to us’, עִמָּנוּ ‘with us’). Nouns, however, could be followed by any case vowel and therefore *a* was much more restricted (יְדִנּוּ, rather than *ya:dá:nu*).

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ See [Harris 1939](#) p. 74 for אנִי displacing אנֹכִי.

²¹ According to [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 19 ’ānî (BH).

²² [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.12.2.11.

²³ See [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.13.

²⁴ Proposed by Pardee (nk[y], L 6:8) but not proven - [Gogel](#) p. 153.

²⁵ According to [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 19 ’ānōkī (BH).

²⁶ See [Harris 1939](#) p. 75.

²⁷ [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.1.1.3.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ According to [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 19 'antum(ū).

³⁰ [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 19 would have 'attin(nā).

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

³² See also [Beyer](#) p.40.

³³ "When ʾ and ʿ 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 ʾ and ʿ probably have a consonantal value, e.g. ʾ = *ay*, and not *ai*, ʿ = *aw* and not *au*". 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 ֿ- attached to singular nouns (as in ִֿֿֿ) 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 (ִֿֿֿֿ) in plural nouns (ִֿֿֿֿֿ).

See 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](#)): ִֿֿֿֿ, ִֿֿֿֿֿ. The feminine suffix is -*k* after dual/plural as well: **yadaykī* > **yadayk* > (by opening of the final cluster) ִֿֿֿֿֿ.

4.2.3.3.4n. Because of the frequency of pronominal suffixes after nouns denoting double body parts (ִֿֿֿֿ 'your hands', ִֿֿֿֿֿֿ '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) ִֿֿֿֿֿ).

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 [This shift could have been post-exilic.](#)

46 Cf. Gen 1:11(למינו) to vs. 12 (למינהו).

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 For the ׀ ending see [Robertson 1972](#) pp. 65-69.

54 See [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.4.3n.

55 [Blau 1998](#) p. 151.

56 For development see [Harris 1939](#) p. 67-68.

57 For loss of mimation see [Harris 1939](#) pp. 32-33.

58 See [Blau 2010](#) §4.2.3.5.2n.

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

60 See [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.6.9.

61 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 (אֵלֶּיךָ - אֵלֶּיךֶם). The feminine ending is preserved before the dual ending (אֵלֶּיךֶם). In construct and *status pronominalis* the *-n* is omitted....

62 See [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.6.8.

⁶³ See [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.6.9.

⁶⁴ [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.