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History of the Ancient and Modern Hebrew Language

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Excursus 2

Evolution of Pronunciation and [Stress Patterns](#)

(N.b. syllables carrying the primary word stress are in bold)

(Part 2)

See [Tenses or Aspects in Biblical Hebrew](#)

A. The [Proto-Hebrew SC](#) and its Carry-Over into *BH*

We have three major avenues into PH: a) working backwards from BH; b) comparative semitics; and, c) the "[Canaanite glosses](#)" in the [Amarna\(h\) Letters](#)¹. These sources are largely complementary, however, the most detailed evidence is provided by the Amarnah Letters to which the outstanding scholar, Anson Rainey, has dedicated a lifetime of research. The following is quoted from [Rainey 1986](#) (pp. 4-7) -

The following table represents my proposal for the prefix conjugation system reflected in the Armanah letters, that is, those composed by Canaanite scribes ([Rainey 1985](#)). Two modes are recognized, an [indicative](#) for the expression of fact and an injunctive for expressions of [volition](#).

	<i><u>Indicative</u></i>		<i><u>Injunctive</u></i>
Preterite	<i>yaqtul, -û</i>	Jussive	<i>yaqtul, -û</i>
Imperfect	<i>yaqtulu, -ûna</i>	Volitive	<i>yaqtula, -û</i>

<u>Indicative</u>		<u>Injunctive</u>	
<u>Energic</u>	<i>yaqtulun(n)a</i>	Energic	<i>yaqtulan(n)a</i>

... It was [W. L. Moran](#) ... who first defined syntactically the jussive, imperfect, and volitive.... (I)t was found that the zero-form, *yaqtul*, was often juxtapose to *yaqtulu* to express the contrast between a single action in the past and present-future continuous.... The question before us now is to what extent these basic forms can be discerned in biblical Hebrew....

The method adopted here for defining the syntactic functions of the BH prefix conjugation is... the use use of variants in the weak verbs as a key for establishing semantic categories. The known morphological distinctions, especially those between the long and short forms of second and third weak roots, have their respective [syntagmas](#). Once these are defined, in terms of semantic function, they become the criteria for defining strong verb forms which, in BH, have lost their outward differences that had distinguished the syntactic functions in the older Canaanite dialects (as also in Classical Arabic)....

It is generally acknowledged that the "long" and the "short" forms of prefix verbs are the reflexes of original *yaqtulu* and *yaqtul* respectively, viz. causitive *yaqtîl* (< **yaqtîlu*) vs. *yaqtêl* (< **yaqtîl*∅); *yāqûm* (< **yaqûmu*) vs. *yāqôm* (< **yaqum*∅); *yāqîm* (< **yaqîmu*) vs. *yāqēm* (< **yaqim*∅); *yibné(h)* (< **yibnayu*) ... vs. *yiben* (< **yibnay*), etc.... What is important for our present purposes is that the same zero forms do have both the jussive and the preterite functions. The latter usage, however, became increasingly restricted in BH as the suffix conjugation took over the past tense function, just as it did in Ugaritic prose ([Gordon 1965](#):68 §9.3), in Phoenician ... and to a large extent in the Amarnah letters from Byblos.....

There are still som instances of the *yaqtul* preterite in BH poetic texts.... In prose the *yaqtul* (preterite) has been restricted to the role of a narrative past tense expressing a sequence of actions. In narrative sequences of this nature, it is at the head of its clause, always introduced by the augmented, *wa*.(*waw* plus [gemination](#)/lengthening; [Revell 1984](#):443)....

The [West Semitic languages](#) developed a form, *yaqtulu*, to express the present-future and past continuous.... For most verbs, the loss of the final short vbowels neutralized the formal distinction in BH between the zero forms and *yaqtulu* but certain weak verbs do distinguish between the two original patterns. In addition, there are some three hundred examples of the long masculine plural suffixes in *-ûn*, and a few cases of the second feminine singular in *-în* ([GK](#):128-129 §§47m-o.). These derive respectively from and as demonstrated not only by comparison with Classical Arabic, but also with the Canaanite inflections in the [Amarnah letters](#).... Except for some poetic passages, the long forms with *nun* are probably archaisms, especially in the deuteronomistic materials.² But even without the long plural and second feminine forms, the biblical authors still had several means for indicating morphologically the difference between the imperfect and the preterite/jussive....

While there is a wide variety of usages of the West Semitic imperfect, especially in BH, the verbal system as a whole does indicate tense. The communicational context would generally leave no doubt as to the

temporal nuance intended by the imperfect. After all, the modal forms such as the jussive also have a broad spectrum of nuances without causing ambiguity, so why should not the imperfect enjoy a similar range. Many other languages with clear-cut tense systems use certain forms or syntagmas in more than one nuance....

Table 31 - Reconstructed PC Forms in PH and EBHP³			
*PH (c. 1200 BCE)		EBHP⁴ *EBHP* (c. 850-550 BCE)	
<u><i>Indicative</i></u>	<u><i>Injunctive</i></u>	<i>Indicative</i>	<u><i>Modal</i></u>
<i>Imperfect</i> (<u>PC_{imp}</u>)	<i>Jussive</i> (<u>PC_{jus}</u>)	<i>Imperfect</i> (<u>present/future (PC_{imp_pfut})</u> and past continuous (<u>PC_{imp_pdur}</u>) and occasionally <u>injunctive (PC_{imp_inj})</u>) (negated with אֵל)	<i>Jussive</i> (<u>PC_{jus}</u>) (negated with אֵל)
/ʾaqʔulu/ (1c.) /taqʔulu/ (2ms.) /taqʔuli:n/ (2fs.) /taqʔuʕi:na/ (2fs.) /yaqʔulu/ (3ms.) /taqʔulu/ (3fs.) /naqʔulu/ (1cp.) /taqʔulūn/ (2mp.) /taqʔuʕūna/ (2mp.) /taqʔulnā/ (2fp.) /yaqʔulūn/ (3mp.) /yaqʔuʕūna/ (3mp.)	/ʾaqʔul/ (1c.) /ʔaqʔul/ (2ms.) /taqʔulī/ (2fs.) /yaqʔul/ (3ms.) /ʔaqʔul/ (3fs.) /naqʔul/ (1cp.) /taqʔulū/ (2mp.) /taqʔulnā/ (2fp.) /yaqʔulū/ (3mp.)	<u>/iqʔul/</u> (1c.) /tiqʔul/ (2ms.) /tiqʔuli(:)/ (2fs.) /tiqʔuʕi:n/ (2fs.) /yiqʔul/ (3ms.) /tiqʔul/ (3fs.) /niqʔul/ (1cp.) /tiqʔulū/ (2mp.) /tiqʔuʕūn/ (2mp.) /tiqʔulna(:)/ (2fp.) /yiqʔulū/ (3mp.) /yiqʔuʕūn/ (3mp.)	/ʔiqʔul/ (2ms.) /tiqʔulī/ (2fs.) /yiqʔul/ (3ms.) /ʔiqʔul/ (3fs.) /tiqʔulū/ (2mp.) /tiqʔulnā/ (2fp.) /yiqʔulū/ (3mp.)
<i>Preterite</i> (<u>PC_{pret}</u>)	<u><i>Volitive</i></u> (only the forms relevant to BH)	<i>Preterite</i>	<i>Cohortative (PC_{coh})</i> (negated with אֵל)
/ʾaqʔul/ (1c.)	/ʾaqʔula/ (1c.)	/waʾiqʔul/ (1c. prose ⁵) /ʾiqʔul/ (1c. poetry)	/ʔiqʔula(:)/ (1c.)
/ʔaqʔul/ (2ms.)		/watʔiqʔul/ (2ms. prose) /ʔiqʔul/ (2ms. poetry)	

Table 31 - Reconstructed PC Forms in PH and EBHP ³			
*PH (c. 1200 BCE)		EBHP ⁴ */EBHP/* (c. 850-550 BCE)	
/taq'tul/ (2fs.)		/wattiq'tuli(:)/ (2fs. prose) /tiq'tuli(:)/ (2fs. poetry)	
/'yaqtul/ (3ms.)		/way'yiqtul/ (3ms. prose) /'yiqtul/ (3ms. poetry)	
/'taqtul/ (3fs.)		/wat'tiqtul/ (3fs. prose) /'tiqtul/ (3fs. poetry)	
/'naqtul/ (1cp.)	/naq'tula/ (1cp.)	/wan'niqtul/ (1cp. prose) /'niqtul/ (1cp. poetry)	/niq'tula(:)/ (1cp.)
/taq'tulū/ (2mp.)		/wattiq'tulū/ (2mp. prose) /tiq'tulū/ (2mp. poetry)	
/taq'tulnā/ (2fp.)		/wattiq'tulnā/ (2fp. prose) /tiq'tulnā/ (2fp. poetry)	
/yaq'tulū/ (3mp.)		/wayyiq'tulū/ (3mp. prose) /yiq'tulū/ (3mp. poetry)	

In the words of Huehnergard⁶ -

In discussing the formant Hebrew reflexes of the forms *yaqtul* and *yaqtulu*, Rainey⁷ reminds us that the original distinction between them was still preserved in certain [weak verbs](#).... He also notes that the imperfect plural forms like *yikt**bu**n*, with a final *n*, derive from the old plural of *yaqtulu*, namely *yaqtulūna*, whereas the more common *yikt**bu***, without *n*, reflects the plural of early *yaqtul*, namely *yaqtulū*. In a recent monograph by J. Hoftijzer ... one of the most interesting observations is that ***yikt**bu**n*, with final *n*, almost never occurs as a jussive or waw-consecutive**.... Thus, it contrasts with the more common *yikt**bu*** in what Hoftijzer correctly calls an opposition of marked versus unmarked forms. From the historical point of view, therefore we can say, that when the forms *yaqtul*, *yaqtula*⁸, and *yaqtulu* fell together morphologically in the singular of sound verbs (verbs without weak radicals) because of the loss of final short vowels, the semantic distinctions between the corresponding plurals *yaqtulū* and *yaqtulūn(a)* likewise became blurred, analogically, and a new distinction arose, at least in those dialects of Hebrew in which both plural forms were retained. The form *yaqtulū* became generalized as the paradigmatic plural of the singular *yaqtul* in all of its functions, which in the sound verb appeared synchronically to encompass not only the functions of earlier *yaqtul* and *yaqtula* but also those of the imperfect *yaqtulu*. The original imperfect plural *yaqtulūn(a)* was therefore redundant, at least on some level. **Its function accordingly shifted, from being the *only* imperfect plural form to being a *specifically* imperfect form.**

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by *waC*-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of *Hiphil*

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ */EBHP/* * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/* * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> /TH/* * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)
Strong Verb - Qal					
2ms. <i>Imperfect (PC_{imp})</i> "You write, will write, were writing"	/t <u>aktub</u> / > /tak'tubu/	תכתב	/tak'tub/ > /tik'tub/ > /t <u>aktub</u> / > [t <u>ak'tub</u>]? [t <u>ak'tob</u>]?	/tik'tob/ ¹¹ [tix'tov]	תכתב /tik'tob/ [tix'to:v]
2ms. <i>Jussive (PC_{jus})</i> "Write!" <i>Preterite (PC_{pret})</i> "You wrote"	/t <u>aktub</u> /		/t <u>aktub</u> / > /tik'tub/ ¹² [t <u>aktub</u>]? [t <u>aktob</u> b]?		
Distinction(s)	Ending of imperfect and stress	None	Stress	None	None
2fs. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "You write, will write, were writing"	/t <u>aktubi:n(a)</u> / → /t <u>aktubi:n</u> /	תכתבי	/tak'tubi(:)/ > /tik'tubi:/ > [t <u>ak'tubi</u> ']	/tik'te'bi:/	תכתבי /tik'te'bi/ [tix'te'vi:]
2fs. <i>PC_{imp}</i> <i>paragogic nun form</i> "You write/will write"	/t <u>aktubi:n(a)</u> / → /t <u>aktu'bi:na</u> /	תכתבין	תכתב* /t <u>aktu'bi:n</u> / > /tik'tu'bi:n/ > [tikt <u>u'bi:n</u>]? [tikt <u>o'bi:n</u>]?	/tik'te'bi:n/	תכתבין /tik'te'bin/ [tix'te'vi:n]
2fs. <i>PC_{jus}</i> "Write!" <i>PC_{pret}</i> "You wrote"	/t <u>aktub</u> i/ > /tak'tubi/	תכתבי	/tak'tubi(:)/ > /tik'tubi:/ > [t <u>ak'tubi</u> ']	/tik'te'bi:/	תכתבי /tik'te'bi/ [tix'te'vi:]
Distinction(s)	Ending of imperfect and	Only form with paragogic nun	Only paragogic nun form of	Only ending of paragogic nun form of imperfect	

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by waC-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of *Hiphil*

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ */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)
	stress	distinctive due to ending.	<i>imperfect</i> due to ending and stress		
2mp. PC_{imp} "You write, will write, were writing"	/taktubūn(a)/ → <u>/tak'tubūn/</u>	תכתבו	/tak'tubū/ > /tik'tubū/ ¹³ [tɪk'tubuː]	/tikte'bū/	תִּכְתְּבוּ /tikte'bu/ [tixte'vu:]
2mp. PC_{imp} paragogic nun form "You write/will write"	/taktubūn(a)/ → <u>/taktu'būna/</u>	תכתבון	תכתבון* /taktu'būn/ > /tiktu'būn/ [tiktʊ'bu:n]? <u>[tikto'bu:n]?</u>	/tikte'būn/	תִּכְתְּבוּן /tikte'bun/ [tixte'vu:n]
2mp. PC_{jus} "write!" PC_{pret} "You wrote"	/'aktubū/ > /tak'tubū/	תכתבו	/tak'tubū/ > /tik'tubū/ [tɪk'tubuː]	/tikte'bū/	תִּכְתְּבוּ /tikte'bu/ [tixte'vu:]
Distinction(s)	Ending of imperfect and stress	Only form with <i>paragogic nun</i> distinctive due to ending.	Only <i>paragogic nun</i> form of <i>imperfect</i> due to ending and stress	Only form with paragogic nun distinctive due to ending.	
3ms. PC_{imp} "He writes, will write, was writing"	/'yaktubu/ > /yak'tubu/	יכתב	/yak'tub/ > /yik'tub/ <u>[yɪk'tub]?</u> [yɪk'tɔb]	<u>/yik'tob/</u> [yix'tov]	יִכְתֹּב /yik'tob/ [yix'to:v]
3ms. PC_{jus} "Let him write" PC_{pret} "he wrote"	/'yaktub/		/'yaktub/ > /yik tub/ [yɪk'tub]? [<u>yɪkto b</u>]?		
Distinction	Ending of imperfect and	None	Stress	None	

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by waC-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of *Hiphil*

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ * <u>/EBHP/</u> * * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> * <u>/PTH/</u> * * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH/</u> * * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)
	stress				
3fs. PC_{imp} "She writes, will write was writing "	/ʔaktubu/ > /tak'tubu/	תכתב tכתב	/tak'tub/ > /tik'tub/ <u>[tk'tub]</u> ? [tk'tob]?	<u>/tik'tob/</u> [tix'tov]	תכתב /tik'tob/ [tix'to:v]
3fs. PC_{jus} "Let her write" PC_{pret} "she wrote"	/ʔaktub/		/ʔaktub/ > /tik'tub/ tub/ [ʔaktub]? [<u>ʔaktob</u> b]?		
Distinction	Ending of imperfect and stress	None	Stress	None	
3mp. PC_{imp} "They write, will write, were writing "	/yaktubūn(a)/ → <u>/tak'tubūn/</u>	יכתבו	/yak'tubū/ > /yik'tubū/ [ɣik'tubu:]	/yiktə'bū/	יכתבו /yiktə'bu/ [ɣixtə'vu:]
3mp. PC_{imp} paragoric nun form "They write/will write"	/yaktubūn(a)/ → <u>/yaktu'būna/</u>	יכתבון	יכתבון* /yaktu'būn/ > /yiktə'būn/ [ɣiktə'būn]	/yiktə'būn/	יכתבון /yiktə'bun/ [ɣixtə'vu:n]
3mp. PC_{jus} "Let them write" PC_{pret} "they wrote"	/ʔaktubū/ > /yak'tubū/	יכתבו	/yak'tubū/ > /yik'tubū/ [ɣik'tubu:]	/yiktə'bū/	יכתבו /yiktə'bu/ [ɣixtə'vu:]
Distinction	Ending of imperfect and stress	Only form with paragoric nun distinctive due to ending.	Only paragoric nun form of imperfect due to ending and stress	Only form with paragoric nun distinctive due to ending.	

