Targum Song of Songs: Language and Lexicon

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures
School of Arts and Sciences
Of The Catholic University of America
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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By
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Washington, D.C.

2016
Targum Song of Songs (TgSong) contains linguistic features from “literary” Aramaic as found in Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan, western Aramaic, eastern Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Syriac. A similar mixing of linguistic features is evident in other targumim, and their language is collectively termed Late Jewish Literary Aramaic (LJLA). Though several of these LJLA texts have been linguistically analyzed, one text that has not received such an analysis is TgSong. Since TgSong expands well beyond the underlying Hebrew, it provides an excellent example from which to analyze distinct linguistic features. This dissertation approaches TgSong in two ways. First, it is a descriptive grammar and includes standard grammatical categories: phonology and orthography, morphology, syntax, and lexical stock. Second, in order to determine how the language is mixed and where the language of TgSong fits into the spectrum of Aramaic dialects, each grammatical feature and lexical item is compared to the other pre-modern Aramaic dialects. This dissertation shows first, that the mixing of linguistic features in TgSong is not haphazard. Individual linguistic features are largely consistent in the text, regardless of their dialectal classification. Second, the language of TgSong is primarily modeled on the language of Onqelos and Jonathan, with a secondary influence being Targumic Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. Eastern Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic elements are not as centrally influential on the language of TgSong, and linguistic elements specific to non-Jewish dialects are rarely attested. Finally, based on the data, it is argued first, that the author is self-consciously writing a targum, in spite of its expansiveness; second, that the well-educated targumist is writing for laity, rather than exclusively for an educated elite; third, that the targumist’s linguistic choices allow TgSong to be understood by Jews in all locales, making TgSong a text for Jews of all places.
This Dissertation by Andrew W. Litke fulfills the dissertation requirements for the doctoral degree in Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures approved by Edward M. Cook, Ph.D., as Director, and by Andrew D. Gross, Ph.D., and Christian M. M. Brady, D.Phil., as Readers.
For Dana
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Abbreviations

Grammatical Abbreviations

abs  absolute
adj  adjective
adv  adverb
c   common
con  construct
conj  conjunction
demon  demonstrative
emph  emphatic
f, fem  feminine
impf  imperfect
interj  interjection
interr  interrogative
intrans  intransitive
m, mas  masculine
n  noun
n.a.  not attested
p, pl  plural
pf  perfect
PPtc  past participle
prep  preposition
pro  pronoun
ptc  participle
s, sing  singular
suff  suffix
trans  transitive
v, vb  verb

Shortened Titles of Frequently Referenced Grammatical Treatments
(See the bibliography for full bibliographical information.)

Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction  Introduction to the Grammar of Jewish-Babylonian Aramaic
Bauer-Leander, Grammatik  Grammatik des Biblisch Aramäischen
Beyer, ATTM  Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer
Cantineau, Grammaire  Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique
Cantineau, Nabatéen  Le nabatéen I
Cook, “Orthography”  “The Orthography of Final Unstressed Long Vowels in Old and Imperial Aramaic”
Cook, Short Grammar  A Short Grammar of Imperial Aramaic
Dalman, Grammatik  Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch
Dictionary Abbreviations
(See the bibliography for full bibliographical information.)

ChW  Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des Rabbinischen Schriftthums
Cook, Glossary  A Glossary of Targum Onkelos
DCPA  Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic
DJA  Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic
DJBA  Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Géonic Periods
DJPA  Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period, 2nd ed.
DNWSI  Hoftijzer and Jongeling, Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions
DQA  Cook, A Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic
DSA  Tal, A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic
Jastrow, Dictionary  Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature
MD  Drower and Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary
SL  Sokoloff, A Syriac Lexicon
Vogt, Lexicon  A Lexicon of Biblical Aramaic
### Targum Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FTP</td>
<td>Fragment Targum Paris Manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTV</td>
<td>Fragment Targum Vatican Manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TgChr</td>
<td>Targum Chronicles</td>
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<tr>
<td>TgEsth I</td>
<td>Targum Esther I</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>TgLam</td>
<td>Targum Lamentations</td>
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<td>TgOnq</td>
<td>Targum Onqelos</td>
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<tr>
<td>TgPs</td>
<td>Targum Psalms</td>
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<tr>
<td>TgPsJ</td>
<td>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</td>
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<tr>
<td>TgQoh</td>
<td>Targum Qoheleth</td>
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<tr>
<td>TgRuth</td>
<td>Targum Ruth</td>
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<tr>
<td>TgSong</td>
<td>Targum Song of Songs</td>
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### Dialect and Language Abbreviations

<table>
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<td>Akk</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Biblical Aramaic</td>
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<tr>
<td>BH</td>
<td>Biblical Hebrew</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Christian Palestinian Aramaic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gk</td>
<td>Greek</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heb</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
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<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>Imperial Aramaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBA</td>
<td>Jewish Biblical Aramaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JLA</td>
<td>Jewish Literary Aramaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPA</td>
<td>Jewish Palestinian Aramaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lat</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LJLA</td>
<td>Late Jewish Literary Aramaic</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Middle Aramaic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nab</td>
<td>Nabatean</td>
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<tr>
<td>OA</td>
<td>Old Aramaic</td>
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<td>Pal</td>
<td>Palmyrene</td>
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<td>Pers</td>
<td>Persian</td>
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<td>QA</td>
<td>Qumran Aramaic</td>
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<tr>
<td>RH</td>
<td>Rabbinic Hebrew</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Samaritan Aramaic</td>
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</table>

Acknowledgements

It is my distinct honor to acknowledge and thank a number of people who have helped bring this dissertation to fruition. I am profoundly thankful for my advisor, Edward M. Cook, whose philological mastery of Hebrew and Aramaic combines with a graciousness and decency as a gentleman, teacher, and mentor. Andrew D. Gross’s meticulous eye and amiable spirit have benefited both my writing and my classroom experiences. Christian M. M. Brady has been wonderfully generous with his time and insights, and I appreciate his sound advice. Though not one of my dissertation readers, I am thankful for Fr. Christopher Begg and his keen editorial skills.

The Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures at The Catholic University of America has been a wonderful home and a fruitful place to learn. Unbeknownst to him, Fr. Sidney H. Griffith played an important role in my coming to the department, and his classes did not disappoint. Monica J. Blanchard ceaselessly works to improve the ICOR library, and she is always quick to acquire materials that are of interest to the library or individual students. I love that she informs me of new Aramaic resources! Shawqi N. Talia and Janet A. Timbie have provided countless conversations that are stimulating and encouraging. Though he has only been at CUA for a short time, Aaron M. Butts has been quick to provide insights and share resources. The collegial atmosphere in the department is in large part due to the tone set by its faculty, and it flows down to the students. There are many students whom I have been fortunate to study with, and they have motivated me and walked with me. Stephen Coleman, Alexandra Lupu, and Cynthia Park were constant partners in my Ancient Near Eastern classes. Ryann Craig, Nathan Gibson, and Colby Scott encouraged me to explore the Christian Near Eastern side of the department, and they made my scholarship all the better.
It was at Reformed Theological Seminary in Orlando that I first fell in love with biblical languages and began to enter the world of higher scholarship. I am particularly thankful for Reggie M. Kidd, who shares my love of both biblical studies and the arts and continually unites the two in his teaching and ministry. My first Hebrew teachers, Mark D. Futato and Bruce K. Waltke, were tremendous examples of rigorous attention to detail and curiosity.

I was first introduced to the academic study of religion while an undergraduate at Furman University. I am especially grateful for David W. Rutledge and and Bryan D. Bibb. These two professors sent me down the rabbit hole of academia, and I am thankful for their continued friendship. Though a religion major, I spent most of my life in the music department. My cello professor, Christopher Hutton, and my orchestra conductor, Thomas W. Joiner, created a beautiful, musical lens through which I continue to see the world and do my work.

It is not only academicians who have helped me in my academic journey. I am fortunate to be surrounded by family and friends who have shouldered my burdens and celebrated my milestones. My community in Northern Virginia has been tremendously supportive. So many have encouraged me in these past seven years, and I truly could not have done it without them.