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by waC-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of *Hiphil*

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ * <u>/EBHP/</u> * * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> * <u>/PTH/</u> * * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH/</u> * * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)
Strong Verb - Hiphil¹⁴					
2ms. PC_{imp} "You divide, will divide were dividing"	/tu'habdal/ > /tahab'dalu/ >> /tahab'di:lu/	תבדיל	תבדל* /tab'di:l/ [teb'di:l]	/tab'di:l/	תבדיל /tav'dil/ [tav'di:l]
2ms. PC_{jus} "Divide!" PC_{pret} "You divided"	/ta'habdal/ > /'tabdil/ ¹⁵	תבדל	/'tabdil/ ['tebdi:]? ['tebdɛ:]?	/tab'del/ [tav'del]	תבדל /tav'del/ [tav'dɛ:l]
Distinction	Ending of imperfect and stress	Spelling	Vowel length and stress	Vowel quality and length	Vowel quality
2fs. PC_{imp} "You divide, will divide, were dividing"	/tuhabdali:n(a)/→ /tahab'di:li:n/	תבדילי	תבדלי* /tab'di:li:/ [teb'di:li:]	/tab'di:li:/ ¹⁶	תבדילי /tab'dili/ [tav'di:li:]
2fs. PC_{jus} "Divide!" PC_{pret} "You divided"	/tahab'di:li:/				
Distinction	Ending of imperfect	None			
2mp. PC_{imp} "You divide, will divide, were dividing"	/tuhabdālūn(a)/ → /tahab'di:lūn/	תבדילו	תבדלו* /tab'di:lū/ [teb'di:lu:]	/tab'di:lū/	תבדילו /tab'dilu/ [tav'di:lu:]
2mp. PC_{jus} "Divide!" PC_{pret} "You divided"	/tu'habdalū/ → /tahab'di:lū/				
Distinction(s)	Ending of	None			

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by waC-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of *Hiphil*

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ * <u>/EBHP/</u> * * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> * <u>/PTH/</u> * * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH/</u> * * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)
	imperfect				
3ms. PC_{imp} "He divides, will divide, was dividing"	/yu'habdal _u / → /yahab'di:l _u /	יבדיל	יבדל* /yab'di:l/ [yeb'di:l]	/yab'di:l/	יבְדִיל /yab'dil/ [yav'di:l]
3ms. PC_{jus} "Let him divide" PC_{pret} "he divided"	/ya'habdal/ > /yabdil/	יבדל	/yabdil/ ['yebdɪl]? [yebde:l]?	/yab'del/ [yav'del]	יבְדֵל /yav'del/ [yav'de:l]
Distinction(s)	Ending of imperfect and stress	Spelling	Vowel length and stress	Vowel quality and length	Vowel quality
3mp. PC_{imp} "They divide, will divide, were dividing"	/yu'habdalūn(a)/ → /yahab'di:lūn/	יבדילו	יבדלו* /yab'di:lū/ [yeb'di:lū]	/yab'di:lū/	יבְדִילו /yab'dilu/ [yav'di:lū]
3mp. PC_{jus} "Let them divide" PC_{pret} "they divided"	/ya'habdalū/ > /yahab'di:lū/				
Distinction(s)	Ending of imperfect	None			
Piel					
3ms. PC_{imp} "he speaks, will speak, was speaking"	/ya'dabbiru/ > /yadab'biru/	ידבר	/yadab'bir/ [yadɛb'bir]? [yedɛb'ber]?	/yɛdab'ber/ ¹⁷ [yɛðab'ber]	יְדַבֵּר /yɛdab'ber/ [yɛðab'be:r]
3ms. PC_{jus} "Let him speak" PC_{pret} "he spoke"	/ya'dabbir/ > /ya'dabbir/		/ya'dabbir/ [ye'dɛbbɪr]? [ye'dɛbbɛr]?		
Distinction(s)	Ending of	None	Stress	None	None

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by waC-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of Hiphil

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> */PTH/* * PTH (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> /TH/* * TH (c. 850 CE)
	imperfect and stress				
Niphal					
3ms. PC _{imp} "It will be written"	/yan'katibu/ > /yanka'tibu/ > /yikka'tibu/	יכתב	/yikka'tib/ [yikke'tɪb]? [yikke'tɛb]?	/yikka:'teb/ [yikka:'teb]	יִכְתֹּב /yikkā'tɛb/ [yikkō:'θɛ:v]
3ms. PC _{jus} "Let it be written!" PC _{pret} "It was written"	/yan'katib/ > /yik'katib/ PC _{pret} "You wrote"		/yik'katib/ [yik'ketɪb]? [yik'ketɛb]?		
Distinction(s)	Ending of imperfect and stress	None	Stress	None	None
Examples of Weak Verbs					
3ms. PC _{imp} "He makes/does, will make/do, were making/doing"	/ya ^c šayu/ > /ya ^c šayu/	יעשה	/ya ^c šay/ > /yi ^c šê/ [yɪʔ'tɛ:]	/ya ^c šê/ [yaʔä'se:]	יַעֲשֶׂה /ya ^c šɛ/ [ya:ʔä'sɛ:]
3ms. PC _{jus} "Let him make/do" PC _{pret} "he made/did"	/ya ^c šay/	יעש	/ya ^c šay/> /yi ^c š/ [yɪʔt]? [yɪʔɛt]?	/ya ^c as/ [yaʔas]	יַעַשׂ [ya:ʔas]
Distinction	Ending of imperfect and stress	Spelling	Ending of imperfect and stress		
3ms. PC _{imp} "He drinks, will drink, was drinking"	/yaštay/ > /yaš'tayu/	ישתה	/yaš'tay/ → /yiš'tê/ [yɪʔ'tɛ:]	/yiš'tê/	יִשְׁתֶּה /yiš'tɛ/ [yɪʔ'tɛ:]

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by waC-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of *Hiphil*

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ * <u>/EBHP/</u> * * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> * <u>/PTH/</u> * * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH/</u> * * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)
3ms. PC _{jus} "Let him drink" PC _{pret} "He drank"	/yaštay/	ישת	/yaštay/ → /yišt/ [yɪʃt]? [yɪʃet]?	/yešt/	יֵשֶׁת /yešt/ [yɛ:ʃt]
Distinction	Ending of imperfect and stress	Spelling	Ending of imperfect and stress	Ending of imperfect, quality of first vowel and stress	
3ms. PC _{imp} "He will be"	/yahyayu/ > /yah'yayu/ (details see above)	יהיה	/yah'yê/ > /yih'yê/ [yɪh'yɛ:]	/yih'yê/	יְהִיֶּה /yih'yɛ/ [yih'yɛ:]
3ms. PC _{jus} "Let him be/may he be" PC _{pret} "He was"	/yihyay/	יהי	/yahyay/ → /yahyay/ > /yihy/ [yɪhɪ]? [yɪhiy]? (details see above)	/yɛ'hi:/	יְהִי /yɛ'hi/ [yɛ'hi:]
Distinction	Ending of imperfect and stress	Spelling	Endings distinct and stress	Endings and quality of first vowel distinct	
3ms. PC _{imp} "He will return"	/yašwubu/ > /ya'šûbu/ ¹⁸	ישוב	ישב* /ya'šûb/ [yɛ'ʃu:b]	/ya:šûb/	יָשׁוּב /yâ'sûb/ [yɔ:'ʃu:v]
3ms. PC _{jus} "Let him return" PC _{pret} "He returned"	/yašwub/ > /yašub/	ישב	/yašub/ [yɛʃub]? [yɛʃo b]?	/ya:šob/	יָשׁוּב /yâ'sob/ [yɔ:'ʃo:v]

Table 32 - Disappearance of Formal Distinctions between PC_{imp}, PC_{jus}⁹ and PC_{pret} (not preceded by *waC*-) in Strong Verb Except for Parts of *Hiphil*

	<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> ¹⁰ * <u>/EBHP/</u> * * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> * <u>/PTH/</u> * * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH/</u> * * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)
Distinction	Ending of imperfect, length of second vowel and stress	Spelling	Length of second vowel and stress	Length and quality of second vowel	Quality of second vowel
2ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "You will put"	/tuyśamu/ → /ta'śi:mu/	תשים	תשם* /ta'śi:m/ [te'fi:m]	/ta:'śi:m/	תְּשִׂים /yá'śim/ [yɔ:'śi:m]
2ms. <i>PC_{jus}</i> "Put!" <i>PC_{pret}</i> "You have put"	/taśim/	תשם	/taśim/ [te'fɪm]? <u>[te'fɪm]</u> ?	/'ta:śem/	תְּשֵׂם /'táśem/ ['tɔ:śem]
Distinction	Ending of imperfect, length of second vowel and stress	Spelling	Length of second vowel and stress	Length and quality of second vowel and stress	Quality of second vowel and stress

The disappearance of these formal distinctions is particularly problematic when trying to understand some poems describing events in the past where some verbs can be understood as:

- (a) [PC_{pret_sim}](#) forms describing a completed historic action; or,
- (b) [PC_{imp_prfut}](#) forms indicating present (incomplete) or future actions or general behavior; or,
- (c) [PC_{imp_pdur}](#) forms indicating ongoing actions in the past.

See -

[*Tenses or Aspects in Biblical Hebrew*](#)

Time and Modal Implications of PC in Various Categories of BH Poetry

a) Archaizing Poetry

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B. The [Biblical Hebrew](#) Verbal System

1. Classes of Verbs¹⁹

Historically, in strong verbs, in both the [SC](#) and [PC](#) (traditional "perfect" and "imperfect" respectively) of the *qal*, one of the three **short** primitive Semitic vowels /a/, /i/, /u/ appear between the second and third root consonant. The attested forms in BH are:

- a. **stative verbs** (declined adjectives) e.g. כָּבֵד (EBHP */ka'bid/ *i-a* class) "he is/was heavy", כְּבִדּוּ (EBHP */ka'bidū/) "They are/were heavy", יִכְבְּדוּ (EBHP */yik'bad/ etc.) "They will be

heavy"; קטן (EBHP */qa'tun/ *[k'e'tun] or *u-a class*) "he is/was small", קטנתי (EBHP */qa'tuntī/ *[k'e'tuntī] or *[k'e'tontī]) "I am/was small", יקטן (EBHP */yiq'tan/ etc.) "I will be small";

b. *intransitive verbs* e.g. למדתי (EBHP */la'mad/ *a-a class*) "I learned", ילמד (EBHP */yil'mad/ etc.) "I will learn"; and,

c. *transitive verbs* e.g. לכד (EBHP */la'kad/ *a-u class*) "he captured" (*SC* ילכד EBHP */yil'kad/ *[yil'kad] etc.); נתן (EBHP */na'tan/ *a-i class*) "he gave" (*SC* יתן EBHP */yit'tin/ *[yit'tin] or *[yit'ten] etc.).

In Biblical Hebrew the *u-a class* is relict with only a few examples remaining; the *a-i class* consists of a small number of very common verbs; the *a-a class* shows clear signs of assimilating into the *a-u class*. In [TH](#) In [MH](#), the *i-a class* and the remnants of the *u-a class* would be replaced by their already common biblical adjective forms - e.g. BH כבדו (TH כבדו) would be replaced by MH היו כבדים היו or כבדים היו and BH קטנתי (TH קטנתי) would be replaced by MH קטן הייתי or הייתי קטן.

Table 33

**Comparison of the Development (PH to TH) of *Qal* (a-u class)
Jussive, Imperative, Infinitive Construct and Infinitive Absolute**

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT */LBHP/ *[LBHP] (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* (c. 850-550 BCE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)
<i>PC_{jus} 2ms.</i>	/taqtul/	/'taqtul/ > /tiqtul/	/tiq'tol/	תִּקְטֹל /tiq'tol/ [tiq'to:l]
<i>Imperative 2ms.</i>	/'quṭul/	/'quṭul/ > /qu'tul/ > /q'tul/ ²⁰ [qə'tul]? [qə'toḥ]? [qū'tul]? [qō'toḥ]?	/q'tol/	קֹטֵל /qə'tol/ [qə'to:l]
<i>Imperative 2ms. pronominal state</i>	/quṭul/	/'quṭul/ > /quṭ'IV/ [quṭ'IV]? [qo 'IV]?	/qoṭ'IV/	קֹטֵלְךָ /qoṭ'IV/ [qoṭ'IV]
<i>Infinitive Construct</i>	/'quṭulu/ > /qu'tulu/ (abs. state)	/qu'to:l/ > /q'to:l/ [qə'to:l]? [qū'to:l]? [qō'to:l]?	/q'to:l/	קֹטֵל /qə'tol/ [qə'to:l]
	/'quṭulu/ > /qu'tulu/ (pronominal state)	/qu'tul/ > /quṭ'I-/ [quṭ'IV-]? [qo 'IV-]?	/quṭ'IV-/	קֹטֵלְךָ /qoṭ'IV/ [qoṭ'IV]
	/qu,ṭul/ (constr. state)	/qu,ṭul/ > /q,ṭul/ [qə,ṭul]? [qū,ṭul]? [qə,ṭo l]? [qō,ṭo]?	/q,ṭol/	קֹטֵל /qə,ṭol/ [qə,ṭo:l]
<i>Infinitive Absolute</i>	/qa'tālu/ > /qa'tōlu/	/qa'tōl/ [qə'to:l]	/qa:'tōl/	קֹטֵל /qā'tol/ [qo:'to:l]

N.b. Regarding the length of the EBHP vowels after second root consonant of the strong verb, represented by *sērê* and *hōlem* in TH -

a) The following clearly had long vowels following the second root consonant of the strong verb in */EBHP/:

- *qal*/inf. abs. and the inf. constr. in the absolute form;

- *hiphil* [SC](#), [PC](#), [a.p.](#) and [inf. constr.](#); and,
- the passive participles in general - *qal* (*qa'ti:l*; *qa'tu:l*); *niphal* (**niq'ta:l*); *pual* (**muqat'ta:l*); *hophal* (**muq'ta:l*).

b) It is very likely that in all other cases the vowel, if any, following the second root consonant of the strong verb was short.