My parents, Larry and Robbie, instilled in me a passion for education and a love for the Bible at a very early age. More than that, they are a constant, overflowing stream of encouragement and support. They listen, dream, and pray for me at all times, and I feel it every day. My sisters, Deedee and Tasha, and their families have loved me and helped me to grow in so many ways. My in-laws, Karen, Dan, Andrea, Faye, and Lowell have been gracious and supportive.
My daughter, Rebekah, has been a source of love, joy, and vibrancy in the last eighteen months of this process.

To all of these people I express my gratitude and thanks, and it is to their credit that this dissertation has come to completion. But one person deserves the most sincere thanks and love. Dana, my wife, has partnered with me in this process since we were young. She has rejoiced with me during the achievements, and she has gotten me through the low points. It is with steadfast love, grace, and gentleness that she has supported and encouraged me. I dedicate this dissertation to her with all my appreciation and love.

Maundy Thursday, 2016
1.0 Introduction

1.1 The Targumim

A targum is an Aramaic translation of the Bible. While it is appropriate to use the label “translation,” there is one characteristic which fundamentally differentiates the targumim from other ancient translations of the Bible. The targumim were never meant to replace the Hebrew text as the community’s Bible, and in fact, the Hebrew source text is nearly always present in some form. This vital difference makes the targumim much more than translations. They have an inherent explanatory function, and as such, they are translational explications of their accompanying source texts. Some of this explanatory impulse results in long insertions and creative translation techniques. One targum that is


2. Though others have made this same point, see especially the recent comments in Willem F. Smelik, “The Translation as a Bilingual Text: The Curious Case of the Targum,” AJS Perspectives (Fall 2015): 8–10. Online at www.ajsnet.org/ajsp15fa.pdf.

3. On the various ways that the targumim interpret the Hebrew text, see Moshe J. Bernstein, “The Aramaic Targumim: The Many Faces of the Jewish Biblical Experience,” in
particularly expansive in this regard is the text under consideration in this dissertation, Targum Song of Songs (TgSong). The underlying Hebrew text of Song of Songs is completely subsumed into a historical narrative about the Israelite people and their hope for the coming Messiah. The explanatory function of the targumim is not limited to the most expansive targumim, though; it is also noticeable in portions of the targumim that are more “literal” in their translation. This dual function of the targumim as both translation and explication contributes to the unique character of the targumim and sets them apart from other ancient texts.

The extant rabbinic targumim can be subdivided into three groups. The first group includes the oldest rabbinic targumim, namely Targum Onqelos to the Pentateuch and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets. The second group is collectively referred to as the Palestinian Targum or the Palestinian targum tradition, and all of these targumim are limited to the Pentateuch. Targum Neofiti contains the entire Pentateuch. The so-called Fragment Targum and the fragmentary targumic manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah contain portions of the Pentateuch. The third and latest group of targumim includes Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

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7. Though the Fragment Targum is known from several sources, I interact with two manuscripts in this dissertation: Ms. Paris, Héb. 110 Bibliothèque Nationale (P) and Ms. Ebr.
(TgPsJ) to the Pentateuch and targumim to specific books of the Writings. With the completion of this third group, there is a targum to every portion of the Hebrew Bible except for Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.

1.2 The Text of TgSong

This third group of targumim—TgPsJ and the targumim to the Writings—shares certain linguistic peculiarities. Although several of these targumim have received extended grammatical treatment, one such text that has never been linguistically analyzed is TgSong. TgSong is particularly suited for linguistic analysis because it expands so far beyond its underlying Hebrew text, and its dialectal traits are not governed by the grammar of the Hebrew.

The editio princeps of TgSong was published by Daniel Bomberg in the first Rabbinic Bible (1517). This text had a prevailing influence on the succeeding printed editions and was even the basis for the first modern edition of TgSong, that of Lagarde’s *Hagiographa Chaldaice*. While there is a wealth of manuscripts (60+) for this popular text, it was not

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8. The text of TgPsJ is according to Ernest G. Clarke, et al., *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken: KTAV Publishing House, 1984). For the targumim to the Writings, see Introduction 1.4.2.

9. See the discussion below in Introduction 1.3.

until the early twentieth century that scholars began to interact with these manuscripts. The manuscripts can be classified as either western (those from northern Africa and Europe) or Yemenite, and in the first critical edition of TgSong, Melamed utilized six Yemenite manuscripts and compared them to Lagarde’s Hagiographa Chaldaice, his representative of the western recension. Melamed makes two assertions about the manuscripts of TgSong. First, Lagarde’s text and the Yemenite manuscripts represent two distinct recensions, each of which has “a different archetype and origin.” Second, Melamed asserts that Lagarde’s text “preserves a superior consonantal text,” having highlighted a number of places where the Yemenite manuscripts have independent readings from Lagarde’s text, places where Lagarde’s text has fuller readings, and places where the texts have a different order.

Melamed uses the following manuscripts in his edition (with his nomenclature):

11. Philip S. Alexander, “Tradition and Originality in the Targum of the Song of Songs,” in The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context (Eds. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara; JSOTSupp 166; Sheffield; JSOT Press, 1994), 318. TgSong’s popularity is also evident in the number of languages in which it has been translated. Alexander highlights several “Targums of Targums” which are attested in, but not limited to, Judaeo-Arabic, Ladino, Yiddish, Hebrew, Neo-Aramaic, and Judaeo-Persian; Alexander, “Notes on Some Targums of the Targum of the Song of Songs,” in Targum and Scripture: Studies in Aramaic Translations and Interpretation in Memory of Ernest Clarke (ed. Paul V. M. Flesher; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 159–74.

12. Raphael Hai Melamed, The Targum to Canticles According to Six Yemen MSS: Compared with the “Textus Receptus” as Contained in de Lagarde’s “Hagiographa Chaldaice” (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1921). Lagard’s text is a slightly amended reprint of the first Rabbinic Bible; Lagarde, Hagiographa Chaldaice, XI; the changes are listed on pp. XIV–XV. According to Alexander, while Lagarde did not utilize manuscripts in his edition, it seems that some of the changes were informed by other early printed texts of TgSong; Targum of Canticles, 4.


16. For a description of these manuscripts and Melamed’s grouping of them, see Melamed, Targum, 10–16. See also, Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 1, 7.
In a 1987 dissertation, Fontela prepared a critical edition of ten western manuscripts.\textsuperscript{17} As a point of comparison, he included two Yemenite manuscripts and made the following conclusions. First, like Melamed before him, Fontela asserts that the western manuscripts represent a superior consonantal text, and he presents a number of additions, omissions, transpositions, etc. that can be seen in the Yemenite manuscripts.\textsuperscript{18} Second, in contrast to Melamed, Fontela posits that the western and Yemenite manuscripts belong to two traditions of textual transmission which derive from the same 
\textit{Urtext}. In fact, many of the differences do not represent independent origins; instead, the Yemenite recension is derived from a text which is best represented by the western manuscripts.\textsuperscript{19} The differences between the western and Yemenite manuscripts can be attributed to errors in the Yemenite scribal transmission.\textsuperscript{20} Fontela uses the following manuscripts in his edition (with his nomenclature):\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{enumerate}
\item 1: Ms. Paris, Héb. 110 Bibliothèque Nationale, [Fontela’s base]
\item 2: Ms. Madrid, Villa-Amil 5 (116-Z-40), Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense
\item 3: Ms. Nuremberg, Solger 1-7 2º, Biblioteca Municipal (Stadtbibliothek)
\item 4: Ms. New York, L478 (Adler 25), Jewish Theological Seminary
\end{enumerate}  

\textsuperscript{17} Fontela, “El Targum.”

\textsuperscript{18} Fontela, “El Targum,” 134–51. Homoioteleuton is particularly common in the Yemenite manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{19} Fontela, “El Targum,” 134.

\textsuperscript{20} Fontela, “El Targum,” 139.