Category	Meaning	SC ²²	PC ²³ Characteristic vowel <i>a</i> in absence of proof to the contrary	Participle (= adjective in stative verbs)	Infinitive Construct
<i>Attributes</i>	to be good	טוּבוּ	יֵטֵב	טוֹב	טוֹב
	to be evil	רָע	יָרַע	רָע	
	to be big, grow (intransitive)	גָּדַל / גִּדַּל		גָּדוֹל	
	to be small	קָטַן		קָטַן	
	to be high	גָּבַהּ		גָּבַהּ	
	to be low	שָׁפַל		שָׁפַל	
	to be strong	חָזַק		חָזַק	
	to be weak	דָּל	יָדַל		
	to be heavy	כָּבֵד*		כָּבֵד	
	to be light	קָל	יָקַל	קָל	
	to be far	רָחַק		רָחוֹק	
	to be close	קָרַב / קִרְבַּ		קָרוֹב	
	to approach (defective verb)	נָגַשׁ*	יָגַשׁ		
	to adhere	דָּבַק / דִּבְקַ			
	to be pure	טָהַר		טָהוֹר	

Table 34 - Common Stative and Similar Qal Verbs in TH Form²¹

Category	Meaning	SC ²²	PC ²³ Characteristic vowel a in absence of proof to the contrary	Participle (= adjective in stative verbs)	Infinitive Construct
	to be impure	טָמֵא		טָמֵא	
	to be full	מָלֵא		מָלֵא	
<i>Mental States</i>	to love	אָהַב/אָהֵב	יָאָהֵב		
	to desire	חָפֵץ	יְחָפֵץ		
	to hate	שָׂנֵא			
	to fear	יָרָא	יִירָא		
	to dread*	יָגַר	יִגְוֹר [גור]		
	to tremble	חָרַד	יְחָרַד		
	to fear, tremble	פָּחַד			
	to forget	שָׁכַח / *שָׁכַח			
<i>Physical States</i>					
	to wear (clothes)	לָבַשׁ / לְבַשׁ			
	to be sated	שָׂבַע / שָׂבַע		שָׂבַע	
	to be hungry	רָעַב		רָעַב	
	to be thirsty	צָמָא		צָמָא	
	to sleep	יָשַׁן*	יִישַׁן		
	to lie down, to be lying down	שָׁכַב			שָׁכַב
	to become childless	שָׁבַל			
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	to be able to	יָכַל	יִוָּכַל		
	to learn	לָמַד			
	to die	מָת	יָמוּת		

Table 34 - Common Stative and Similar Qal Verbs in TH Form ²¹					
Category	Meaning	<u>SC</u> ²²	<u>PC</u> ²³ Characteristic vowel <i>a</i> in absence of proof to the contrary	Participle (= adjective in stative verbs)	Infinitive Construct
	to ask	שָׁאַל			
	to inhabit	שָׁכַן (pausal ²⁴) שָׁכַן	יִשְׁכֹּן		
	to hear	שָׁמַע (pausal) שָׁמַע			

Note the following quoted from [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) (§112) -

Active verbs which have as stative or quasi-stative meaning are treated like stative verbs²⁵. They are mainly verbs expressing a state of mind, e.g. *to hope*: קוֹיִתִּי / *I hope, I wait for* Ps 130.5; הוֹחֵלֵתִי / *hope* Ps 130.5; חִקְתָּהּ / *it waits* Ps 33.20; ²⁶בִּטְחָתִּי / *I trust* Ps 52.10; 56.5,12 etc.; קִצְּתִי / *I abhor* Gn 27.46; מְאִסְתִּי / *I despise, reject with scorn* Am 5.21; בָּחַרְתִּי / *I choose, I prefer* Ps 84.11; רַחַם / *he has mercy* Ps 103.13 (cf. Zech 10.6); Job 3.26 (three perfects with similar meanings: *I have no quiet, no peace, no rest*). Note in particular that the verb יָדַע in the sense of *to know* is very often treated as a stative verb. In ordinary prose *I know is* יִדְעֵתִי, *you know* יִדְעֵת (often אֲתָהּ יִדְעֵת), *he knows* יִדַּע (but more often יִדַּע יְ...), and rather rarely יָדַע. Likewise the verb זָכַר is treated like a stative verb, e.g. זָכְרֵנוּ / *we remember* Nu 11.5. The verb עָמַד *to take one's stand, to be in a standing position* is treated like a stative verb when its meaning is practically stative, e.g. in the formula חַי־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר עִמָּדְתִּי לְפָנָיו / *by Yaweh the Living God whom I serve!* 1Kg 17.118.15; 2Kg 3.14; 5.16. The perfect יָשַׁב *to sit down, be sitting* has the meaning of present stative in Ez 28.2; Lam 1.1.... In Nifal we have e.g. Ez 26.19 לֹא־יִשְׁבּוּ / *they (no longer) are inhabited*. [n. The verb נָפַל *to fall* is also used with the stative meaning of *to have... fallen, to be lying... not only in the participle... but sometimes even in the finite tenses....*]

2. Background on Biblical Hebrew *Prefix Conjugation* (PC)²⁷

Unlike the *suffix conjugation* conjugation which was nominal in origin, the *prefix conjugation* (PC) was always verbal. [As noted above](#), it also has one of the three primitive Semitic vowels /a/, /i/, /u/ between the second and third root consonant.

The vowel following the prefix in pre-exilic Hebrew was also /a/, /i/ or /u/ depending on the verbal stem (*binyan*), linguistic period and, undoubtedly, dialect.

In the simple stem of [Arabic dialects](#) both vowels tend to shift or sometimes disappear e.g. "he writes/will write"²⁸: Damascene *byəktob*; Gulf *yaktib*; Yemenite *yuktub*; Tunesian Marazig *yəktə b*; Maltese *yikteb*. The situation in Arabic probably reflects what one would have found among the [Canaanite languages](#) and their, no doubt numerous [dialects](#), in bronze and iron age [Phoenicia](#), [Philistia](#), [Israel](#), [Judah](#), [Ammon](#), [Edom](#), and [Moab](#).

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* */EBHP/ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{IH} [BH _{IH}] = [IH] (present)
1. Strong Verbs							
Qal							
a/u	1cs. PC_{imp} "I write, will write was writing"	/ʔaktubu/ ³⁰⁺ > /ak'tubu/	אכתב	/ʔak'tub/ ³¹ > /ʔik'tub/ [ʔak'tub]? [ʔək'tub]? [ʔak'tob]? [ʔək'tob]?	/ʔek'tob/ ³² [ʔex'tov]	אֶכְתֹּב /ʔək'tob/ [ʔex'to:v]	[ex'tov]
	1cs. PC_{coh} "Let me write"	/ʔaktuba/ > /ʔak'tubā/	אכתבה	/ʔak'tuba(:)/ > /ʔik'tuba(:)/ [ʔak'tube:]? [ʔək'tube:]? [ʔak'tobə:]? [ʔək'tobə:]?	/ʔektə'ba:/	אֶכְתְּבָה /ʔektə'bā/ [ʔextə'vo:]	[ext'va]
	2ms. PC_{imp} "You write, will write were writing"	/ʔaktubu/+ > /tak'tubu/	תכתב	/tak'tub/ > /tik'tub/ 'tub/ [tik'tub]? [tik'tob]?	/tik'tob/ [tix'tov]	תִּכְתֹּב /tik'tob/ [tix'to:v]	[tix'tov]
	2fs. PC_{imp} "You write, will write were writing"	/taktubi:n(a)/ → /tak'tubi:n/ ³³	תכתבי	/tak'tubi(:)/ > /tik'tubi(:)/ [tik'tubi]? [tik'tob]?	/tikte'bi:/ (<i>pausal</i>) /tik'to:bi:/ ³⁴	תִּכְתְּבִי /tikte'bi/ [tixte'vi:] (<i>pausal</i>)	[tixt'vi:] (<i>pausal</i>) [tix'tovi]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP * [EBHP] /* [EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH * [PTH] /* [PTH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/ * [TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{II} [BH _{II}] = [IH] (present)
						תִּכְתְּבִי /tik'tobi/ [tix'to:vi:]	
	2fs. PC_{imp} paragogic nun form "You write, will write were writing"	/taktubi:n(a)/ > /' taktubi:na /' > <u>/taktu'bi:na/</u>	תכתבין	/taktu'bi:n/ > /tiktu'bi:n/ [tiktʊ'bi:n]? [tiktʊ'bi:n]?	/tikte'bi:n/	תִּכְתְּבִין /tikte'bin/ [tixtə'vi:n]	[tixt'vin]
	3ms. PC_{imp} "He writes, will write, was writing"	/' yaktubu /' > /yak'tubu/	יכתב	/yak'tub/ > /yik'tub/ [ɪk'tub]? [yik'tʊb]?	/yik'tob/ [yix'tov]	יִכְתֹּב /yik'tob/ [yix'to:v]	[yix'tov] ~ [ix'tov]
	3ms. PC_{imp} "He guards, will guard, was guarding"	/' yašmuru /' > /yaš'muru/	ישמר	/yaš'mur/ > /yiš'mur/ [ɪʃ'mʊr]? [yɪʃ'moʔ]?	/yiš'mor/ [yij'mor]	יִשְׁמֹר /yiš'mor/ [yij'mo:r]	[yij'moʔ] ~ [ij'moʔ]
i/a	3ms. PC_{imp} "He will be heavy"	/' yakbadu /' > /yik'badu/	יכבד	/yik'bad/ > [ɪk'bed]	/yik'bad/ [yix'bað]	יִכְבֹּד /yik'bad/ [yix'be:ð]	[ix'bad]
u/a	3ms. PC_{imp} "He will be small"	/' yaqtanu /' ³⁵ > /yiq'tanu/	יקטן	/yiq'tan/ > [ɪq'ten]	/yiq'tan/ [yiq'tan]	יִקְטַן /yiq'tan/ [yiq'te:n]	[yik'tan] ~ [ik'tan]
a-i class Vestigal. Most of the original verbs in this category assimilated	3ms. PC_{imp} "He goes down, will go down, was going down"	/' yawridu /' > /yaw'ridu/' > /yaw'ridu/' > /ya'ridu/' ³⁶ /' yawridu /' → /ya'ridu/	ירד	/ya'rid/ > /yi'rid/' ³⁷ [ɪr'id]? <u>[ɪr'id]</u> ?	/ye'red/ [ye'reð]	יִרַד /ye'red/ [ɪr'e:ð]	[ɪr'eð]
3ms. PC_{imp} "He sits, will"	/' yawšibu /' > /yaw'šibu/	ישב		/yaw'šib/ > /ya'šib/ >	/ye:šeb/ [ye:'šeb/]	יִשֵּׁב /ye:šeb/	[ɪr'eð]

[ye:'fev]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> * <u>EBHP</u> / <u>+</u> * <u>[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> * <u>/PTH</u> / <u>+</u> * <u>[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH</u> / <u>+</u> * <u>[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)	<u>BH_{IH}</u> <u>[BH_{IH}] = [IH]</u> (present)
to a/u-o paradigm	sit, was sitting"			/yi'šib/ ³⁸ [yɪ'ʃɪb]? [yɛ'ʃɪb]?		[yɛ:'ʃɛ:v]	
				/yaw'šib/ → /yay'šib/ [yey'ʃɪb]? [yɛy'ʃɪb]?			
	3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He goes out, will go out, was going out"	/yawʃiʔu/ > /yaw'ʃiʔu/	יצא	/yaw'ʃiʔ/ > /ya'ʃiʔ/ > /yi'ʃiʔ/ ³⁹ [yɪ'ʃɪʔ]? [yɛ'ʃɪʔ]? OR /yaw'ʃiʔ/ → /yay'ʃiʔ/ [yey'ʃɪʔ]? [yɛy'ʃɪʔ]?	/yɛ:'ʃê/ [ye:'ʃe:] /yê'šê/ [ye:'ʃe:]	יצא /yɛ'ʃɛ/ [ye:'ʃɛ:]	[yɛ'tsɛ]
	3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He goes, will go, was going"	/yawliku/ > /yaw'liku/	ילך	/yaw'lik/ > /ya'lik/ > /yi'lik/ ⁴⁰ [yɪ'lɪk]? [yɛ'lɪk]? OR /yaw'lik/ > /yay'lik/ [yey'lɪk]? [yɛy'lɪk]?	/yɛ:'lek/ [ye:'lex] /yê'lek/ [ye:'lex]	ילך /yɛ'lek/ [yɛ:'lə:x]	[yɛ'lex]
	3ms. <i>PC_{pret}</i> (PC _{jus} form similar) "He went"	/(way)yilik/	ויילך	/(way)yilik/ [(wey)yɪlɪk]? [(wey)yɛlɪk]?	/(way)yelek/ [(way)yelex]	ויילך /(way)yɛlek/ [(way)yɛ:lex] ⁴¹	[va'yɛlex] ~ [vayɛ'lex]
	3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He gives, will give, was giving"	/yantinu/ > /yattinu/ > /yat'tinu/	יתן	/yat'tin/ > /yit'tin/ ⁴² [yɪt'tɪn]? [yɪt'tɛn]?	/yit'ten/ [yit'ten]	יתן /yit'ten/ [yit'tɛ:n]	[yit'tɛn]
	3fs. <i>PC_{imp}</i>	/'taktubu/+ >	תכתב	/tak'tub/ >	/tik'tob/	תכתב	[tix'tov]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP * [EBHP] /* [EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH * [PTH] /* [PTH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/ * [TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{II} [BH _{II}] = [IH] (present)
	"She writes, will write, was writing"	/tak'tubu/ > /tak'tub/		/tik'tub/ [tik'tub]? [tik'tob]?	[tix'tov]	/tik'tob/ [tix'to:v]	
1cp. PC_{imp} "We write, will write were writing"		/'nak'tubu/+> /nak'tubu/	נכתב	/nak'tub/ > /nik'tub/ [nik'tub]? [nik'tob]?	/nik'tob/ [nix'tov]	נכתב /nik'tob/ [nix'to:v]	[niix'tov]
1cp. PC_{coh} "Let's write"		/'nak'tuba/ > /nak'tuba/ > /nak'tubā/	נכתבה	/nak'tuba(:)/ > /nik'tuba(:)/ [nik'tube:]? [nik'tob]?	/niktə'ba:/	נכתבה /niktə'bá/ [nixtə'vɔ:]	[nixt'va]
1cp. PC_{coh} "Let's guard"		/'naš'mura/ > /naš'murā/	נשמרה	/naš'mura(:)/ > /niš'mura(:)/ [niš'mure:]? [niš'moɔrɛ]?	/nišmə'ra:/	נשמרה /nišmə'rá/ [nišmə'ɔ:]	[nišm'ɛʂɛ]
2mp. PC_{imp} "You write, will write, were writing"		/taktubūn(a)/ → /tak'tubūn/	תכתבו	/tak'tubū/ > /tik'tubū/ [tik'tubu:]? [tik'tob]?	/tikte'bū/ (<i>pausal</i>) /tik'to:bū:/	תכתבו /tikte'bu/ [tixte'vu:] <i>pausal</i> תכתבו /tik'tobu/ [tix'to:vu:]	[tixt'vu] (<i>pausal</i>) /tik'tovu/
2mp. PC_{imp} <i>paragogic nun form</i> "You write, will write, were writing"		/taktubūn(a)/ → /taktu'būna/ ⁴³	תכתבוּן	/taktu'būn/ > /tiktu'būn/ [tiktu'bu:n]? [tikto'bu:n]?	/tikte'būn/	תכתבוּן /tikte'bun/ [tixte'vu:n]	[tixt'vun]
2fp. PC_{imp} "You write, will write, were writing"		/'tak'tubna/ > /tak'tubnā/	תכתבנה	/tak'tubna(:)/ > /tik'tubna(:)/ [tik'tubne:]? [tik'tobe:]?	/tik'tobna:/ [tix'tovna:]	תכתבנה /tik'tobnā/ [tix'to:vno:]	[tix'tovna]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 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)
	3mp. PC_{imp} ⁴⁴ "They write, will write, were writing"	/yaktubūn(a)/ → <u>/tak'tubūn/</u>	יכתבו	/yak'tubū/ > /yik'tubū/ [yɪk'tubu:]? [yɪk'tɔ̃bɔ̃:]?	/yiktə'bū/ <i>(pausal)</i> /yik'to:bū:/	יְכַתְּבוּ /yiktə'bu/ [yixtə'vu:] <i>(pausal)</i> יְכַתְּבוּ /yik'tobu/ [yix'to:vu:]	[yixt'vu] ~ [ixt'vu] ~ [ixt'vu] <i>(pausal)</i> [yix'tovu] ~ [ix'tovu] ~ [ix'tovu]
	3mp. PC_{imp} paragogic nun form "They write, will write, were writing"	/yaktubūn(a)/ → <u>/yaktu'būna/</u>	יכתבון	/yaktu'būn/ > /yiktu'būn/ ⁴⁵ [yɪktu'bu:n]? [yɪktɔ̃'bu:n]?	/yiktə'bu:n/	יְכַתְּבוּן /yiktə'bun/ [yixtə'vu:n]	[yixt'vun] ~ [ixt'vun] ~ [ixt'vun]
	3fp. "They write, will write, were writing"	/'yaktubna/ > <u>/tak'tubnā/</u>	תכתבנה	/tak'tubna(:)/ > /tik'tubna(:)/ [tɪk'tubne:]? [tɪk'tɔ̃be:]?	/tik'tobna:/ [tix'tovna:]	תְּכַתְּבֶנָּה /tik'tobnā/ [tix'to:vno:]	[tix'tovna]
	Hiphil						
	3ms. PC_{imp} "He causes to write, will cause to write, was causing to write,"	/yu'haktabu/ > /yahak'tabu/	יכתיב	/yak'ti:b/ > [yek'ti:b]	/yak'ti:b/	יְכַתִּיב /yax'tib/ [yex'ti:v]	[yax'tiv]
	3ms. PC_{jus} "Let him cause to write"	/ya'haktab/ > <u>/'yaktib/</u>	יכתב	/'yaktib/ > [yektɪb]? [yektɛb]?	/yak'teb/ > [yax'tev]	יְכַתֵּב /yak'tɛb/ [yex'tɛ:v]	[yax'tɛv]
	Hophal						
	3ms. PC_{imp} "He will be made to write etc."	/'yuhaktabu/ > /yuk'tabu/	יכתב	/yuk'tab/ > [yuk'tɛb]? <u>[yɔ̃ tɛb]</u> ?	/yuk'tab/ > [yux'tev]? [yox'tev]?	יְכַתֵּב /yɔ̃k'tab/ [yox'te:v]	[yux'tav]
	Piel						

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP * [EBHP] /* [EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH * [PTH] /* [PTH] (c. 400 CE)	TH / [TH] /* [TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{II} [BH_{II}] = [II] (present)
	3ms. PC_{imp}	/ya'qattilu/ > /yaqat'tilu/ ⁴⁶	יקטל	/yaqat'til/ [yeqet'til]? [yeqet'tel]?	/yəqat'tel/ ⁴⁷ [yəqat'tel]	יקטל /yəqat'tel/ [yəqet'te:l]	[yəka'tel]
Pual⁴⁸							
	3ms. PC_{imp}	/yu'quttalu/ > /yuqut'talu/	יקטל	/yuqut'tal/ ⁴⁹ [yūqut'tel] ⁵⁰	/yəqut'tal/ [yəqut'tel]	יקטל /yəqut'tal/ [yəqut'te:l]	[yəku'tal]
Hitpael							
	3ms. PC_{imp}	/yat'qattalu/ > /yatqat'tilu/? /yatqat'talu/?	יתקטל	/yitqat'til/ ⁵¹ [yitqet'til]? [yitqet'tel]?	/yitqat'tel/ [yitqat'tel]	יתקטל /yitqat'tel/ [yitqet'te:l]	[yitqa'tel]
Niphal							
	3ms. PC_{imp}	/yan'qattilu/ ⁵² > /yanqa'tilu/ > /yiqqa'tilu/	יקטל	/yiqqa'til/ [yiqqa'til]? [yiqqa'tel]?	/yiqqa'tel/ ⁵³ [yiqqa'tel]	יקטל /yiqqā'tel/ [yiqqo'te:l]	[yəka'tel]
2. Singly Weak Verbs							
	א"פ verbs⁵⁴ Qal 3ms. C_{imp} "He says/will say"	/ya'muru/ > /yāmuru/ > /yōmuru/ > /yōmiru/ > /yō'miru/	יאמר	/yō'mir/ [yo:'mɪr]? [yo:'mɛr]?	/yō'mar/ [yo:'mar]	יאמר /yo'mar/ [yo:'me:r]	[yo'maɪɛ]
	א"פ verbs Qal PC_{pret} (PC _{imp} form similar) 3ms. "He said"	/ya'mur/ > /yāmur/ > /yōmur/ > /(way)'yōmir/	ויאמר	/((way)'yōmir/ [(wey)'yo:mɪr]? [(wey)'yo:mɛr]?	/((way)'yōmer/ [(wey)'yo:mɛr]	ויאמר /((way)'yomer/ [(way)'yo:mɛr]	[(va)'yomɛɛ]
	א"פ verbs Hiphil 3ms. PC_{imp} "He will lengthen"	/ya'riku/ > /ya'ri:ku/	יאריך	/ya'ri:k/ [ye'ri:k]	/ya'ä'ri:k/	יאריך /ya'ä'rik/ [ye'ë'ri:x]	[yaa'ɪɪɪ]
	א"פ verbs √yr?	/yayraʔu/ >	יירא	/yī'raʔ/	/yī'rā/	/yi'rā/	[i'ɪɪɪ]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP * EBHP / * EBHP (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH * PTH / * PTH (c. 400 CE)	TH / TH / * TH (c. 850 CE)	BH_{II} [BH_{II}] = [II] (present)
	<i>Qal PC_{imp}</i> 3ms. "He fears/will fear"	/y ⁱ raʔu/ > <u>/yⁱraʔu/</u> > /y ⁱ raʔu/		[yi:'reʔ]		[yi:'ro:]	
	י"ו verbs <i>Qal 3ms. PC_{imp}</i> "He sits, will sit, was sitting"	/yawšibu/ > /yawšibu/	ישב	/yawšib/ > /yašib/ > /yišib/ ⁵⁵ <u>[yⁱʔib]</u> ? [y ⁱ ʔib]? /yawšib/ > /yayšib/ [yeyʔib]? <u>[yeyʔib]</u> ?	/ye:šeb/ [ye:'jev]	ישב /ye:šeb/ [ye:'je:v]	[yε:'jev]
	י"ו verbs <i>Qal PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{imp}</i> form similar) 3ms. "He sat/dwelt"	/yawšib/ > /(way)yawšib/	ישב	/(way)yawšib/ [(wey)yeyʔib]? [(wey)yeyʔib]?	/(way)yêšeb/ [(way)ye:'jev]	/(way)yêšeb/ [(wey)yê:ʔeb]	[(va)yε:'jev] ~ [(va)ye:'jev]
	י"ו verbs <i>Hiphil 3ms. PC_{imp}</i> "He makes sit/will make sit"	/yawšibu/ > /yawšib:bu/	ישיב	/yawšib:/ > [yawʔib]? <u>[y^oʔib]</u> ?	/yôšib:/	ישיב /yošib/ [yo:'ʔi:v]	[yo:'ʔiv]
	י"ו verbs <i>Hiphil 3ms. PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar) "He made sit/dwell"	/(way)yawšib/	ישיב	/(way)yawšib/ [(wey)yewib]? <u>[(wey)yewšeb]</u> ?	/(way)yôšeb/ OR /(way)yôšeb/	ישיב (way)yošeb/ [(wey)yo:'ʔe:v] OR ישיב /(way)yošeb/ [(wey)yo:'ʔe:v]	[(va)yo:'ʔev] ~ [(va)yo'εv]
	י"ו verbs <i>Niphal PC_{imp}</i> 3ms. Other <i>PC_{imp}</i> , infinitive	/yan'wašibu/ > /yawwašibu/	ישיב	/yawwašib/ <u>[yewweʔib]</u> ? [yewweʔib]?	/yiwwa:šeb/ [yiwwa:'jev]	ישיב /yiwwášeb/ [yiwwo:'ʔe:v]	[iva:'ʔev]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 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)
	and part. forms analogous. "It will be inhabited"						
	פ"י verbs <i>Qal PC_{imp}</i> 3ms. Other perfect, <i>PC_{imp}</i> , infinitive and part. forms analogous. "It will be dry"	/yiybašu/ > <u>/yībašu/</u>	יִבֹּשׁ	/yī'baš/ [yi:'beʃ]	/yī'baš/ [yi:'baʃ]	יִבֹּשׁ /yi'baš/ [yi:'ve:ʃ]	[i'baʃ]
	פ"י verbs <i>Qal PC_{imp}</i> 3ms. Other perfect, <i>PC_{imp}</i> , infinitive and part. forms analogous. "It will be good"	/yiytabu/ > <u>/yītabu/</u> > /yī'tabu/	יִטֵּב	/yī'tab/ [yi:'teb]	/yī'tab/ [yi:'tav]	יִטֵּב /yi'tab/ [yi:'te:v]	[yi'tav]
	פ"י <i>Hiphil PC_{imp}</i> 3ms. Other perfect, <i>PC_{imp}</i> , infinitive and part. forms analogous. "It will be done well"	/yay'ti:bu/	יִטֵּב	/yay'ti:b/ [yey'ti:b]? <u>[yey'ti:b]</u> ?	/yê'ti:b/	יִטֵּב /yey'tib/ [yey'ti:v]	[yɛ'tiv]
	פ"י <i>Hiphil PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar) 3ms.	/(way)'yaytib/	יִטֵּב	/(way)'yaytib/ [(wey)'yeytib]? [(wey)'yeytib]? <u>[(wey)'yeytib]</u> ?	/(way)'yêteb/ [(way)'yeyteb]	יִטֵּב /(way)'yeytib/ [(wey)'yeyteb]	[(vay)'yɛteɐv] ~ [(vay)'yɛ'tɛv]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP * <u>EBHP</u> /* * <u>EBHP</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH * <u>PTH</u> /* * <u>PTH</u> (c. 400 CE)	TH / <u>TH</u> /* * <u>TH</u> (c. 850 CE)	BH_{IH} [BH _{IH}] = [IH] (present)
	"It was done well"			[(wey)'yeytɛb]?			
	ו"י Qal/3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> . Other forms analogous. "He will stand up"	/yaqwumu/ > /ya'qûmu/ ⁵⁶	יָקוּם	/ya'qûm/ [ye'qu:m]	/ya:'qu:m/	יָקוּם /yâ'qum/ [yɔ:'qu:m]	[ya'kum]
	ו"י Qal/3ms. <i>PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar). Other forms analogous. "He stood up"	/((way)'yaqum/	יָקָם	/((way)'yaqum/ [(wey)'yeyqum]? [<u>(wey)'yeyqɔ</u> ɪ]?	/((way)'ya:qom/	יָקָם /((way)'yâqom/ [(wey)'yɔ:qom]	[(va)'yakom] ~ [(va)ya'kam]
	ו"י Qal/3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He will put"	/yašyimu/ > /yaš'yimu/	יָשִׁים	/ya'sîm/ [ye'ti:m]	/ya:'sîm/ [ya:'si:m]	יָשִׁים /yâ'sîm/ [yɔ:'si:m]	[ya'sim]
	ו"י Qal/3ms. <i>PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar). "He put"	/((way)'yašim/	יָשָׁם	/((way)'yašim/ [(wey)'yeytim]? [<u>(wey)'yeytɛm</u>]?	/((way)'ya:sem/	יָשָׁם /((way)'yâšɛm/ [(wey)'yɔ:sɛm]	[(va)'yasɛm] ~ [(va)ya'sɛm]
	אָרָא Qal PC_{imp} 1cs. "I accept/will accept"	/'aršayu/ > /'ar'sayu/	אָרָא	/'ar'sê/ > /'ir 'sê/ [ɪr'sɛ:]? [<u>ɛr'sɛ:</u>]?	/'er'sê/	אָרָא /'ɛr'sɛ/ [ɛr'sɛ:]	[ɛr'tɛ]
	אָפַן Qal/3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He turns/will turn"	/'yipnayu/ > /'yip'nayu/	יָפַן	/'yip'nay/ > /'yip'nê/ [ɪp'nɛ:]	/'yip'ne:/	יָפַן /'yip'nɛ/ [ɪp'nɛ:]	[if'nɛ]
	Lamed-He Qal PC_{pret} (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar) 3ms. "He turned"	/((way)'yipnay/	יָפַן	/((way)'yipnay/ > /((way)'yipn/ [<u>(wey)'yipn</u>]? [(wey)'ɪpɛn]?	/((way)'yipɛn/ [(way)'yifɛn]	יָפַן /((way)'yipɛn/ [(way)'yi:fɛn]	[(va)'yi:fɛn] ~ [(va)'i:fɛn]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{IH} [BH _{IH}] = [IH] (present)
	לה ^ה <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "They will be soaked"	/yarwayū/ > /yarwayū/ ⁵⁷	יררו	/yarway/ → /yirwū/ [yir'wu:]	/yirwū/	יָרוּ /yirwu/ [yir'wu:]	[yir'vu] ~ [ir'vu]
	<i>Lamed-He Qal</i> 3mp. <i>PC_{imp}</i> <i>paragogic nun form.</i> "They will be soaked"	/yarwayūna/	יררו	/yarwayūn/ > /yirwayūn/ ⁵⁸ [yirwe'yu:n]	/yirweyūn/	יָרוּן /yirweyun/ [yirwe'yu:n]	[yir'vun] ~ [ir'vun]
	לה ^ה <i>Niphal</i> 1cs. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "I will appear pleasing"	/yanrašiyu/ > /yarrašiyu/	ארצה	/yarrašiy/ → /yarrašē/ > /yirrašē/ [yirre'ʃe:]	/ye:ra:šē/	יִרְצֶה /yerāʃe/ [ye:ro:'ʃe:]	[eʃ ʔʃe]
	לה ^ה <i>Piel</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He reveals/will reveal"	/yugalliyu/ > /yagalliyu/ > /yagal'liyu/	יגלה	/yagal'liy/ → /yagal'lē/ [yegel'le:]	/ygal'lē/	יִגְלֶה /yegal'le/ [yægel'le:]	[yega'lē]
	<i>Lamed-He Piel</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar). "He revealed"	/yugalliy/ > /(way)ya'galliy/	יגל	/(way)ya'galliy/ > /((way)ya'gall/ [[(wey)ye'gell]	/(wa)y'gal/ [(wa)y'gal]	וִיגַל /(wa)y'gal/ [(we)y'ge:l]	[(va)y'gal]
	<i>Lamed-Guttural Piel</i> <i>PC_{imp}</i> . 3ms. "He will send"	/yašallaḥu/ → /yašal'liḥu/	ישלח	/yašal'liḥ/ [yeʃel'liḥ]	/yʃal'lah/ ⁵⁹ [yəʃal'lah]	יִשְׁלַח /yəʃal'lah/ [yəʃel'le:h]	[yəʃa'lah]
2. Doubly Weak Verbs							
	נתן <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He will give etc"	/yantinu/ > /yat'tinu/	יתן	/yit'tin/ [yit'tin]? [yit'ten]?	/yit'ten/ [yit'ten]	יִתֵּן /yit'ten/ [yit'te:n]	[i'ten]
	בוא	/ya'ba:ʔu/ >	יבוא	/ya'bo:ʔ/ ⁶⁰	/ya'bo:/	יְבוֹא	[ya'vo]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 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)
	<i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He will enter etc."	/ya'bo:ʔu/		[ye'bo:ʔ]		/yâ'bo/ [yo:'vo:]	
	פ"י ל"א <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He will fear"	/yiyraʔu/ > <u>/yîraʔu/</u>	ירא	<u>/yîraʔ/</u> [yi:'reʔ]	/yîra:/	יִרָא /yi'râ/ [yi:'ro:]	[i'ʔəβ]
	פ"ע ל"ה <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He will do etc."	/yaʕsayu/ > /yaʕsayu/	יעשה	/yaʕsay/ > /yaʕsê/ > /yiʕsê/ [yɪʕtɛ:]	/yaʕăsê/ [yaʕəsɛ:]	יַעֲשֶׂה /yaʕăsɛ/ [ye:ʕə'sɛ:]	[yaa'sɛ]
	פ"ע ל"ה <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar). "He did"	/((way)'yaʕsay/	ויעש	/((way)'yaʕsay/ > /((way)'yaʕs/ > /((way)'yiʕs/ <u>[(wey)'yɪʕt]</u> ? [(wey)'yɪʕt]?	/((way)'yaʕas/ [(way)'yaʕas]	וַיַּעַשׂ /((way)'yaʕas/ [(wey)'ye:ʕəs]	[(va)ya'as]
	פ"ע ל"ה <i>Hiphil</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He will raise up etc."	/yaʕliyu/ > /yaʕliyu/	יעלה	/yaʕliy/ > /yaʕlê/ [yeʕlɛ:]	/yaʕălê/ [yaʕələ:]	יַעֲלֶה /yaʕələ/ [ye:ʕə'lɛ:]	[yaa'lɛ]
	היה <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He will be"	/yihyayu/ > /yih'yayu/ OR /yahyayu/ > /yah'yayu/	יהיה	/yah'yayu/ > /yah'yê/ > /yih'yê/ [yɪh'yɛ:]	/yih'yê/	יִהְיֶה /yih'yɛ/ [yih'yɛ:]	[yi'yɛ] ~ [i'yɛ]
	היה <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar). "He was"	/((way)'yihyay/	ויהי	/((way)'yahyay/ > /((way)'yahy/> (way)'yihy/ /((wey)'yehiy/ (EBHP/? > /((way)'yahî/ (EBHP/? > /((way)'yihî/ (EBHP/?) ⁶¹	/((way)yə'hi:/	וַיְהִי /((wa)y'hi/ [(we)y'hi:]	[(wa)y'i]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> <u>*/EBHP/*</u> <u>*[EBHP]</u> (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> <u>*/PTH/*</u> <u>*[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH/*</u> <u>*[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)	<u>BH_{IH}</u> <u>[BH_{IH}] = [IH]</u> (present)
				/((way)'yahyay/ > /((way)'yihy/ (/EBHP/?) [(wey)'yihy]? [(wey)'yihy]? > /((way)'yihy/ (/EBHP/?) /((way)'yihî/ (/EBHP/?)			
	פ"נ ל"ה <i>Hiphil PCpret</i> (<i>PCjus</i> form same) 3ms. "He lengthened"	/((way)'ya'rik/	ויארך	/((way)'ya'rik/ [(wey)'ye'rik]? [(wey)'ye'rik]?	/((way)ya'ä'rek/ [(wey)ya'ä'rex]	וַיֵּאָרֶךְ /((way)ya'ä'rek/ [(wey)ye:'ë'rë:x]	[(va)ya.a'ʔex]
	פ"נ ל"ה <i>Hiphil</i> 3ms. <i>PCimp</i> "He strikes down/will strike down"	/'yankiyu/ > /yak'kiyu/	יכה	/yak'kiy/ > /yak'kê/ [yek'ke:]	/yak'kê/	יָכָה /yak'ke/ [yek'ke:]	[ya'ke]
	פ"נ ל"ה <i>Hiphil</i> 3ms. <i>PCpret</i> (<i>PCjus</i> form similar) ."He struck down"	/'yankiy/ > /((way)'yakkiy/	וַיִּכּוּ	/((way)'yakk/ [(wey)'yekk]	/((way)'yak/	וַיִּכּוּ /((way)'yak/ [(wey)'ye:x]	[(va)'yax]
	פ"נ ל"א <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PCimp</i> "He carries/will carry"	/'yinsáʔu/ > /yis'šáʔu/	ישא	/yis'šáʔ/ [yis'seʔ]	/yis'šâ/	יָשָׂא /yis'šâ/ [yis'so:]	[i'sa]
	ל"א <i>Qal</i> 3ms. <i>PCimp</i> "He calls"	/'yiqra'u/ > /yiq'ra'u/	יקרא	/yiq'ra'/ [yiq're']	/yiq'râ/	יִקְרָא /yiq'râ/ [yiq'ro:]	[ik'ʔəʔ]