\textsuperscript{21} For a description of these manuscripts, see Fontela, “El Targum,” 44–71; for Fontela’s grouping of the manuscripts, see 111–51.
5: Ms. Salamanca, 2 (Est. 1, Cajón 1, Número 3), Biblioteca Universidad
7: Vatican, Cod. Vat. Urbinati Ebr. 1, Biblioteca Vaticana
8: Ms. Parma, 3231 (De-Rossi 31), Biblioteca Palatina
9: Copenhagen, Cod. Hebr. 11, Kongelige Bibliotek
10: Ms. Parma, 3218 (De-Rossi 7), Biblioteca Palatina

Yemenite Manuscripts
11: Ms. London, Or 2375, British Library [Melamed’s E; Sperber’s base]
12: Ms. London, Or 1302, British Library [Melamed’s A]

There are a few minor editions that have also been published, but they are normally
transcriptions of single manuscripts. Of particular note is Sperber’s text, since it is used in
the CAL database and subsequently in the Accordance® software Targum Module. Sperber
uses the Yemenite Ms. London, Or 2375 of the British Library (Melamed’s manuscript E and
Fontela’s manuscript 11) as his base manuscript and inserts text from the second Rabbinic
Bible (western).

Alexander’s reading of the TgSong manuscripts is as follows. First, he agrees with
both Melamed and Fontela that the western manuscripts represent a much better preserved
text. Second, Alexander agrees with Fontela that the vast majority of differences between the
western and Yemenite manuscripts can be attributed to scribal errors. The one obvious
exception is the radically different list of gemstones in TgSong 5:14 (Lexical Stock 5.9). He

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22. For a list of these minor editions, see Fontela, “El Targum,” 87–105; Alexander,
Targum of Canticles, 4–5.

23. The CAL text is available online at http://cal2.cn.huc.edu/; see also the “TARG-T”
module of the Accordance® Software, OakTree Software, Inc.

2013), 6.

concludes that as a whole, “the text of [TgSong] is, in fact, very stable: it is not an evolving tradition.”

From a linguistic perspective, there are three matters to note. First, many of the differences between the western and Yemenite manuscripts, such as additions and omissions, usually do not significantly alter the language of the text. Second, there is a tendency for scribes from both recensions to change the text of TgSong to fit more closely with the language of Onqelos and Jonathan, but this is especially pronounced in the Yemenite recension. Note some of the linguistic deviations in the Yemenite recension which are likely examples of scribal updating:

27 preference for non-nasalized forms (Phonology 2.2.2), spelling of historic /*š/ with ס on all words (Phonology 2.1.1.1), changing the preposition בוי “in; at; with” to the more common ב(Morphology 3.5.1), treating the nouns עץ and הアルバ as masculine (Morphology 3.1.4.2), use of the interrogative איכדין “how?” (Morphology 3.1.6), use of the Aph el and Ithpe el instead of the Haph el and Hithpe el (Morphology 3.4.1), preference for the spelling חזי instead of חמי “to see” (Lexical Stock, 3.4.1), preference for the spelling אף instead of אוף “also” (Lexical Stock 5.4.2), use of the spelling אמא instead of מאים “perhaps” (Lexical Stock 5.6.1), and the use of the spelling ציבחר instead of ציבחר “little bit, small amount” (Lexical Stock 5.4.2). Third, in spite of the textual superiority of the western manuscripts as a whole, there are places where certain Yemenite manuscripts preserve a superior reading. These will be highlighted throughout the dissertation.


27. As stated before, some of these also occur in western manuscripts, but they are more pronounced in Yemenite manuscripts.
1.3 TgSong and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic

Scholarly interest in TgSong’s language has been minimal. As the following survey shows, the treatments have remained general, and some only include statements about TgSong within broader treatments of other late targumim. The following scholars have contributed the most to our understanding of TgSong’s language, and they will be discussed in chronological order.28

**Gustaf Dalman**

Dalman makes two significant contributions related to TgSong’s language in his pioneering grammar of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. First, he groups TgSong with a number of other texts under the broad heading: “Die Sprachdenkmäler mit gemischem Sprachtypus.” According to Dalman, these texts of mixed language include TgPsJ, the Fragment Targum, the targumim to the Writings, and texts of the Apocrypha (such as Tobit and additions to Daniel).29 All of these texts are marked by “eine Mischung aus Elementen verschiedener Dialekte.”30 Second, Dalman goes on to suggest that the targumim to the Writings can be further subdivided. One group includes TgPs, TgJob, TgChr, and TgProv, together with TgPsJ (and the Fragment Targum). The other group includes the Megilloth.31 With particular reference to this latter group, Dalman suggests that they were perhaps written at a point

28. Other scholars who simply declare that the language of TgSong is “mixed,” “bad Aramaic,” or “Palestinian” do not contribute anything to the discussion and will not be considered here.


between Onqelos and Jonathan on the one hand and TgPsJ and the “großen Hagiographen” on the other. According to Dalman, however, this distinction is minimal because these mixed language texts only differ from texts like the Zohar by a matter of degree. Both of Dalman’s contributions—the designation as a mixed language and the subdivision of these texts—would have a lasting impact on all succeeding scholarship on the topic.

**Raphael Hai Melamed**

Melamed offers a few comments on TgSong’s language in the introduction to his critical edition. In a general statement about the targumim to the Writings, he says the following:

> Linguistically, they are composite in character and their sources likewise are a mixture of very ancient material combined with later matter drawn from Palestinian and Babylonian literary compilations. Their redaction took place sometime between the fifth and eighth centuries. The Targum to Canticles, which is here published, was probably written in the latter period, there being traces of Arabic influence.

He also lists a number of differences between Yemenite manuscripts and Lagarde’s text according to standard grammatical categories. Rather than being a systematic grammatical analysis, however, these are primarily treated as textual variants. There is also no substantive discussion of other dialects.

Though his comments are brief, Melamed betray’s an assumption that the TgSong targumist has simply collected material from Jewish texts of various localities. The language is mixed because the sources are of multiple dialects, and there are no discernible linguistic priorities in the targumist’s mind. While it is likely true that the targumist occasionally

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34. Melamed, *Targum to Canticles*, 5.
maintains the linguistic particularities of certain sources, there are a number of issues with this approach. First, as Alexander has pointed out on a number of occasions, this “pastiche” approach which looks for parallels in other rabbinic works only denigrates the literary artistry of the targum as a whole, a targum which is internally consistent in its overarching story. TgSong is not a garbled mess of thrown-together sources; instead, it is a masterful work by someone who was intimately familiar with multiple texts and traditions and was capable of utilizing them in creating a unique work. Second, this approach assumes that various rabbinic sources do not themselves have a history of oral and written sources from various times and places. Third, this approach does not explain the number of linguistic consistencies that do occur in TgSong. In the end, this is not a sufficient explanation for the “mixed” language of TgSong.

Carlos Alonso Fontela

Fontela comments on the language of TgSong in the introductory chapters of his critical edition, and these comments are more detailed than those of Melamed. As a point of comparison, while Melamed attributes the linguistic situation to a mixture of sources, Fontela continues in a long tradition of scholarship which attributes the mixed language of TgSong

This may be the case with the list of demons in TgSong 4:6, which utilizes eastern plural morphemes rather than western plural morphemes as in the surrounding nouns.


(and that of the other Writings and TgPsJ) to scribal contamination. As he states, “En su estado actual, el Targum al Cantar presenta un arameo muy mezclado, y a veces inconsecuente.” It is the text in its current state that is mixed. According to Fontela, the language was originally Palestinian Aramaic, but the scribes adapted the language to be more like other dialects with which they were more familiar, notably those of Onqelos and the Babylonian Talmud. Fontela goes on to highlight a number of western elements that are seen in the TgSong manuscripts: “to see,” certain infinitival forms, “for,” the third masculine singular pronoun with possessive suffix, the demonstrative, the adverb “all around,” “also,” and “abundance.” According to Fontela, these western forms are textual vestiges which betray the original, underlying language. He concludes that the only possible explanation is that this Palestinian text was contaminated by scribes more familiar with Onqelos and the Babylonian Talmud.