Table 35 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the Prefix Conjugation²⁹

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* *[EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{IH} [BH _{IH}] = [IH] (present)
	outs/will call out"						
Pe-Guttural and Lamed He Hiphil 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He brings up/will bring up, was bringing up "		/ya ^c layu/ > /ya ^c layu/	יעל	/ya ^c lay/ > /ya ^c lê/ [ye ^c le:]	/ya ^c ä'lê/ [ye ^c ä'le:]	יעלה /ya ^c ä'le/ [ye: ^c ë'le:]	[yaa'le]
פ"ע ל"ה Hiphil 3ms. <i>PC_{pret}</i> (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar). "Let him bring up"		/(way)'ya ^c lay/	ויעל	/(way)'ya ^c lay/ > /(way)'ya ^c l/ [(wey)'ye ^c l]	/(way)'ya ^c al/ [(way)'ya ^c al]	ויעל /(way)'ya ^c al/ [(wey)'ye: ^c el]	[(va)'ya.al]
3. Irregular Verbs							
הלך Qal 3ms. <i>PC_{imp}</i> "He goes, will go, was going"		/'yawliku/ > /ya'liku/	ילך	/ya'lik/ > /yi'lik/ [yɾ'lik]? [ye'lik]?	/ye:'lək/ [ye:'lex]	ילך /ye'lək/ [ye:'le:x]	[yɛ'lex]
הלך 3ms. PC_{pret} (<i>PC_{jus}</i> form similar). "He went"		/'yawlik/ > /(way)'yalik/	וילך	/(way)'yalik/ > /(way)'yilik/ ⁶² [(wey)'yɾik]? [(wey)'yɾik]?	/(way)'yelek/ [(way)'yelex]	וילך /(way)'yəlek/ [(wey)'yə:lex]	[(va)'yəlex]

3. Background on Biblical Hebrew *Suffix Conjugation* (traditional "perfect")

The suffix conjugation was originally a declined adjective⁶³ that enlarged its original signification (e.g. "I am good") to include the state of having completed intransitive and

transitive actions eventually replacing the old preterite (PC_{pret}). In BH, the "waw conversive" of the SC assumes the range of meanings of the PC imperfect (PC_{imp}).

Table 36 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the SC⁶⁴

Verb Class		<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> <u>*[EBHP]</u> ⁶⁵ <u>*[EBHP]</u> ⁶⁶ (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> <u>*[PTH]</u> + <u>*[PTH]</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> <u>/TH/</u> + <u>*[TH]</u> (c. 850 CE)	<u>BH_{IH}</u> <u>[BH_{IH}]</u> = <u>[IH]</u> (present)
<u>a-u</u>	<u>1cs.</u> "I wrote"	/katabku/ > /katabtu/+ > (= suffix /i/, verbal object suffix /nī/, and possibly independant pronoun 1cs.) /ka'tabti/	כתבתי	/ka'tabti/ > [ke'tebti]	/ka:'tabti/ > [ka:'θavti:]	כְּתַבְתִּי /kâ'tabti/ [ko:'θe:vti:]	[ka'tavti]
<u>i-a</u>	<u>1cs.</u> "I am/was sated"	/šabi ^o ku/ > /šabi ^o tu / > /ša'bi ^o ti/ ⁶⁷ > /ša'ba ^o ti/	שבועתי	/ša'ba ^o ti(:)/ > [ʔe'be ^o ti]	/ša:'ba ^o ti:/ > [sa:'va ^o ti:]	שִׁבְעָתִי /šâ'ba ^o ti/ [so:'ve: ^o ti:]	[sa'vati]
<u>u-a</u>	<u>1cs.</u> "I am/was small"	/qa ^o tunku/ > /qa ^o tuntu/ > /qa'tunti/ ⁶⁸	קטנתי	/qa'tunti(:)/ > <u>[qe'tunti:]</u> ? <u>[qe'to^oti:]</u> ?	/qa:'tonti:/ > [qa:'tonti:]	קָטַנְתִּי /qâ'tonti/ [qo:'to:nti:]	[ka'tonti]
<u>a-u</u>	<u>2ms.</u> "You wrote"	/katabta/+ > /ka'tabtâ/	כתבת	/ka'tabta(:)/ ⁶⁹ > [ke'tebte:]	/ka:'tabta:/ > [ka:'θavta:]	כְּתַבְתָּ /kâ'tabtâ/ [ko:'θe:vto:]	[ka'tavta]
<u>i-a</u>	"you are/were fat"	/šamintâ/ > /ša'mintâ/ > /ša'mantâ/ ⁷⁰	שמנת	/ša'manta(:)/ > [ʔe'mente:]	/ša:'manta:/ > [[a:'manta:]	שִׁמְנָתְךָ /šâ'mantâ/ [[o:'me:nto:]	[ʃa'manta]
<u>a-u</u>	<u>2fs.</u> "You wrote"	/katabti/+ > /ka'tabti/ ⁷¹	כתבת	/ka'tabti(:)/ > /ka'tabt/ > [ke'tebt]	/ka:'tabt/ >	כְּתַבְתְּ /kâ'tabt/ > [ko:'θevt]	[ka'tavt]
	<u>3ms.</u> "He wrote"	/kataba/+ > /ka'taba/	כתב	/ka'tab/ ⁷² > [ke'teb]	/ka:'tab/ > [ka:'θav]	כָּתַב /kâ'tab/ > [ko:'θe:v]	[ka'tav]

Table 36 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the SC⁶⁴

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* ⁶⁵ */EBHP/* ⁶⁶ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *PTH/ (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *TH/ (c. 850 CE)	BH_{IH} [BH _{IH}] = [IH] (present)
i-a	3ms. "He was heavy"	/'kabida/ > /ka'bida/	כבד	/ka'bid/ [ke'bid]? [ke'bed]?	/ka:'bed/ [ka:'beð]	כָּבֵד /kâ'bed/ [ko:'və:ð]	[ka'vɛd]
u-a	3ms. "He is/was small"	/'qaṭuna/ > /qa'tuna/	קטן	/qa'tun/ ⁷³ [qe'tun]? [qe'ton]?	/qa:'ton/ [qa:'ton]	קָטַן /qâ'ton/ [qo:'to:n]	[ka'ton]
a-u	3fs. "She wrote"	/'katabat/+> /ka'tabat/ ⁷⁴	כתבה	/ka'tabâ/ ⁷⁵ [ke'tebe']	/ka:tə'bâ/	כָּתְבָה /kât'bâ/ [ko:θə'vɔ:]	[kat'va]
i-a	3fs. "She was heavy"	/'kabitat/ > /ka'bitat/ ⁷⁶	כבדה	/ka'bidâ/ [ke'bidə']? [ke'bede']?	/ka:bə'dâ/	כָּבְדָה /kâbə'dâ/ [ko:ve'ðɔ:]	[kav'da]
a-u	1cp. "We wrote"	/'katabna/+ (≡ independent pronoun (a)naḥnū and the subject suffix -nū) /ka'tabnū/	כתבנו	/ka'tabnū/ [ke'tebnu']	/ka:'tabnū/ [ka:'θavnū]	כָּתְבָנוּ /kâ'tabnu/ [ko:θə:vnu:]	[ka'tavnu]
	2mp. "You wrote"	/katab'tumu/> /katab'timā/	כתבתם	/ka'tab'tim/ [keteb'tim]? [keteb'tem]?	/kətab'tem/ [kəθav'tem]	כָּתְבְּתֶם /kətab'tem/ [kəθev'tɛ:m]	[kətav'tem]
	2fp. "You wrote"	/'katabtinna/ > /katab'tinnā/	כתבתן	/ka'tab'tin/ [keteb'tin]? [keteb'ten]?	/kətab'ten/ [kəθav'ten]	כָּתְבְּתֵן /kətab'ten/ [kəθev'tɛ:n]	[kətav'ten]
	3mp. "they wrote"	/'katabū/ > /ka'tabū/ ⁷⁷	כתבו	/ka'tabū/ [ke'tebu']	/ka:tə'bū/	כָּתְבוּ /kâ'tə'bu/ [ko:θə'vu:]	[kat'vu]
i-a	3mp. "They were heavy"	/'kabitū/ > /ka'bitū/ > /ka'bitū/ ⁷⁸	כבדו	/ka'bidū/ [ke'bidu']	/ka:bə'dū/	כָּבְדוּ /kâbə'du/ [ko:ve'ðu:]	[kav'du]
	Niphal 3mp. "They were written"	/'nakatibū/ > /naka'tibū/	נכתבו	/nak'tibū/ > /nik'tabū/ [nik'tebu']	/niktə'bū/	נִכְתְּבוּ /niktə'bu/ [nixtə'vu:]	[nixt'vu]

Table 36 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the SC⁶⁴

Verb Class		*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* ⁶⁵ */EBHP/* ⁶⁶ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *PTH/ (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *TH/ (c. 850 CE)	BH_{IH} [BH _{IH}] = [IH] (present)
<i>Piel</i> 3ms. "He wrote constantly"		/kattaba/ ⁷⁹ > /kat'taba/ > /kat'tiba/	כתב	/kit'tib/ ⁸⁰ [kɪt'tɪb]? [kɪt'tɛb]?	/kit'teb/ ⁸¹ [kit'tev]	כָּתַב /kit'tɛb/ [kit'tɛ:v]	[ki'tɛv]
<i>Pual</i> 3ms.		/kuttiba/ → /kut'taba/	כתב	/kut'tab/ [kut'tɛb]	/kut'tab/	כָּתַב /kut'tab/ [kut'tɛ:v]	[ku'tav]
<i>Hithpiel</i> 3ms.		/hitkattaba/ OR /hitkattaba/ → /hitkat'tiba/	התכתב	/hitkat'tib/ [hɪtkɛt'tɪb]? [hɪtkɛt'tɛb]?	/hitkat'teb/ [hitkat'tev]	הִתְכַּתֵּב /hitkat'tɛb/ [hitket'tɛ:v]	[hitka'tɛv] ~ [ʔitka'tɛv] ~ [itka'tɛv]
<i>hiphil</i> - 3ms. "He caused to write"		/'haktaba/ > /hak'taba/ > /hik'taba/ > /hik'tiba/ > /hik'ti:ba/	הכתיב	/hik'ti:b/ ⁸² [hɪk'ti:b]	/hik'ti:b/	הִכְתִּיב /hik'tib/ [hix'ti:v]	[hix'tiv] ~ [ʔix'tiv] ~ [ix'tiv]
היה 3rd (m.s.) "He was"		/'hawaya/? /'hayaya/?	היה	/ha'yay/ > /ha'yâ/ ⁸³ [he'ye:]	/ha:yâ/	הָיָה /hâ'yâ/ [hɔ:ye:θ:]	[ha'ya] ~ [ʔa'ya] ~ [a'ya]
היה 2ms. "You were"		/'hayiyta/ > /ha'yiya/ > /ha'yitâ/	היית	/ha'yita(:)/ [he'yi:te:]	/ha:yitâ:/	הָיִיתָ /hâ'yitâ/ [hɔ:yi:θɔ:]	[ha'yita] ~ [ʔa'yita] ~ [a'yita]
היה 3fs. "She was"		/'hayayat/ > /ha'yayat/ > /ha'yât/	היתה (epigraphic היית)	/ha'yât/ ≈ /ha'yata(:)/ [he'yete:] (JEH */ha'ya:t/)	/ha:ye'ta:/	הָיְתָה /hâ'ye'tâ/ [hɔ:ye:θɔ:]	[hay'ta] ~ [ʔay'ta] ~ [ay'ta]
נתן 2ms. "You gave"		/'natanta/ > /na'tattâ/	נתת	/na'tatta(:)/ [ne'tette:]	/na:tatta/ [na:θatta:]	נָתַתָּה /nâ'tattâ/ [nɔ:θe:ttɔ:]	[na'tata]
a-i נתן 2fs. "You gave"		/'natanti/ > /na'tattî/	נתת	/na'tat(t)/ [ne'tett]	/na:tat/	נָתַתְּ /nâ'tat/ ⁸⁴ [nɔ:θe:t]	[na'tata]

Table 36 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the SC⁶⁴

Verb Class		<u>*PH</u> (c. 1200 BCE)	<u>PMT</u> (c. 400-300 BCE)	<u>EBHP</u> * <u>EBHP</u> / ⁶⁵ * <u>EBHP</u> / ⁶⁶ (c. 850-550 BCE)	<u>PTH</u> * <u>PTH</u> / * <u>PTH</u> (c. 400 CE)	<u>TH</u> /TH/ * <u>TH</u> (c. 850 CE)	<u>BH_{IH}</u> [BH _{IH}] = [IH] (present)
III-Guttural <i>Piel</i> 3ms. "He sent" (contextual)		/šallaha/ → /šil'liħa/	שלח	/šil'liħ/ [ʃil'liħ]	/šil'laħ/ ⁸⁵ [ʃil'laħ]	שָׁלַח /šil'laħ/ [ʃil'e:ħ]	[ʃil'laχ]
III-Guttural 3ms. "He sent" (pausal)					/šil' <u>le:ah</u> / ⁸⁶	שָׁלַח /šil'leah/ [ʃil'e:əħ]	[ʃil'le.əχ]
III-Guttural <i>Qal</i> 3ms. "He heard" <i>contextual</i>		/šamīca/ > /ša'mīca/	שמע	/ša'mīc/ [ʃe'miʃ]? OR /ša'maʃ/ [ʃe'meʃ]	/ša:'maʃ/ [ʃa:'me:əʃ] ⁸⁷	שָׁמַע /šâ'maʃ/ [ʃo:'me:əʃ]	[a'ma]
III-Guttural 3ms. "He heard" <i>pausal</i>							
ל"ה originally ל"ו verbs- 3ms. ⁸⁸ "He went into exile"		/galawu:/	גלה	/ga'lay/ > /ga'lâ/ [ge'le:]	/ga:'lâ/	גָּלָה /gâ'lâ/ [go:'lo:]	[ga'la]
ל"ה originally ל"י verbs- 3ms. "He built"		/banaya/ > /ba'naya/	בנה	/ba'nay/ > /ba'nâ/ [be'ne:]	/ba:'nâ/	בָּנָה /bâ'nâ/ [bo:'no:]	[ba'na]
ל"ה originally ל"י verbs- 3fs. "she built"		/banayat/ > /ba'nayat/ > /ba'nata(:)/	בנתה	/ba'nata(:)/ [be'nete:]	/ba:nə'ta:/	בָּנְתָה /bân'tâ/ [bo:nə'to:]	[ban'ta]
ל"ה verbs 1cs. Other forms analogous		/naʔayu/ > /naʔaytu/ > /naʔayti/ > /naʔiti/	נטיתי	/naʔiti(:)/ ⁸⁹ [neʔi:ti:]	/na:'ti(:)/	נָטִיתִי /nâ'ti/ [no:'ti:θi:]	[na'titi]

Table 36 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the SC⁶⁴

Verb Class	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* ⁶⁵ */EBHP/* ⁶⁶ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* *P[TH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* *T[TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH _{TH} [BH _{TH}] = [TH] (present)
"I leaned"	/ba'niyku/ > /ba'niy <u>tu</u> / > /ba'niy <u>tī</u> / > /ba'nī <u>tī</u> /	בניתי	/ba'nīti(:)/ [be'ni:ti]	/ba:'nīti:/	בְּנִיתִי /bā'niti/ [bɔ:'ni:θi:]	[ba'niti]
ה"ל verbs 1cp. Other forms analogous "We built"	/ba'niynū/ > /ba'niynū/ > /ba'nī <u>nū</u> /	בנינו	/ba'nīnū/ [be'ni:nu:]	/ba:'nīnū/	בְּנִינוּ /bā'ninu/ [bɔ:'ni:nu:]	[ba'ninu]
א"ל verbs 3ms. ⁹⁰ "He called"	/'qaraʔa/ > /qa'raʔa/	קרא	/qa'raʔ/ [qe'reʔ]	/qa:'râ/	קָרָא /qâ'râ/ [qɔ:'rɔ:]	[ka'ra]
א"ל verbs 2ms. "You created"	/'baraʔta/ > /ba'raʔtā/	בראת	/be'reʔte(:)/ [be'reʔte]	/ba:'râta:/	בָּרַאתָ /bâ'râtâ/ [bɔ:'rɔ:ɔ:]	[ba'rata]
verbs ע"י ע"ו 1cs. Other forms analogous "I stood up"	/'qa(:)mtī/	קמתי	/'qa(:)mti(:)/ ['qɑ:mti:]? ['qemti:]?	/'qɑ:mti:/	קָמַתִּי /'qɑmti/ ['qɔ:mti:]	['kamti]
ה"ל verbs 2fs. "You commanded"	/'šawwayta/ > /šaw'wiyta/ > /šaw'watā/	צוּתָה	/šaw'wata(:)/ > /šiw'wata(:)/ [šiw'wete]	/šiwwe'ta:/	צִוְתָה /šiwwe'tâ/ [šiwwe'θɔ:]	[tsiv'ta]
ו"פ verbs 3ms. Other forms analogous "He caused to sit/dwell"	/'hawšaba/ > /haw'šiba/	הושיב	/haw'šib/ ⁹¹ [hew'ʃi:b]? [ħɔw'ʃi:b]?	/hō'šib/	הוֹשִׁיב /ho'šib/ [ho:'ʃi:v]	[ho'ʃiv] ~ [ʔo'ʃiv] ~ [o'ʃiv]
ו"י verbs 3ms. Other SC, PC, infinitive and	/hay'ṭi:ba/	היטיב	/hay'ṭi:b/ ⁹¹ [hey'ṭi:b]? [ħey'ṭi:b]?	/hē'ṭi:b/	הִיטִיב /hə'ṭib/ [hə:'ṭi:v]	[he'tiv] ~ [ʔe'tiv] ~ [ε'tiv]

Table 36 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Verb in the SC⁶⁴

Verb Class	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP * <u>EBHP</u> ⁶⁵ * <u>EBHP</u> ⁶⁶ (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH * <u>PTH</u> / <u>*PTH</u> (c. 400 CE)	TH <u>TH</u> / <u>*TH</u> (c. 850 CE)	BH _{TH} <u>BH_{TH}</u> = <u>[H]</u> (present)
<u>part.</u> forms analogous "He did well"						
<u>לא</u> verbs 3ms. "He did wonders"	/haplaʔa/> /hap'liʔa/	הפליא	<u>/hip'li:ʔ/</u> [hip'li:ʔ]	/hip'li:/	הפליא /hip'li/ [hif'li:]	[hif'li] ~ [ʔif'li] ~ [if'li]
<u>פי</u> originally <u>פו</u> verbs 3ms. "It was brought back"	<u>/huwšaba/ ></u> <u>/hû'šaba/</u>	הושב	/hû'šab/ [hu:'jeb]	/hû'šab/ [hu:'jav]	הושב /hu'šab/ [hu:'je:v]	[hu'jav] ~ [ʔu'jav] ~ [u'jav]
<u>פי</u> originally <u>פו</u> verbs 3mp. "They were brought down"	/huwradū/ > /hû'radū/	הורדו	/hû'radū/ [hu:'redu:]	/hûre'dū/	הורדו /hure'du/ [hu:re'ðu:]	[hur'du] ~ [ʔur'du] ~ [ur'du]
<u>פו</u> verbs 3ms. Other SC, PC, infinitive and part. forms analogous. "It was inhabited"	/nawšaba/	נושב	/naw'šab/ [new'jeb]? <u>[nə vjeb]</u> ?	/nô'šab/ [no:'jav]	נושב /no'šab/ [no:'je:v]	[no'jav]
<u>לא</u> verbs 3ms. "It was found"	/namšaʔa/		/nam'šaʔ/ > <u>/nim'šaʔ/</u> [nim'seʔ]	/nim'šâ/	נמצא /nim'šâ/ [nim'šə:]	[nim'tsa]

4. Participles, Imperatives and Infinitives

Table 37 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew [Imperatives](#), Participles and Infinitives

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 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)
Imperative						
Qal (a-u class)						
Ms.	/quṭul/	קטל	/quṭul/ > /quṭul/ > /qṭul/ ⁹² [qṭul]? [qəṭul]? [qṭoḥ]? [qəṭoḥ]? [quṭul]? ⁹³ [qəṭoḥ]?	/qəṭol/ ⁹⁴	קטל /qəṭol/ [qəṭo:l]	[k'tol]
Ms. with Paragogic heh⁹⁵ contextual	/quṭulā/	קטלה ⁹⁶	/quṭula(:)/ > /qṭula(:)/ [qṭule·]? [qəṭule·]? [quṭule·]?	Form 1. /qəṭ'la:/	קטלה /qəṭ'la/	[kot'la]
Ms. with Paragogic heh pausal				/qəṭo:la:/ ⁹⁷	קטלה /qəṭolā/	[k'tola]
Fs. contextual	/quṭuli/	קטלי	/quṭuli(:)/ > /qṭuli(:)/ [qṭuli·]? [qəṭuli·]? [quṭuli·]?	/qit'li:/	קטלי /qit'li/	[kit'li]
Fs. pausal				/qəṭo:li:/	קטלי /qəṭoli/	[k'toli]
Mp. contextual	/quṭulū/	קטלו	/quṭulū/ > /qṭulū/ ⁹⁸ [qṭulu·]? [qəṭulu·]? [quṭulu·]?	/qit'lū/	קטלו /qit'lū/	[kit'lu]
Mp. pausal				/qəṭo:lū/	קטלו /qəṭolu/	[k'tolu]
Fp.	/quṭubnā/	קטלנה	/quṭubna(:)/ > /qəṭubna(:)/ [qəṭubne·]? [quṭubne·]?	/qəṭo:lna:/	קטלנה /qəṭolnā/	[k'tolna]

Table 37 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew [Imperatives](#), Participles and Infinitives

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* * [EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* * [PTH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* * [TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{II} [BH_{II}] = [H] (present)
Qal (a-i class)						
Ms.	/nitin/ > /tin/	תן	/tin/ [tn̩] ? [tɛn] ?	/tɛn/	תֵּן /tɛn/ * [tɛ:n]	[tɛn]
	/yirid/ > /rid/	רד	/rid/ [rd̩] ? [rɛd] ?	/rɛd/	רִד /rɛd/ [rɛ:ð]	[rɛd]
	/hilik/ > /lik/	לך	/lik/ [lk̩] ? [lɛk] ?	/lɛk/	לֶךְ /lɛk/ [lɛ:x]	[lɛx]
Ms. with <i>Paragogic heh</i>	/nitnā/ > /tinā/	תנה	/tina(:)/ [tɪneː]	/tə'na:/	תָּנָה [tə'ne:] pausal תְּנָה	[t'na]
Fs.	/nitinī/ > /tinī/	תני	/tini(:)/ [tɪniː]	/tə'ni:/	תָּנִי [tə'ni:] pausal תְּנִי [tɛni:]	[t'ni]
Mp.	/ni'tinū/ > /tinū/	תנו	/tinū/ [tɪnuː]	/tə'nū/	תָּנוּ [tə'nu:] pausal תְּנוּ [tɛnu:]	[t'nu]
Fp.	/ni'tinnā/ > /tinnā/	תננה	/tinna(:)/ [tɪnneː]	/tə'enna:/	תָּנְנָה [tɛnna:]	[t'ena]
Qal (i-a class)						
Ms.	/kabad/	כבד	/kabad/ > /k'bad/ [kə'bed] ? [kɛ'bed] ?	/kə'bad/	כָּבַד /kə'bad/ [kə'veð]	[k'vad]
Fs.	/ka'badī/	כבדי	/ka'badi/ > /k'badi/	/kib'dī/	כִּבְדִּי	[kiv'di]

Table 37 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew [Imperatives](#), Participles and Infinitives

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 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)
			[kə'bediː]? [kě'bediː] ?		/kib'di/ [kiv'ði:]	
Mp.	/ka'badū/	כבדו	/ka'bʌduː/ > /k'bʌduː/ [kə'beduː]? [kě'beduː] ?	/kib'dū/	כִּבְדוּ /kib'du/ [kiv'ðu:]	[kiv'du]
Fp.	/ka'badnā/	כבדנה	/kə'badna(:)/ > /k'badna(:)/ [kə'bedneː]? [kě'bedneː] ?	/kə'badnaː/	כִּבְדְּנָה /kə'badnā/ [kə'veðnəː]	[k'vadna]
Piel						
Masc. sing.	'pallaʔ > /pal'liʔ/	פלט	/pal'liʔ/ [pel'liʔ]	/pal'leʔ/ ⁹⁹ [pal'leʔ]	פָּלַט /pal'leʔ/ [pel'leːʔ]	[pa'leʔ]
Hiphil						
Masc. sing.	/haq'bir/	הקבר	/haq'bir/ [heq'bir]? [heq'ber]?	/haq'ber/ [haq'ber]	הִקְבֵּר /haq'ber/ [heq'beːr]	[hak'ber]
Weak Verbs						
ע"ו qal (ms.)	/'qu:m/	קום	/'qu:m/	/'qu:m/	קוּם /'qum/ [qu:m]	['kum]
ע"ו qal (ms. <i>Paragogic heh</i>)	/'qu:mã/	קומה	/'qu:ma(:)/ ['k'u:meː]	/'qu:maː/	קוּמָה /'qumā/ ['k'u:maː]	['ku:ma]
א"ל qal (ms.)	/'maʂaʔ/ > ma'ʂaʔ	מצא	/'ma'ʂaʔ/ [me'ʂeʔ]	/mə'ʂâ/ [mə'ʂaː]	מָצָא /mə'ʂâ/ [mə'ʂoː]	[mə'tsa]
ה"ל qal (ms.)	/ʂa'tay/ > /ʂa'tê/	שתה	/ʂa'tê/ [ʂe'teː]	/ʂə'tê/ [ʂə'teː]	שָׁתָה /ʂə'te/ [ʂə'teː]	['ʂe]
ע"ה-פ"ע qal	/'ca'ʂay/ >	עשה	/'ca'ʂê/	/'cä'ʂê/	עָשָׂה [a'ʂe]	[a'ʂe]

Table 37 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew [Imperatives](#), Participles and Infinitives

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/* * [EBHP] (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/* * [PTH] (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/* * [TH] (c. 850 CE)	BH_{TH} [BH_{TH}] = [TH] (present)
(ms.)	/ca'sê/		[cə'tɛ:]	[cǎ'se:]	/cǎ'sɛ/ [cǔ'sɛ:]	
<i>qal</i> ל"ה-פ"א (ms.)	/ra'ʔay/ > /ra'ʔê/	ראה	/ra'ʔê/ [re'ʔɛ:]	/rə'ʔê/ [rə'ʔe:]	רָאָה /rə'ʔɛ/ [rə'ʔɛ:]	[ʔ ɛ]
<i>qal</i> היה (m.s.)	/ha'yay/ > /ha'yê/	היה	/ha'yê/ [he'yɛ:]	/hě'yê/ [hě'ye:]	הָיָה /hě'yɛ/ [hě'yɛ:]	[ɛ'yɛ]
<i>Participle (for the strong verbs follow these links - qal; qal-stative; niph'al; piel; pual; hithpa'el; hoph'al)</i>						
Qal						
Weak Verbs						
Ms. verbs ע"י ע"ו	/'qâmu/ or /'qamu/	קם	/'qâm/ ['qa:m]	/'qâm/	קָם /'qâm/ ['qɔ:m]	['kam]
Qal Passive						
Ms.	/qa'tu:lu/ > /qa'tu:l/	קטול	/qa'tu:l/ [qe'tu:l]	/qa:tûl/	קָטוּל /qâ'tul/ [qɔ:tɔ:l]	[ka'tul]
Weak Verbs						
<i>qal</i> ל"ה (ms.)	/ga'lūy/	גלוי	/ga'lūy/ [ge'lu:y]	/ga:lūy/	גָלוּי /gâ'luy/ [gɔ:'luy]	[ga'luy]
<i>qal</i> ל"ה (fs.)	/ga'lu:yatu/ > /galu:'yatu/	גלויה	/ga'lu:'yâ/ [gelu:'ye:]	/gəlu:'yâ/	גָלוּיָה /gəlu:'yâ/ [gəlu:'kɔ:]	[glu'ya]
Hiphil						
Ms.	/mu'haqbiru/ > /muhaq'biru/	מקביר	/maq'bi:r/ [meq'bi:r]	/maq'bi:r/	מִקְבִּיר /maq'bir/ [meq'bi:r]	[mak'biʔɛ]
Fs. Form 1	/muhaq'biratu/ > /muhaqbi'ratu	מקבירה	/maqbi:'râ/ [meqbi:'re:]	/maqbi:'râ/	מִקְבִּירָה /maqbi:'râ/ [meqbi:'rɔ:]	[makbi'ʔɛ]

Table 37 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew [Imperatives](#), Participles and Infinitives