There are two underlying assumptions in this position which are not sufficiently justified. First, this position either assumes that the text had to be written in Palestine or that Jews outside of Palestine would never utilize Palestinian forms and words in their own compositions. Second, this position assumes that any forms or words which stand in opposition to Palestinian Aramaic are later intrusions from a scribe’s hand. This is in spite of

the fact that Fontela himself concedes the deep influence of Onqelos on TgSong’s content. But if the content is influenced by Onqelos, then why not the language (beyond scribal intrusions)? Furthermore, what prevents us from taking the opposite stance: that TgSong was originally written in the language of Onqelos and later contaminated by scribes who wished to make it seem more Palestinian? As this dissertation will show, there are specific grammatical and lexical features that are unique to Onqelos and Jonathan which are fundamental to the language of TgSong, just as there are specific features of western Aramaic, eastern Aramaic, and Biblical Aramaic that are fundamental to the language of TgSong. In all fairness to Fontela and other scholars of this approach, though, the difficulty in fully discounting this position lies in the fact that there is indeed a tendency for scribes to align unusual or unknown linguistic features with the language of Onqelos and Jonathan. But instead of simply discounting each non-western feature as a later scribal correction, each linguistic feature must be analyzed in its own right.

There are two final matters to consider regarding Fontela’s position. First, as was the case with Melamed’s position, it does not account for the consistency of certain non-western linguistic features in TgSong. Second, Fontela’s approach analyzes TgSong in isolation from other late targumim which should be used as additional sources of linguistic data.

Edward M. Cook

In a dissertation primarily concerned with the language of TgPsJ, Cook makes a number of comments that are relevant to the language of TgSong. First, in contrast to Dalman’s approach that the language of TgPsJ is mixed in a haphazard way, Cook asserts that the mixture is consistent, though in an artificial way. Second, he asserts that several

44. Edward M. Cook, “Rewriting the Bible: The Text and Language of the Pseudo-
linguistic features of Onqelos and Jonathan are fundamental to the language of TgPsJ, rather than a result of later scribal “correction.” Note the concluding statement to his morphological analysis:

The whole picture is thus one of broad accommodation to Standard Literary Aramaic, especially as it is exemplified in [Targum Onqelos]/[Targum Jonathan]—combined with, on the one hand, a striving for greater “literariness” by imitation of Biblical Aramaic, and on the other hand, with a drop-off into clearly later or colloquial forms.

Third, Cook agrees with Dalman that TgPsJ shares the same mixed language as several other late targumim, namely the targumim to the Writings, and he dedicates a chapter to this issue.\(^{45}\) He selects thirty linguistic features that consistently recur in TgPsJ and exemplify its mixed character, and he applies this list to TgQoh, TgRuth, TgLam, TgEsth I, TgJob, TgPs, TgChr, and the Dream of Mordecai.\(^{46}\) Significantly, all of these texts attest a high percentage of these features (ranging from 56% to 88% agreement). In contrast to this relatively high degree of similarity, he applies the same list to Onqelos, the Palestinian Targumim, Samaritan Targum, Peshīṭta, Biblical Aramaic, Babylonian Talmud, and the Palestinian Talmud and midrashim. This second comparison results in no more than 43% agreement (and as low as 27% agreement), and the highest percentage is the Palestinian Talmud and midrashim.\(^{47}\) His analysis shows that on the one hand, the language of TgPsJ is closely aligned with the language of the Writings, and on the other hand, the agreement is higher with TgJob, TgPs, and TgChr than it is with TgQoh, TgRuth, and TgLam. Cook

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Jonathan Targum” (PhD Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1986), 36; 281.

46. Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 274.
47. Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 275–76.
attributes this shared language to “a lay targum-writing movement of the Gaonic period (8th-10th centuries C.E.).”

It is relevant that Cook does not include TgSong in his analysis, but I applied his list of features to TgSong as an initial point of comparison. It shows an agreement of 70%. This is significantly higher than TgQoh, TgRuth, and TgLam (all of which are in the 50s), but not as high as TgJob, TgPs, and TgChr (which range from 79%-88%). According to these criteria, TgSong shows the closest relationship to TgEsth I (77%) and the Dream of Mordecai (74%).

Stephen A. Kaufman

As the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon was just getting underway, Kaufman published an article about the dialectal classification of TgPsJ, but as with Cook’s dissertation, its discussion is pertinent to the linguistic classification of TgSong as well. In this article, which is particularly dedicated to lexicography, he independently arrives at a number of the same conclusions as Cook, namely that TgPsJ and the targumim to the Writings form a particular group of texts, and that these texts utilize literary features from different dialects in similar ways. He is quick to indicate that TgJob, TgPs, and TgChr are of a different sort than the other targumim to the Writings (not to mention the Syriac-influenced TgProv). In fact, they are not necessarily from the same location or time period, and each text has unique characteristics of its own. He states, “What unifies these Targums is not their ‘Yerushalmi-ness’ but a unique, standard system of ‘Yerushalmite’ characteristics, both


lexical and grammatical.”\textsuperscript{50} It is not just the Palestinian grammatical features that are notable in these texts. He states, “All of these [dialects] take their part, not in anarchy, but every one in a measured and normal manner.” \textsuperscript{51} It is in this article that he coins the term “Late Jewish Literary Aramaic” (LJLA) as a way of categorizing these texts.\textsuperscript{52}

The bulk of the article is an appendix which includes words organized into seven general groups: General Aramaic, Jewish Literary Aramaic (Onqelos, Jonathan, Qumran), Jewish Aramaic of the Land of Israel (both targumim and midrashim), Babylonian Aramaic, “Hebrew,” Archaic or Obscure, and Unique/Syriac. Kaufman particularly stresses the final group, words that are unique or are only elsewhere attested in Syriac. He makes two conclusions following this analysis. First, LJLA was a literary dialect used in a place and by a people where Aramaic was still actively spoken. It is in the deviations from the norm that the original author’s dialect is evident.\textsuperscript{53} Second, the linguistic features of Palestinian Aramaic that are present in these texts do not necessitate that the texts were composed in Palestine. According to Kaufman, “it is very likely these text were not composed in the Land of Israel.”\textsuperscript{54} Finally, Kaufman recently published a follow-up article in which he subdivides the LJLA texts based on their Syriac correspondences. According to this classification, TgSong is a less-core LJLA text, and he groups it with TgQoh, TgEsth III, and TgRuth.\textsuperscript{55}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{50} Kaufman, “Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” 5.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Kaufman, “Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” 8.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Kaufman, “Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” 5.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Kaufman, “Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” 5.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Kaufman, “Dialectology,” 145–48.
\end{itemize}
Philip S. Alexander

Alexander has published a number of studies related to TgSong, but his treatments have not been linguistic in nature. In fact, his most detailed statement on the language of TgSong (which is admittedly provisional) contains generalities about Aramaic dialects and hypothetical situations that would result in a mixed language rather than any substantive linguistic comments.\(^{56}\) He begins by highlighting the difficulty of making any linguistic claims since “the dialectal features of Tg[Song] vary from manuscript to manuscript.”\(^{57}\) Alexander then goes on to say a few general comments about Aramaic before stating that TgSong’s language is characteristically mixed. As evidence, he lists three examples of mixture that occur in TgSong: the coexistence of the verbs חמי / חזי “to see,” the different emphatic forms of masculine plural nouns, and the co-occurrence of ארום and ארי “for.”\(^{58}\) His own position is that the mixed elements are not simply early, as Fontela states, but rather, they are original to the text of TgSong.\(^{59}\) He states as follows:

[T]he Aramaic of [TgSong] is a purely literary dialect. This dialect was created by someone who knew Jewish literature in both eastern and western dialects as well as in the Targumic Aramaic of Onq[elos] and Jon[athan], and was quite happy to combine for literary purposes elements drawn from all three of these dialectal groups.\(^{60}\)

Alexander also states, “There are a number of other late Jewish Aramaic texts that show a similar admixture of eastern, western, and Onq[elos]-Jon[athan] Aramaic—the Pseudo-

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56. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, 8–12. Even some of these generalities about Aramaic are curious. For instance, he states, “There is general agreement that Onq[elos] and Jon[athan] are basically in old Imperial Aramaic” (p. 8); this statement, as such, is simply false.


Jonathan Targum and the Targums to Chronicles, Psalms, and Job. These texts, he goes on, are not identical, and “we are not dealing here with a unified dialect grounded in a vernacular, but with an artificial literary language that was, to a degree, created anew by each author as he combined different elements from the Aramaic literary sources that he knew.” He goes on to firmly oppose explanations—particularly linguistic—which would situate the original TgSong outside of Palestine, and he concludes that the targumist was not a native Aramaic speaker. Instead, he was likely a native Arabic speaker, as there are some Arabic names of gemstones in TgSong 5:14, and he posits a possible Arabism at TgSong 4:3.

While Alexander’s comments are brief and general, there are several matters to highlight about his analysis. First, it is commendable that Alexander does not try to explain away the linguistic mixture in TgSong. Rather, he indicates that they are an original part of TgSong’s dialect. Unfortunately, he does not indicate how the language is mixed or comment on any linguistic consistencies. Second, Alexander rightly indicates that there are other late Aramaic texts that share a similar mixture, but while he includes TgPsJ, TgPs, TgJob, and TgChr, he curiously does not include any of the other targumim to the Megilloth in his statement. His firm stance that these texts are not part of a “unified dialect” greatly limits his ability to comment on the language. For instance, two of the three linguistic traits that he highlights can be informed by including the other LJLA texts in his analysis. It is true that

61. Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 10.
62. Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 10–11.
63. Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 11–12. It should be pointed out that Junkermann, a student of Alexander’s, also has a brief section on the language of TgSong in her dissertation, but it is little more than a restatement of Alexander’s survey and position; see “Relationship,” 39–41.
64. He reiterates the same sentiment later in his introduction; Targum of Canticles, 55.
these texts all utilize both חמי and חזי, but there is a very strong preference for חמי, in a ratio of 8:1 (Lexical Stock 5.4.1). Also, he indicates that ארום is attested seven times in TgSong, but אררי occurs in two manuscripts at 1:13 and three manuscripts at 5:5. Were we to limit our linguistic analysis to TgSong, we would not be able to say any more than that the language is mixed. A broader analysis shows, however, that LJLA texts attest the use of ארום over 3000 times and אררי fewer than twenty times (Lexical Stock 5.4.1). Clearly, the attestations of אררי can be attributed to later scribal activity, and ארום is preferred. What is conspicuous by its absence is any explicit mention of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic or the works by Cook and Kaufman in either his discussion or his bibliography, even though his comments seem to be informed by and in response to them, particularly Kaufman’s interpretation.

Third, the presence of Arabisms is indeed significant, but it should not be overstated. All of the unquestioned Arabisms are located in a list of gemstones in TgSong 5:14, but it is not necessarily the case that all of the gems which Alexander suggests have an Arabic form are indeed Arabic in form (Lexical Stock 5.9). It is also noteworthy that these gemstones only occur in the western recension; the Yemenite recension uses terms from the Hebrew Bible. Though Alexander states in the introduction to his translation that the Arabic gemstones are original, he states in his Appendix B that it is possible to argue that the Hebrew terms were original. Regardless, syntactic oddities surrounding the list of gemstones in this verse

65. TgPsJ has more attestations of אררי, but they are all paralleled in Onqelos.

66. Alexander does indicate elsewhere that TgSong employs the language of LJLA, as he states in another article, “The text [of TgSong] as a whole routinely employs the following language(s), knowledge of which is taken for granted: Aramaic, specifically the Late Literary Jewish Aramaic dialect.” See “Profile Targum Canticles: Excerpt from: Database of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature of Antiquity, c. 200 BCE to c. 700 CE, ed. A. Samely, R. Bernasconi, P. Alexander, and R. Hayward,” AS 9 (2011): 120.

67. Compare Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 12; 212.
indicate, as Alexander rightly states, that they were not original to TgSong. Leaving aside this list of gemstones in TgSong 5:14, there is only the preposition מָן-בַּר “aside from” in TgSong 4:3, which Alexander believes is used in a manner that is more like Arabic ba’da than its standard Aramaic use. While it is entirely possible that the targumist was a native Arabic speaker, there is very little textual evidence for this assertion.

1.4 The Approach of the Present Study

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of TgSong, and it covers all aspects of the text’s language: Phonology and Orthography (Chapter 2), Morphology (Chapter 3), Syntax (Chapter 4), Lexical Stock (Chapter 5), and Conclusions and Implications (Chapter 6). Given the textual superiority of the western recension, I utilize Fontela’s critical edition of the western recension as a base text for analysis, but Melamed’s edition of the Yemenite recension is regularly consulted as differences arise. In addition to providing a linguistic analysis of TgSong, this dissertation is concerned with two overarching questions. First, it is concerned with the degree to which TgSong is “mixed.” Therefore, each grammatical feature is set within the spectrum of Aramaic dialects (through Late Aramaic). Second, this dissertation is concerned with the language of LJLA more broadly. The language of TgSong cannot be seen in isolation from the other texts of LJLA. Not only does a better understanding of TgSong contribute to our understanding of LJLA, but the other texts of LJLA can serve as a control group when analyzing specific linguistic features. This dissertation is not a grammar of LJLA, but it contributes to our growing understanding of this group of texts.
1.4.1 The Aramaic Dialects

The system of classifying the Aramaic dialects followed in this dissertation utilizes a five-fold grouping: Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Middle Aramaic, Late Aramaic, and Modern Aramaic. Each of the groups entails temporal and geographical components, and dialectal variation is seen in each group.

Old Aramaic

Old Aramaic (OA) includes a number of texts from the tenth to the seventh centuries BCE. Two of the most notable features of these texts are their wide dialectal variation and the absence of certain linguistic traits which would come to characterize Aramaic in succeeding dialects.

Imperial Aramaic

Imperial Aramaic (IA) refers to texts written between the sixth and third centuries BCE. The language of Aramaic began to spread during the reigns of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, and the Persians used Aramaic as the official language of their empire. Such imperial authorization over such a large area of land—from Egypt to what is now


Afghanistan—required that the official language achieve and maintain a degree of standardization. The linguistic standardization and orthographic practices that are first evident in IA have a lasting effect on all of the later dialects. While standardization did indeed take place, a certain amount of dialectal variation is still evident in these texts.\footnote{See especially M. L. Folmer, \textit{The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation} (OLA 68; Leuven: Peeters, 1995).}

**Middle Aramaic**

As the Greeks supplanted the Persians, so Aramaic ceased to be the official language of the Near East. As a result, regional dialects began to emerge in the written texts. These regional dialects, which are attested between the second century BCE and the second century CE, are referred to as Middle Aramaic (MA). One should not speak of MA as one dialect; rather, MA is a generic term that encapsulates a cluster of dialects from different locales. MA dialects include Nabatean, Palmyrene, Old Syriac, Hatran, and Jewish dialects. The Jewish dialects of this period include the Aramaic portions of Daniel, Qumran Aramaic (QA) and texts from the surrounding Dead Sea area, as well as certain phrases in the New Testament. While the Aramaic portions of Daniel are linguistically classified as MA and the Aramaic portions from Ezra are IA, I will refer to both of them as Biblical Aramaic (BA) in this dissertation. Differences between Daniel and Ezra will be highlighted as the need arises.