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 BCE)	EBHP */EBHP/ ^{*[EBHP]} (c. 850-550 BCE)	PTH */PTH/ ^{*[PTH]} (c. 400 CE)	TH /TH/ ^{*[TH]} (c. 850 CE)	BH_{TH} [BH _{TH}] = [H] (present)
Fs. Form 2	/muhaq'biratu/ > /muhaq'birtu	מקברת	/maq'birt/ [mey'bir̥t]	/maq'beret/ [maq'ber̥eθ]	מקְבֵרֶת /maq'ber̥et/ [mey'ber̥:reθ]	[mak'beɛ̆ ɛt]
Weak Verbs						
פ"י verbs Ms.	/'mayniq/ > /may'niq/	מיניק	/may'ni:q/ [mey'ni:q]? [mey'ni:q]?	/mê'ni:q/ [me:'ni:q]	מִינִיק /mɛ'niq/ [mɛ:'ni:q]	[mɛ'nik]
י"ו and י"ו verbs Ms.	/mi'qīmu/	מקים	/mi'qīm/ ¹⁰⁰ [mɪ'qi:m]? [mɛ'qi:m]?	/me'qīm/ [me'qi:m]	מְקִים /mɛ'qim/ [mɛ:'qi:m]	[mɛ'kim]
Hophal						
Weak Verbs						
Pe-Yod Lamed -Guttural verbs Fs.	/'muwda ^c tu/ > /'mūda ^c tu/ > /mū'da ^c tu/	מודעת	/mū'da ^c t/ [mu:'de ^c t]	/mū'da ^c at/ [mu:'ða ^c aθ]	מוֹדַעַת /mu'da ^c at/ [mu:'ðe: ^c eθ]	[mu'da.at]
Infinitive Construct						
Qal	/qu'tulu/ > /qu'tulu/ (abs. state)	קטל	/qu'to:l/ ¹⁰¹ > /q'to:l/ [qə'to:l]? [qū'to:l]? [qǒ'to:l]?	/q(ə)'to:l/	קָטַל /qə'tol/ [qə'to:l]	[k'tol]
	/qu'tulu/ > /qu'tulu/ (pronominal state ¹⁰²)		/qu'tul/ > /qu't'l- [qu't'l-]? [qo'ɬ]? (e.g. /qu't'li:/)	/qu't'l-/ [qu't'l-]? [qo't'l-]?	קָטַלְ- /qo't'l-/ (e.g. [qo't'li:])	[kot'l-] (e.g. [kot'li])
	/qu.tul/ (constr. state)		/qu.tul/ > /q.tul/ [qə.tul]? [qū.tul]? [qə.tə]? [qǒ.tə]?	/q.tol/	קָטַל /qə.tol/ [qə.to:l]	[k.tol]
	/šakabu/ > /ša'kabu/ (abs. state)	שכב	/šə'kab/ > /š'kab/ [jē'keb]?	/š(ə)'kab/ [j(ə)'xav]	שָׁכַב /š(ə)'kab/ [j(ə)'xe:v]	[j'xav]

Table 37 - History of Stress and Pronunciation of the Hebrew [Imperatives](#), Participles and Infinitives

	*PH (c. 1200 BCE)	PMT (c. 400-300 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)
			[jə'keb]?			
	/šakabu/ > /ša'kabu/ (pronominal state)		[≈= characteristic vowel <i>u</i> form] /šuk'b-/ [ʃuk'b-]? [ʃo' b-]?	/šuk'b-/	שָׁכַב /šāk'b-/ [ʃox'b-]	[ʃox'b-]
		עֲשׂוּת	/ʕə'sót/ [ʕe'to:t]	/ʕə'sót / [ʕə'so:θ]? [ʕə'so:θ]?	עֲשׂוּת /ʕə'sót/ [ʕə'so:θ]	[a'sot]
	/'hiliku/ > /hi'liku/	לָכַת √HLK	/hi'lik/ > /h'lik/ [≈= "segolate" noun] > /'likt/ ['lɪkt]	/'leket/ ['lexeθ]	לָכַת /'lɛkɛt/ ['lɛ:xɛθ]	['lɛxɛt]
Infinitive Absolute						
Qal	/qa'tālu/ > /qa'tōlu/ ¹⁰³	קָטַל	/qa'tōl/ ¹⁰⁴ [qe'to:l]	/qa:tōl/	קָטַל /qā'tol/ [qo:tō:l]	[ka'tol]

¹ Also found at <http://www.museum-tours.com/amarna/tablets.htm>

² They could also be [Aramaisms in BH dating to the eighth century](#) or later.

³ *qal* given as example.

⁴ "Normally identical in meaning to [SC_{past}](#). Used regularly in narrative prose with the [waw conversive](#) prefix *waC-* ([PC_{pretWC}](#)) and occasionally in prose without this prefix ([PC_{pret_sim}](#)). Used irregularly in poetry with or without the *waC-* prefix. "The difference between *yaqtul* past ([PC_{pret}](#)) and *yaqtul* present-future ([PC_{imp}](#)) in BH seems to have been in the accent. Whereas *yaqtul* past was accented on the first syllable, *yaqtul* present-future was accented on the last one: *yáq-tul* versus *yaq-túl* (<*yaq-tú-lu*).... (Thus) **we learn that in Hebrew verbs of the PC accent was phonemic.**" [Zevit 1988](#) p. 28

⁵ Occasionally the poetic form is used in prose and visa versa.

⁶ [Huehnergard 1988](#) p. 21.

⁷ [Rainey 1985](#).

⁸ But note the survival of the [cohortative](#) (PC_{coh.}) DS

⁹ See [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.12.2.14, 3.5.12.2.15.

¹⁰ [JEH](#) style spelling given where different from PMT form.

¹¹ For shift to final stress in PCimp see http://www.houseofdauid.ca/anc_heb_12.htm#trend_ult_str.

¹² See [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.12.2.14, 3.5.7.1.5 and [Goerwitz](#)..

¹³ See [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.3.3.3n.

¹⁴ See [Gogel](#) pp. 140-142.

¹⁵ See [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.3.3.2n., 3.5.12.2.14n.

¹⁶ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.7.7.

Since in [הַכְּתִיבָה](#), [תַּכְּתִיבוּ](#), [הַכְּתִיבִי](#), etc., the penultimate syllable had a long vowel, the stress did not shift to the final syllable even in contextual forms, contrary to other verbal themes.

¹⁷ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.7.3.4n. That *šere* represents an originally short vowel can be demonstrated by internal reconstruction (see §3.3.3.3.1n, p. 84), on the strength of the parallel *pataḥ*.

¹⁸ See [Blau 1976/93](#) p. 28.

¹⁹ [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.1.4.

²⁰ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.2.3.4n. The last syllable of the imperative (which terminated in the third radical without a final vowel at the earliest stage) must also be considered originally short. However, the participles [יִבּוֹל](#) and [יִקְוּ](#) exhibit pre-Tiberian long *e/ø*; see §4.3.5.2.5.1, p. 225.

[Janssens 1994](#) makes an interesting observation -

In a jussive and imperative verbal form the stress was on the ultimate syllable. This is not a word stress, but a sentence stress: imperative *qu'tul > qe'tol, jussive *ya'qum > yā'qom, *waqāṭal'ta > weqāṭal'tā. The forms qe'tol and weqāṭal'tā prove that this sentence stress is secondary, for the shwa of qe'tol can only be a vowel deprived of stress (so: *qu'tul with word stress > qe'tol with sentence stress), also weqāṭal'tā was originally stressed on the penultimate syllable, for -qā- has a pretonic lengthening (so: weqā'taltā with word stress > weqāṭal'tā with sentence stress).

²¹ Material drawn from [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) § 41f.

²² From [Blau 2010](#)

3.5.7.1.4n. ... (In TH) the qualitative differences between originally short and long *šere* and *ḥolam* have been neutralized, and these vowel signs may represent both originally short and long vowels (in PTH ..DS). It is only with the help of the opposition *pataḥ* versus *qamaš* that the historical length of *šere* and

ḥolam can be reconstructed: the *ṣere* and *ḥolam* of, e.g., the suffix-tense forms חָפֵץ 'he wanted', יָבֵל 'he was able' have to be considered short in the light of the *pataḥ* of שָׁמַר the *ṣere* of the noun עֵץ 'tree' has to be regarded as long in the absolute since it corresponds to יָד, yet short in the construct in the light of דָּ....

4.3.5.2.2.1. In the suffix-tense, verbs indicating action (e.g., שָׁמַר 'he kept'...) basically have the *pā^cal* pattern (originally *pa^cal*, with lengthened *a* in the pretonic syllable), whereas stative verbs (e.g., זָקֵן 'he was old', קָטָן 'he was small', יָגַר 'he was afraid', יָבֵל 'he could') have the basic patterns *pā^cel* / *pā^col* (originally *pa^cil* / *pa^cul*, with lengthened *a* in the pretonic syllable and *i/u* in the final closed stressed syllable shifting to *e/o*, respectively). These *e/o* vowels have to be considered short, because they correspond to *pataḥ* in *pā^cal*. Since in the suffix-tense the opposition between action verbs and stative verbs is marked by the contrast of *a* : *i/u* (> *e/o*) after the second radical, they have to be regarded as the characteristic vowels of the suffix-tense.

4.3.5.2.2.1n. Note the *pataḥ* that is characteristic of finite verbal forms in the final closed stressed syllable (whereas nouns contain *qamaṣ* in this position)... [The alternation of i/u as markers of the suffix-tense of stative verbs reflects the archaic Proto-Semitic binary opposition a : i/u](#). This is the case with this opposition in the prefix-tense as well, in which the characteristic vowel follows the second radical.

²³ From [Blau 2010](#) -

4.3.5.2.3.1. According to the testimony of many Semitic languages, including Hebrew, three patterns existed in the prefix-tense as in the suffix-tense, and each was characterized by a different vowel after the second radical. As in the suffix-tense ..., here too *a* is opposed to *i/u*; however, in contradistinction to the suffix-tense, *a* is characteristic of verbs of state, *i/u* of verbs of action.

4.3.5.2.3.4. In both the suffix- and the prefix-tense, the characteristic *a* vowel is *pataḥ* in context: שָׁכַב; שָׁכַב.... Since the *ṣere*, *ḥolam* of יָתַב/יָתַב correspond to the originally short *pataḥ* in יָשָׁב they have to be considered short (in the pre-Tiberian period). Similarly, the *pataḥ* of שָׁכַב indicates that the corresponding *e/o* in קָטָן/זָקֵן, יָבֵל must be interpreted as reflecting (pre-Tiberian) short vowels, the reason being that final short vowels were elided in verbs before they were elided in absolute nouns. During the period of the elision of these vowels in verbs, the lengthening of the vowel preceding the dropped vowel as compensation for its elision did not occur; this process only began to operate at a later period, when [the final vowels of absolute nouns were elided](#)...

See also 3.5.8.3.

²⁴ See [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.13.

²⁵ This applies not only to the Qal form, but also to all the derived forms, even to the essentially active forms: Piel and Hifil.

²⁶ The verb נִצַּח seems to be stative in origin....

²⁷ See [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.3.3. For range of meanings of PC see [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) § 113 and [van der Merwe et al.](#) § 19.

²⁸ Kaye and Rosenhouse in [Hetzron 1997](#) p. 293

²⁹ See [Moscatti 1964](#) pp 141-145; for derived stems see pp. 154-156.

Niphal - 'yankatibu > yanka'tibu > yikkā'tēb

Piel - 'yukattibu > yukat'tibu > yekat'tēb

Hiphil - 'yuhaktibu > yuhak'tibu > yak'tīb

N.b. [Blau 1976/93](#) p. 85 points out that the prefix tense in the waw consecutive can exhibit a late shift to ultimate stress in pause e.g. pausal *wayyomēr* verses contextual *wayyomēr*.

There may have been an early accentual difference between the indicative and the PCimp/PC_{pret.}. The following is quoted from *The Accentuation of the Hebrew Jussive and Preterite* by Richard L. Goerwitz (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 112, No. 2 (Apr., 1992), pp. 198-203). "Evidence from both internal reconstructions and external attestations shows that consonant-final jussives and preterites in Hebrew were originally accented on the penultimate syllable ('yaqtul). Tiberian Hebrew jussive/preterite (way)yiq'tol came about through an early process of forward stress-movement affecting consonant-final forms. Penultimate accentuation in most *waw* consecutives arose much later, by a process of reverse stress-movement, and not (as has recently been argued) by conservation of the original, paroxytone pattern. Conservation of the original pattern occurs only in jussives/preterites of the II-*heh* class, which had, by a twist of phonological fate, been unable to participate in the early forward stress shift.

³⁰ For final vowel of the indicative see [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.3.3.2.

³¹ Similar to form in Yemenite Arabic i.e. 'aktub.

³² From [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.2.3.4.

In both the suffix- and the prefix-tense, the characteristic *a* vowel is *pataḥ* in context: יִשְׁכַּב, שָׁכַב (in contrast to the pausal forms יִשְׁכַּב, שָׁכַב, in which, by pausal lengthening, the *pataḥ* shifted to *qamaṣ*). Since the *šere/ḥolam* of יִקְתַּב/יִתֵּן correspond to the originally short *pataḥ* in יִשְׁכַּב, they have to be considered short (in the pre-Tiberian period). Similarly, the *pataḥ* of שָׁכַב indicates that the corresponding *e/o* in קֵטַל/הִזְקֵן must be interpreted as reflecting (pre-Tiberian) short vowels, the

reason being that [final short vowels were elided in verbs before they were elided in absolute nouns](#).

During the period of the elision of these vowels in verbs, the lengthening of the vowel preceding the dropped vowel as compensation for its elision did not occur; this process only began to operate at a later period, when the final vowels of absolute nouns were elided; for particulars, see §3.5.7.1.5, p. 120.

³³ From [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.3.2.4.

As for the origin of the *-n* ending of *īn(a)*, *-ūn(a)*: according to the testimony of Classical Arabic, it served as the final termination of those forms of the ordinary prefix-tense (viz., the indicative) that ended in long vowels.

³⁴ From [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.2.3.3 (also 4.3.5.3.3).

The pausal forms יִכְתְּבוּ, תִּכְתְּבוּ, תִּכְתְּבֵי reflect a more original syllable patterning ([stress stage ii](#)) than the contextual forms יִכְתְּבוּ, תִּכְתְּבוּ, תִּכְתְּבֵי, which reflect [stress stage iv](#). The same applies to the lengthened prefix-tense, which has אֶכְתְּבֶהּ, נִכְתְּבֶהּ in pause but אֶכְתְּבֶהּ, נִכְתְּבֶהּ in context. The penultimate stress in תִּכְתְּבֶנָּהּ is regular, since the final vowel has been preserved.

³⁵ [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §40n.

³⁶ See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 20 note 27.

³⁷ See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 20 note 27.

³⁸ Adapted from See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 175 note 53.

³⁹ Adapted from See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 175 note 55.

⁴⁰ Adapted from See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 175 note 54.

⁴¹ [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.8.11.

⁴² Adapted from See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 175 note 52. *yantin* > *yattin* >> (by analogy to */a/* theme *qal prefix conjugation*) > *yittin* > (TH) *yitten*. C.f. Manuel p. 30 note 77.

⁴³ From [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.12.2.17.

Another feature illuminated by the theory of general penult is the behavior of prefix-tense forms terminating in the **2mp and 3mp suffix *-ūn***, originally (as demonstrated by Arabic) **-ūna*. In [stage ii](#) (general penultimate stress), these forms ended in stressed *-ūna* (*-ū:na*); in [stage iii](#) (loss of final short vowels), the ending changed to stressed *-ūn*. Later, by pretonic lengthening, the vowel preceding *-ūn* was lengthened (§4.3.3.2.3, p. 205).

⁴⁴ [Blau 1976/93](#) p. 119 says that those forms of the indicative that had long vowel suffixes (3rd MP; 2nd MP; 2nd FS) ended with *n* (יקטלון תקטלון תקטלין) with feminine plural forms ending in *na*.

⁴⁵ [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) § 44e.

⁴⁶ Re. the vowel *a* following the prefix of the imperfect piel, I follow [Moran 1961](#) p. 62, [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.4.4. and [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) § 52a (see also [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §45). [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 38 suggests that it was *u*. It might have even been *i*.

⁴⁷ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.7.3.4n. That *šere* represents an originally short vowel can be demonstrated by internal reconstruction (see §3.3.3.3.1n, p. 84), on the strength of the parallel *patah*.