Onqelos and Jonathan are usually considered MA (though they may also be classified as Late Aramaic, see below),\footnote{The geographical origin and linguistic classification of Onqelos and Jonathan have been intensely debated. The details of this particular debate are not germane to this dissertation since both of these targumim had widely achieved an official status by the time TgSong was written. For a recent survey of the debate, see Renaud Jean Kuty, \textit{Studies in the Syntax of Targum Jonathan to Samuel} (ANESSup 30; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 5–12.} and I will refer to the two of them jointly as Jewish Literary Aramaic (JLA).\footnote{There may be linguistic differences between Onqelos and Jonathan, but their}
Late Aramaic

Late Aramaic (LA) includes a number of dialects spoken from the third to the thirteenth centuries CE. These dialects usually divide on geographical and religious lines. Western Late Aramaic includes Samaritan Aramaic (SA), Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA), and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (JPA). There are times when the language of JPA can be further subdivided, and I will refer to these subdivisions as Targumic JPA and non-Targumic JPA. Eastern Late Aramaic consists of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA) and Mandaic. Syriac is usually classified as an eastern dialect, but it also split into Western Syriac and Eastern Syriac following an ecclesiastical schism. Given its geographical origin in Syria and its use of certain western traits, some scholars consider it to be Central Late Aramaic.74

In the wake of the Arab conquests, Arabic became the dominant language of the Near East.75 Aramaic continued to be spoken in certain communities, but for other communities, Aramaic was limited to a literary or liturgical function. It was during this time that LJLA emerged.

Modern Aramaic

Aramaic is still spoken today, though the number of native speakers continues to dwindle as the people are being driven from their homelands or killed. The remaining dialects similarities are strong enough to treat them together in this dissertation. Note that Kaufman uses the term Jewish Literary Aramaic to refer to a larger corpus of texts which includes Onqelos, Jonathan, QA, and a few other texts; Kaufman, “Aramaic,” 116–17. For the purposes of this dissertation, a further sub-classification is preferred.


can be grouped into Western Neo-Aramaic and Eastern Neo-Aramaic, with the latter group being further subdivided into Central Eastern Neo-Aramaic, North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, and Neo-Mandaic. These dialects are not considered in this dissertation.

1.4.2 Other Late Jewish Literary Aramaic Texts

In addition to comparing the language of TgSong to the other Aramaic dialects, this dissertation will make reference to other LJLA texts in order to make more general conclusions about the dialect. The references in the dissertation are drawn from the following texts, which are those used in CAL and the Accordance® Targum Module. 76

TgPs: Lagarde’s edition in *Hagiographa Chaldaice*

TgJob: Stec’s critical edition [base: Ms. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Urbinas I]77

TgProv: Lagarde’s edition in *Hagiographa Chaldaice*78

TgRuth: Beattie’s critical edition [base: Ms. Valmadonna No. 1; previously designated Ms. Sassoon 282]79

TgQoh: Ms. Paris, Héb. 110 Bibliothèque Nationale80

TgEsth I: Ms. Paris, Héb. 110 Bibliothèque Nationale

TgEsth II: Grossfeld’s critical edition [base: Ms. Valmadonna No. 1; previously designated Ms. Sassoon 282]81

76. I occasionally make reference to additional manuscripts; in such cases, the critical editions listed below are utilized. This includes the following partial edition: Emanuel White, “A Critical Edition of the Targum of Psalms: A Computer Generated Text of Books I and II” (PhD Diss., McGill University, 1988).


78. CAL currently (21 January 2016) uses the text according to Louis Diez Merino, *Targum de Proverbios* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984); variants are incorporated from Lagarde’s *Hagiographia Chaldaice* and Breslau Codex 1106.


80. This is checked against the critical edition of Peter Stephan Knobel, “Targum Qoheleth: A Linguistic and Exegetical Inquiry” (PhD Diss., Yale University, 1976).

TgLam: Sperber’s critical edition, *The Bible in Aramaic IV* [base: London, British Museum Or. 2375]


Western Text in CAL: Lagarde’s edition in *Hagiographa Chaldaica*

TgChr: Cod. Vat. Urbinati Ebr. 1, Biblioteca Vaticana

TgPsJ: Ms. London, Add. 27031, British Museum


2.0 Phonology and Orthography

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

The twenty-nine consonantal phonemes of Proto-Semitic were largely retained in OA, according to the earliest texts.\(^1\) A number of phonemic mergers took place during IA that persisted into the later dialects. These include the mergers of original interdentals (ð, ¢, š) with dentals (d, t, t) as well as the lateral fricative /š/ and velar fricative /γ/ with the pharyngeal /ʕ/.\(^2\) Additional mergers took place in MA—though they likely began earlier—that include the merging of the velar /h/ with the pharyngeal /h/ as well as the lateral sibilant /š/ with /s/.\(^3\) The resulting phonemic inventory continued into the later dialects of Aramaic. At this point, the orthography remained relatively stable, though additional phonological changes took place in certain dialects, notably regarding the laryngeals and pharyngeals.\(^4\)

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4. See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.4.3.
These orthographic practices present the following consonantal inventory that TgSong shares.  

Laryngeal: /ʼ/ א, glottal stop; /h/ ה, voiceless glottal fricative  
Pharyngeal: /h/ ה, voiced fricative; /ʼ/ ע, voiceless fricative  
Uvular: /q/ ק, voiceless stop  
Velar: /g/ ג, voiced stop; /k/ כ, voiceless stop  
Palato-alveolar: /ʃ/ ש, voiceless sibilant  
Alveolar: /z/ ז, voiced sibilant; /s/ ס or ש, voiceless sibilant; /š/ צ, emphatic sibilant  
Dental: /d/ ד, voiced stop; /t/ ת, voiceless stop; /v/ ו, emphatic stop; /n/ נ, voiced nasal  
Linguval: /l/ ל; /ɾ/ ר  
Bilabial: /b/ ב, voiced stop; /p/ פ, voiceless stop; /m/ מ, voiced nasal  
Semivowel: /y/ י, voiced palatal; /w/ ו, voiced bilabial

2.1.1.1 Graphemic Interchange

*š and *s > s

Aramaic inherited the twenty-two letters of the Phoenician alphabet, even though the Aramaic consonantal inventory included more phonemes. This meant that some of the letters had to be used for more than one Aramaic phoneme. Proto-Aramaic had a phoneme /*š/, which is represented by שׂ in the Biblical corpus. By IA, the phonological distinction between it and /*s/ (represented by ס), began to break down, and /*š/ is occasionally written with ס. The graphemic interchange between שׂ and ס is initially most frequent in loan words,


6. Segert, Grammatik, §3.2.3.5.3.
where the exact pronunciation was not necessarily clear, but by MA, the merger was complete. Later Aramaic dialects vary in their spelling of historical */ś/.

For instance, the use of Š in JLA is mostly restricted to proper names; Targum Neofiti, however, uses both š and š, sometimes for the same word. This is in contrast to Syriac, which only uses ʾ for etymological */ś/.

Concerning the spelling of etymological */ś/ in TgSong, one must first note a western–Yemenite distinction. With only a few variants among the manuscripts, the Yemenite recension spells etymological */ś/ with š. In the western recension, the spelling of etymological */ś/ is lexeme specific. The following words are attested with š in TgSong:

- **بشر** “flesh” (1:12; 3:8 [twice]; 4:2),
- **פרוש** in the G-stem “to spread” (1:9; 3:10),
- **שمالa** “left” (1:9; 8:3),
- **שער** “hair” (5:2),
- **שפה** “lip” (4:3, 11; 5:13),
- **מעשר** “tithe” (4:2; 6:6).

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10. Note the spellings of “her lips” in Num 30.9 שפוחת and Num 30.13 שפוחת.
11. Spelled with š in BA, frequently in JPA and JBA; Vogt, *Dictionary*, 78; *DJPA*, 115; *DJBA*, 207.
12. Spelled with š as a variant in JBA; *DJBA*, 935 #2. Manuscripts are divided on this word; some use what may be the synonymous פרס.
13. Spelled with š in JPA and as a variant in JBA; *DJPA*, 571; *DJBA*, 1188.
14. Spelled with š as a variant in JPA and JBA; *DJPA*, 571; *DJBA*, 1189.
15. Spelled with š as a variant in JBA and infrequently in the plural in JPA; *DJBA*, 1188; *DJPA*, 376.
“Chaldean” (5:7), and the numerals “ten, -teen” (six attestations) and “tenth” (1:1). Notably, all of these words also have Hebrew cognates spelled with ש in the biblical corpus. In contrast to this, the following words have an etymological */ś/*, but they are spelled in the western recension of TgSong with ס. It is striking to note that these examples do not have Hebrew cognates, though all of the words are attested with ש in BA: 

- **סהדו** “testimony” (3:10);
- **סטר** “side” (seven attestations);
- **סכל** “to look at” (2:9; 5:12 [twice]; 8:14 [twice]);
- **סתיוא** “the winter” (2:11).

One more word that has an etymological */ś/* but is spelled with ס is הַסְּתָיו “the winter” (2:11). It does not occur in BA, but it is interestingly spelled with ס in this particular verse in the underlying Hebrew, as סחיות (qere חות). 

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16. This is the standard spelling in JPA and JBA; see *DJPA*, 323; *DJBA*, 697.

17. For BA, see Vogt, *Lexicon*, 176.

18. Spelled with ש in BA and JPA and as a variant in JBA; see Vogt, *Lexicon*, 269; *DJPA*, 421; *DJBA*, 884.

19. Compare Gen 31:47 and the variant spelling with ש in JPA and JBA; see *DJPA*, 570; *DJBA*, 790.

20. Compare Dan 7:5; spelled with ס in JPA and JBA; see *DJPA*, 373; *DJBA*, 801.

21. Compare Dan 7:8. Biblical Hebrew has this verbal root spelled with ש, but it has the nuance of thought rather than sight. See *HALOT*, 1328. It is spelled with ס in JPA and JBA; see *DJPA*, 377; *DJBA*, 801.

22. Contrast the sixteen attestations in Daniel and Ezra. This root is rarely attested with ש in BH, but it is not native to Hebrew (Ps 73:12; 92:13; Job 8:7, 11; 12:23; 36:24, 26; 37:23). It is spelled with ס in JPA and JBA; see *DJPA* 367; *DJBA* 787.

23. It is spelled with ש in OA, Nabatean (P. Yadin 6:14), and QA; *DNWSI*, 1198; *DQA*, 249. All later dialects spell the word with ס. Many thanks to Andrew D. Gross for the Nabatean reference.

24. *HALOT*, 770. This is the only biblical attestation of the word; חֹרֶף is the more
The other LJLA targumim and the Palestinian targum tradition generally follow the same pattern as delineated here. Concerning the words attested in Hebrew, all or most of the attestations of these words are spelled with ש for etymological /*ś*/: “flesh,” “left,” “tithe,” “Chaldean,” and the numerals하실 “ten,” -teen” and עשרי “tenth.” There is more variation with the words שער “hair” and שפה “lip,” particularly the latter. As in TgSong, all of words that are native only to Aramaic are spelled with ס in these targumim.

There are three exceptional words. In TgSong, the word בשמים “spice, perfume” is spelled most frequently with ש, as in 2:15, but there are also a few occasions where spellings with ס are attested, as in 3:6; 4:16; 5:5. This is in accordance with the other targumim of LJLA and the Palestinian targum tradition, which rarely spell the word with ש, even though it is attested in BH. The situation is similar for סנא “enemy” (2:14), though its root is attested with ש in both BH and BA. It is spelled with ס about ninety percent of the time in LJLA. It is always spelled with ס in the Fragment Targum and Cairo Geniza targum manuscripts, but it is spelled with ש in the majority of attestations in Neofiti. Third, the word סב “elder” (5:15; 6:2; 8:14) is spelled with ס throughout TgSong, and in fact, it is spelled this way throughout the targumim, though it is attested with ש in BH and BA.25

Finally, the eastern word שאג “teak” (1:17; 3:9) is spelled with ש/*š*/ in JBA, Syriac, and Mandaic.26 It seems that the Yemenite scribes were unaware of the word. The common word for winter; HALOT, 356.

25. This word is spelled with ש on only one occasion in the targumic literature, TgEsth II 1:2.

26. DJBA, 1108; SL, 1507; MD, 439.
word is consequently spelled as סאג in the Yemenite recension, the scribes perhaps thinking that the letter was etymological /*ś*/.

Interchange of ר and ש

The Aramaic form of the word “endives,” is עולתין. In TgSong 2:9, however, the form עולשין is attested, as in m. Kil. 1:2, Shev. 7:1, and Pesah 2:6. This spelling, which is also attested in TgPsJ Exod 12:8, is likely a hypercorrection or Hebraism in the LJLA texts.

2.1.2 Vowels

The vocalic inventory of reconstructed Proto-Aramaic is the same as that of Proto-Semitic. There were two high vowels, /i/ in the front and /u/ in the back, and a low, central /a/. All three of these vowels had long and short realizations, as the following chart shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>/i/ &amp; /ī/</td>
<td>/u/ &amp; /ū/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>/a/ &amp; /ā/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these vowels, the diphthongs /*aw/ and /*ay/ occurred when a short /a/ was followed by either a /w/ or /y/, respectively.

By the time of MA, certain vowel shifts took place, primarily due to stress and syllable structure, and the vocalic spectrum was filled in as a result. The fullest realization of these changes can be seen in the Tiberian reading tradition of BA which indicates a number of additional vowels. For instance, unstressed /i/ and /a/ were lowered and raised, respectively, leading to an /ɛ/ vowel as represented by seghol in the Tiberian system.

27. DJPA, 399.
Unstressed /u/ was lowered and lengthened to /o/. All short vowels in unaccented, open syllables reduced to /ǝ/. Additionally, /ē/ was introduced into the vocalic inventory due to a number of sound changes. It seems that the phonemic differentiation of long and short vowels was beginning to be neutralized in certain dialects of Aramaic, but due to the fact that vocalization systems of Aramaic only marked vowel quality as opposed to vowel quantity, it is difficult to be sure when this transition took place. As a result of these and other vowel changes, the Tiberian vocalic inventory (without consideration of long–short vocalic oppositions) of BA can be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>/ǝ/</td>
<td>/ā/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning to Late Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic can be divided into two broad categories: Palestinian Aramaic in the west and Babylonian Aramaic in the east. The vocalized targumic manuscripts of the Cairo Genizah provide the best evidence for a vocalic analysis of JPA. According to Fassberg’s assessment of these texts, the vocalic inventory is smaller than


31. This is based on the chart in Creason, “Aramaic,” 116. Note that this does not include the ḥatref vowels. The later eastern reading tradition of Syriac seems to have had a similar vocalic inventory. See Creason, “Aramaic,” 116; Daniels, “Classical Syriac Phonology,” 134–35. For a general article on Syriac vocalization systems, see Harris Birkeland, “The Syriac Phonematic Vowel Systems” in Festskrift til Professor Olaf Broch. Avhandlinger utgitt av det norske videnkaps-Akadem i Oslo. II. Historik-Filosofisk Klasse (Oslo: I Kommisjon hos Jacob Dybwad, 1947), 13–39.

that of Tiberian BA. Variant spellings of the same words provide evidence that there is only one /a/ vowel\(^{33}\) and one /e/ vowel.\(^{34}\) Furthermore, according to Fassberg, there is no longer a phonemic distinction between long and short vowels, and as a result, the historic */ī/ is simply /i/,\(^{35}\) and */ū/ is /u/.\(^{36}\) The resulting vocalic inventory, one that is similar to western Syriac,\(^{37}\) is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRONT</th>
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<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his assessment of JBA reading traditions, Boyarin posits that there are three historical stages perceivable in the manuscripts.\(^{38}\) The first stage, “Archaic,”\(^{39}\) includes the Targumim (JLA), Bible, and liturgical texts.\(^{40}\) The vocalic inventory of these texts is similar

\(^{33}\) The distinction between long and short /a/ is neutralized in these texts. See Fassberg, *Grammar*, 31–33.

\(^{34}\) The interchangeability of *ḥireq* and *seghol* in the Cairo Geniza manuscripts is in contrast to the phonemic difference between the two vowels in the Tiberian BA system and suggests that there was only one /e/ vowel. See Fassberg, *Grammar*, 34-38.

\(^{35}\) Fassberg, *Grammar*, 38.

\(^{36}\) Fassberg, *Grammar*, 42.


\(^{39}\) Boyarin, “Reading Traditions,” 145–53.