⁴⁸ From [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.5.2. According to the evidence from Classical Arabic, apparently the original form of the suffix-tense was **puccila* with *i* in the second syllable. The Hebrew *a* in these forms (קָבַד) seems to be partly due to the analogical pressure of the prefix-tense (קָבַד) and partly to the influence of Philippi's Law. קָבַד itself arose, it seems, from **yuḅ ʕal(u)*, as attested by Ancient Canaanite ... and Classical Arabic *yuqattal(u)*: the *u* in the prefix was reduced in open unstressed syllables and, because the passive was felt to be closely connected to *u*, it was restructured to קָבַד with *u* (after the first radical) as the mark of the passive. The participle, originally **muqattal*, developed in a similar way....

⁴⁹ [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 39.

⁵⁰ Assuming that [vowel harmony](#) maintains the identity of the initial two vowels. Cf. [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 21.

⁵¹ See [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.6.4..

⁵² [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) § 51.

⁵³ The *e* following the second root letter is short as shown by its equivalent as *a* (TH) frequently in pause (see [GK](#) § 51m).

⁵⁴ [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 34.

⁵⁵ Adapted from See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 175 note 53.

⁵⁶ See [Blau 1976/93](#) p. 28.

⁵⁷ See [Harris 1939](#) pp. 56-57.

⁵⁸ In pausal and poetic situations the final consonantal *ʾ* of *lamed he* (originally *lamed yod*) verbs reappear e.g. In pausal and poetic situations the final consonantal *ʾ* of *lamed he* (originally *lamed yod*) verbs e.g. יחסיין

⁵⁹ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.7.3.4. Through the influence of the laryngeal/pharyngeal, a preceding *šere*, when it represents an originally short vowel (in the pre-Tiberian period), has a propensity to shift to *a* שֵׁלַח, יִשְׁלַח, שֵׁלַח.

⁶⁰ For an explanation of the /o:/ see [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.8.7.2.5.

⁶¹ See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 42 note 10.

⁶² See [Manuel 1995](#) p. 137 note 407.

⁶³ See [Moscati 1964](#) p. 132.

⁶⁴ The main example is in qal – the other verbal themes (piel, niph'al etc. see footnotes) are analogous. See [Blau 1976/93](#) pp. 120-122. For derived stems see [Moscati 1964](#) pp. 147-157.

Niph'al - 'nakatibu > naka'tibu > nik'tab

Piel - 'kattaba > kat'taba > kit'tēb

Hiph'il - 'haktaba > hak'taba > hik'tīb

The weak verbs are roughly analogous e.g. m^ek_ussā (מכסה) < *mukussawa; m^ek_usse (מכסה) < *mukussawu; gōlē (גלה) < *gāliwu; gōlā (גלה) < *gāliwa(t); šōnē (שנה) < *šāniyu; t^egallī < *t^egalliyī; t^egallū < *t^egalliyū; r'ē (הרא) < *r'ay. See [Blau 1976/93](#) p. 57.

⁶⁵ See [Phones and Phonemes](#).

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §42d.

⁶⁸ [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §42d.

⁶⁹ N.b. "...the 2 masculine singular pronominal suffix /ka/ and (perhaps) the verbal suffix /ta/, whose final short vowels do not apocopate. (It is also possible, though, that the vowel had already lengthened and was, thus, unaffected by apocope...." [Manuel 1995](#) p. 55, 57.

⁷⁰ [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §42d.

⁷¹ See [Harris 1939](#) p. 75.

⁷² See and [Harris 1939](#) pp. 71-72. Similar to form in Yemenite Arabic i.e. *katab*.

⁷³ From [Blau 2010](#) -

4.3.5.2.3.4. In both the suffix- and the prefix-tense, the characteristic *a* vowel is *pataḥ* in context: שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב (in contrast to the pausal forms שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב, in which, by pausal lengthening, the *pataḥ* shifted to *qamaṣ*). Since the *šere/ḥolam* of יָתַב/יָתַב correspond to the originally short *pataḥ* in שָׁכַב, they have to

be considered short (in the pre-Tiberian period). Similarly, the *pataḥ* of **שָׁכַב** indicates that the corresponding *e/o* in **קָטַן/זָקַן**, **יָבֵל** must be interpreted as reflecting (pre-Tiberian) short vowels, the reason being that [final short vowels were elided in verbs before they were elided in absolute nouns](#). During the period of the elision of these vowels in verbs, the lengthening of the vowel preceding the dropped vowel as compensation for its elision did not occur; this process only began to operate at a later period, when the final vowels of absolute nouns were elided; for particulars, see §3.5.7.1.5, p. 120.

4.3.5.2.3.4n. The last syllable of the imperative (which terminated in the third radical without a final vowel at the earliest stage) must also be considered originally short. However, the participles **יָקַן** and **יָבֹל** exhibit pre-Tiberian long *e/o*; see §4.3.5.2.5.1, p. 225.

See also [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §42d.

⁷⁴ See [Harris 1939](#) pp. 57-58.

⁷⁵ See [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.7.2.1.

⁷⁶ [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §42d.

⁷⁷ Similar 3rd m. p. form in Yemenite Arabic i.e. *katabu*.

⁷⁸ [Bauer-Leander 1928](#) §42d.

⁷⁹ See, for a different approach [Huehnergard 1989](#)

⁸⁰ Quoted from [Huehnergard 1992](#) pp. 214 -

(E)xamination of the evidence indicate that all Tiberian forms exhibiting the base *qittal-* may be derived by regular historical processes from earlier **qittil-*.

⁸¹ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.7.3.4n. That *šere* represents an originally short vowel can be demonstrated by internal reconstruction (see §3.3.3.3.1n, p. 84), on the strength of the parallel *pataḥ*.

⁸² “*Hbqydm* ...proves that the stem vowel of the third person forms of the *hiphil* perfect was *-ī*.”

⁸³ From [Blau 1976/93](#)

"7.3.2.3. W/y following a short vowel and preceding another vowel were elided:

7.3.2.3.1. When the following vowel was *a*, the two vowels were contracted to *ā*: *galaya* > **גָּלָה** "he uncovered"; *bayatīm* > **בַּתִּים** "houses"; *šamāniyat* > **שְׁמֹנֶה** "eight".

7.3.2.3.2. If the second vowel was not *a*, the contraction in final position always resulted in *ē*, in medial position *iy* always yielded *ī*, whereas *ay*, when preceding short *u/i* resulted in *ē*; yet before long *ā/ī/ū* *ay* did not change:

yiršayu > ירצה "he will be pleased"; *šadayu/i* > שדה "field"; *šamāniyu/i* > שמונה "eight (fem.)"; *gōliyu/i* > גולה "uncovering"; *piyu/i* > פה "mouth"; *piyunū* > פינו "our mouth"; *šamāniyīm* > שמונים "eighty"; *šadayuhū* > שדהו "his field"; *šadayikimu* > שדכיכם/שדכיכם "your (masc. plur.) field"; *gadayīm* > גדיים "kids...."

⁸⁴ From [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.11.3 -

Heavy *dageš* usually does not appear in the last consonant of a word. The most obvious environment for it would be in [geminate](#) roots, and word-final geminates usually simplify (in TH - DS): *qall* 'light' becomes קל. Exceptions to this limitation include אַתָּה *ʔatt* 'you (fs)', נָתַתָּה *noʔatt* 'you (fs) gave', perhaps by paradigmatic pressure from אַתָּה 'you (ms)', נָתַתָּה 'you (ms) gave'. These forms may also be interpreted as reflecting simple *t* with plosive pronunciation (*ʔat* rather than *ʔatt*; *noʔat* rather than *noʔatt*), again by paradigmatic pressure. If this proves true, these forms can be attributed to a late stage in which the automatic spirantization of *bgdkpt* outside word-initial position had ceased operating (§3.3.2.2, pp. 79ff.).

⁸⁵ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.7.3.4. Through the influence of the laryngeal/pharyngeal, a preceding *šere*, when it represents an originally short vowel (in the pre-Tiberian period), has a propensity to shift to *a*: שֵׁלַח, יִשְׁלַח, שְׁלַח.

⁸⁶ From [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.8.4.

... In forms from **III-laryngeal-pharyngeal roots** for which we posit a short vowel (e.g., in contextual finite verbal forms, שֵׁלַח 'he sent'; cf. שָׁבַר 'he broke'), the *e* is assimilated to the following laryngeal-pharyngeal, to become *a*. In contrast, in the absolute state of nouns, where the *šere* is supposed to be long, it remains, e.g., שֵׁלַח 'sending'. (The same applies to pausal forms, in which pausal lengthening operated; see §3.5.13, p. 154.)

⁸⁷ From [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.8.3 -

Only by linguistic analysis is it possible to state whether a *šere* stems from a (pre-Tiberian) short or long vowel. In absolute nouns, as a rule, *e* in final stressed syllables has to be accounted long, since it patterns like a *qamaš*, e.g., *zāqēn* 'old', cf. *zāqān* 'beard'; עֵץ 'wood', cf. גִּי 'fish'. This is also true of pausal verbs, e.g., pausal שָׁמַע 'he heard'....

⁸⁸ See [Harris 1939](#) pp. 58-59. [Manuel](#) (pp.46-47) wrote

Final heterogeneous diphthong contraction. In a final syllable, a PS /a/ followed by an unvoiced heterogeneous semivowel contracted with the semivowel to form a secondary long vowel, without regard to stress. The shift is especially clear in III-y stems, where the orthography replaces the lost {y} with {h}.... Compare Tiberian Hebrew *yimḥê* (<*yimḥay* <*yimḥayu* <*yamḥayu*) [= "he will wipe out"];... *yimnê* (<*yimnay* <*yimnayu* <*yamnayu*) [= "he will count"];... *naʿăšê* (<*naʿšay*) [= "we will do"], with the secondary opening (/ă/)

of an originally closed syllable;... *nir'ê* (<*nir'ay* < *nir'ayu* < *nar'ayu*) [= "he will see"];... *'eršê* (<*'iršay* < *'aršay*) [= "I am pleased"].

⁸⁹ See [Gogel](#) p. 121 and 130.

⁹⁰ N.b. 5 roots merge in modern Israeli pronunciation i.e. - כרע = "bow down" (EBHP *kara*^c; IH *kara*); כרה = "dig" (EBHP *karā*; IH *kara*); קרע = "tear up" (EBHP *qara*^c; IH *kara*); קרה = "to occur" (EBHP *qarā*; IH *kara*); קרא = "call out, read" (EBHP *qara*?, IH *kara*).

⁹¹ See [Gogel](#) p. 149.

⁹² [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.2.3.4n. The last syllable of the imperative (which terminated in the third radical without a final vowel at the earliest stage) must also be considered originally short. However, the participles יָקַן and יָכֹל exhibit pre-Tiberian long *e/ɔ*; see §4.3.5.2.5.1, p. 225.

⁹³ Assuming that [vowel harmony](#) affects the quality of the semivowel. Cf. [Hendel-Lambdin-Huehnergard](#) p. 21.

⁹⁴ From [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.2.3.4n. The last syllable of the imperative (which terminated in the third radical without a final vowel at the earliest stage) must also be considered originally short. However, the participles יָקַן and יָכֹל exhibit pre-Tiberian long *e/o*; see §4.3.5.2.5.1, p. 225.

⁹⁵ [Joüon-Muraoka 1991](#) § 49d.

⁹⁶ [Blau 1976/93](#) §22.3. Blau points out that the penultimately stressed pausal forms of the inflected imperatives are the earlier pattern.

⁹⁷ [GK](#) §46c, 29m.

⁹⁸ See [Blau 2010](#) §3.5.7.6.6.

⁹⁹ From [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.7.3.4n.

That *šere* (in the *piel*) represents an originally short vowel can be demonstrated by internal reconstruction (see §3.3.3.3.1n, p. 84), on the strength of the parallel *pataḥ*. This is the case in the contextual forms of the full verbal forms, i.e., in the suffix-tenses, the prefix-tenses, and the imperative. On the other hand, the *šere*, whenever originally long, tends to be preserved (and is, accordingly, followed by *pataḥ furtivum*). This is the case in pause, where the *šere* is long owing to pausal lengthening (as in יִשְׁמַע in contrast to יִשְׁמַע in context). Furthermore, this is the case in the nominal forms of the verb, i.e., in the participle and the infinitives (as in שׁוֹמֵעַ in construct הַיָּם רָגַע רָ disturbing the sea' Isa 51:15, since construct forms contain a short vowel in closed final stressed syllables], מְשַׁלַּח, and the infinitive הַשְׁמַע in contrast to the imperative הַשְׁמַע....

¹⁰⁰ From [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.8.7.4.1.

Rather remarkable is the *šere* of the prefix *h* in the suffix-tense of the *hiʿil*/הקים 'he raised'. It must not be interpreted as being due to the impact of *l-y* verbs (such as הימין 'he went to the right'), because in *l-y* verbs the *ē* does not change, whereas in הקים, etc., it is reduced by the shift of stress (הקִימוּתִי). It appears that this *e* attests to an original *i*, which corresponds to Akkadian *u*; see §4.3.5.7.4, p. 235. The same *šere* occurs in the prefix *me-* of the participle: מְקִים.

¹⁰¹ [Blau 2010](#) §4.3.5.2.6.1.

As stated (see §4.3.4.2.1, p. 213), the construct infinitive is, as a rule, formally identical to the imperative, so that it was originally disyllabic as well, containing the same vowel in both syllables: **quṭul*, **qaṭal*, **qītil* (see §4.3.5.2.4.1, p. 224). The prevailing form is **quṭul* > פָּעַל (which has to be analyzed as containing long *ō* in the pre-Tiberian period, arising by secondary lengthening from original short *o* < *u*, [as is the rule in absolute nouns](#)). פָּעַל is formed even from verbs with characteristic *a* in the prefix-tense: יִשְׁמַע 'he will hear', (לִ)שְׁמַע. It appears that originally the prefix-tense and the construct infinitive had the same characteristic vowel; with the restriction of the *yaf'il* prefix-tense, the corresponding *i*-infinitive fell into desuetude as well. In *lil-laryngeal/pharyngeal* verbs, the *o* of the prefix-tense and the imperative, being short, was assimilated to the laryngeal/pharyngeal to become *a*. In contrast, the long *o* of the infinitive was preserved (... see §4.3.7.3.5, p. 240), thus giving rise to the structure of *a* in the prefix-tense and the imperative in contrast to *o* in the construct infinitive. This pattern (*a* in the prefix-tense : *o* in the construct infinitive) spread to verbs that had original *a* in the prefix-tense, such as יִרְכַּב 'he will ride' in contrast to the infinitive לִרְכַּב, rather than **lirkab*. The vowel *a* in the infinitive has only been preserved in לִשְׁכַּב 'to lie' (alongside בְּשֹׁכְבָּךְ), בְּשֹׁפַל 'when being low'.

4.3.5.2.6.1n. The *i*-infinitive was preserved mainly in weak verbs: לָתַת 'to give', לָצֵאת 'to go out', לָשִׁיר 'to sing'.... It is remarkable that these *a*-infinitives have *pataḥ* rather than *qamaṣ*, in spite of its reconstruction above as a long vowel! It appears that the *pataḥ* does not reflect the archaic *a* infinitive but instead exhibits the influence of Rabbinic Hebrew on the Masoretes. In Rabbinic Hebrew, the trend of development has been reversed and infinitives (following ל; as always in Rabbinic Hebrew) with *a* as the characteristic vowel spread in the wake of prefix-tenses with *a*.... In Rabbinic Hebrew, the construct infinitive was felt to be derived from the prefix-tense and was restructured according to it (as in לָקַח 'to take', in the wake of the prefix-tense יָקַח, in contrast to biblical לָקַחְתָּ).

¹⁰² Form normally used **with** pronominal subject/object suffixes. [Blau 2010](#) §4.4.3.2

¹⁰³ Cf. [Moscati 1964](#) p. 147

¹⁰⁴ *ō* seems to have been the characteristic vowel of the infinitive absolute when not formed on the basis of the imperative/infinitive construct. E.g. *qubōr hiqqābōr*, *niqbōr*