\(^{40}\) Without entering the debate of Onqelos and Jonathan’s historical and linguistic provenance, it is generally recognized that they were transmitted in the east, and it is the vocalization of these manuscripts that is important for the purposes here. For a recent survey
to the Tiberian tradition. There are, however, no ḥatef vowels, and there is no /e/ vowel; instead, the Tiberian /e/ vowel is usually realized as /a/. According to Boyarin, the distinction between /a/ and /ā/ is still valid during this period. The second stage, “Colloquial,” is ushered in by the later, spoken dialect of JBA, and it is distinguished by a merger of /a/ and /ā/, evidenced by the numerous examples of their interchange in Halakhot Pesaqot. During this period there was a register difference in which /a/ and /ā/ were phonemically distinct in the “Archaic” texts but merged in the “Colloquial” spoken dialect.

Boyarin’s third stage is “Archaizing,” and it is seen especially in Yemen, where there is an “interference between the liturgical reading tradition of the Targum and that of the Talmud.”

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41. Boyarin states that the Babylonian vocalization of Hebrew merges the /e/ vowel with /e/ because there was likely never an /e/ vowel in Babylonian Aramaic to begin with, “Reading Traditions,” 147. See also Creason, “Aramaic,” 116.

42. In his teaching grammar of JLA, Lambdin states that all of the vowels indicate quality only, though he transcribes long /a/ with a macron; see Lambdin, Introduction, x. For a different interpretation of vowel quantity in this dialect, see S. P. Harrison, “Vowel Quantity and Stress in Jewish Literary Aramaic,” JSS 48 (2003): 229–57.


The result is that vowel signs were added to an established consonantal text, but the later vowel signs are not always consistent with the implied vocalization of the consonantal text. It is in this stage that TgSong received its superlinear vocalization in the Yemenite recension.

2.1.2.1 Notes on the Yemenite Vocalization

A comparison of the western and Yemenite texts shows that the consonantal text of the western recension usually preserves a more reliable text than the Yemenite recension. Due to the fact that the Yemenite manuscripts are vocalized, however, several comments are in order. Broadly speaking, the vocalization in the Yemenite recension follows the conventions seen in JLA, but upon further analysis, it is evident that the vocalization as presented in the Yemenite recension does not capture the unique linguistic features of TgSong.

First, it should be noted that the Yemenite tradition is not a purely “Simple Babylonian” vocalization. It is clear that the Tiberian vocalization practices were known by the naqdanim since sublinear Tiberian signs are occasionally used in a few of the manuscripts. For instance, one finds Tiberian pointing on a few Hebrew terms; this is especially the case in the midrash on the jewels of Aaron’s breastplate in 5:14. One also finds the periodic use of dagesh (and mappiq) for the disambiguation of consonants. Note the following examples: “his thigh” (3:8), “when” (6:1), מַגְּדַלָוָן "towers" (7:5), מַסְטַכְּלָן


49. Certain manuscripts use superlinear vowels with these jewels; others use sublinear Tiberian vowels.

50. The manuscripts utilize superlinear vowels with dagesh or mappiq in these examples.
“they watch over” (5:12), and צַוארֵיהּ “his neck” (4:9).

This influence of the Tiberian system upon the “Simple Babylonian” vocalization system is also exemplified in the second person independent personal pronoun with nasalization, אַנתְּ, which the Yemenite manuscripts vocalize inconsistently. At 1:15 one finds אַנתְּ (note the use of dagesh), and elsewhere the pronoun is vocalized as אַנְת at 6:4 and אַנְת at 7:7. The pronunciation of all these pronouns is presumably like that of BA ’ant. If so, the schwas are silent, even though the Babylonian vocalization does not usually indicate silent schwa. Simply put, the schwa is being utilized in a way foreign to Babylonian vocalization conventions.

Second, while the representation of /a/ vowels (long and short) is generally consistent with the vocalization practices in JLA, there are enough inconsistencies in the Yemenite vocalization of TgSong to cast some doubt on its viability as a source for the original vocalic inventory. On the one hand, there are variant spellings that mix the long and short /a/ vowels. For the compound phrase “except,” one sees מִן בַר in 4:3 and מִן בָר in 6:7, 8. The word “honey” is spelled דבָש in 3:5 but דבַש in 4:11. On the verbal conjugations, one finds גְרָמוּ in 1:6 for the expected גְרַמוּ. On the other hand, there are variant spellings that confuse the vocal schwa with one of the /a/ vowels. For instance, for the construct form of “place” one finds the expected אְתַר along with בְאַתַר at 3:6. The same can be seen in the phrase קָלָא בַרָת “echo,” where in 2:14 one finds קָלָא בַרָת, but in 4:1 it is vocalized קָלָא בְרָת. The adverb “very” is spelled לְחדָא in 1:12 for the expected לַחדָא. Note, also, the spelling of חְגָא “feast”

51. Note that Sperber corrects the form to short /a/.

52. This form is בְאָתָר in Onqelos. See, for example, Lev 13:19; 14:42.
in 1:1 and אָגַה in 2:9; 3:11. The G-stem participle of לָדְרָה “to fear” is spelled, as expected, דָּחְלִין in 1:4, but in 3:8 it is spelled דָּחָלִין.

Concerning the transposition of vocal schwa with one of the /a/ vowels, there may be a number of factors at play (in addition to the possibility of scribal error). When the schwa is used for the expected short /a/ or vice versa, one could posit that the scribe was thinking of the patach in the Tiberian system, which is visually similar to the schwa in the Babylonian system, the former being below the consonant and the latter being above. This, however, does not account for the examples where the schwa and /ā/ are exchanged. Another possibility is that there was no distinction between the two /a/ vowels for the Yemenite scribes, and furthermore, perhaps the vocal schwa was pronounced with an /a/ quality, as may have been the case in the Tiberian tradition. 53 Unfortunately, there is not enough data to make a firm conclusion on this matter.

Third, there are a number of places where TgSong’s consonantal text seems to indicate the presence of /ay/ diphthongs, but these diphthongs are rarely represented in the vocalization of the Yemenite manuscripts. 54 For instance, the word צִיְנִי “weapon, weaponry” occurs at TgSong 2:17 and 4:4, and the diphthong is indicated by the doubled י in the western recension. All of the Yemenite manuscripts collapse the diphthong to /ê/ (as in JLA) in the first instance, and only one manuscript has the expected vocalization of צִיְנִי in the second. TgSong also has diphthongs on the masculine plural endings of participles and stative adjectives of III-weak roots. The Yemenite manuscripts treat the yods of these


54. See the discussion of diphthongs below in Phonology and Orthography 2.1.3.
diphthongs as strong consonants, and this creates a vocalization which does not correspond to any Aramaic dialect. Note, for instance, דָּכָן “pure” (4:2), מָלְיָן “full” (6:7), and שָּרִיָּין “dwell” (1:5). The diphthong is attested as a variant on rare occasions, as in TgSong 4:11, where one manuscript has מַטַּלְיָין. This, however, is in contrast to four manuscripts which have מַטֵּלְיָין and one other manuscript which has the JLA form מַטַּלְיָין; furthermore, when this form occurs again, all of the Yemenite manuscripts have the JLA form מַטַּלְיָין (TgSong 8:14).

Fourth, the Yemenite vocalization is often unhelpful when analyzing rare words. For instance, the LJLA word מְוַרֵיָּה “palate” is variously vocalized as מֹוָרְיָה, מֹוֶרְיָה, מֹוֶרְיָה, and מֹוָרְיָה at TgSong 2:3, 5; 5:16. Other LJLA words are simply changed or misread because they were unknown to the scribes. This is the case with יהורן “jewel” being changed to the BH תמר and the verb תְמוֹס “to leap” (D-stem) being misread in all but one Yemenite manuscript as תְמוֹס “to extinguish” or מְסָס “to arrive” in TgSong 2:8.55

In the final analysis, whatever can be reconstructed from the Yemenite recension’s vocalic inventory is likely not a correct representation of the original TgSong vocalic inventory. Though Dalman’s statement, “Ganz verständnislos sind die superl. Vokalisatoren gegenüber den Eigenheiten des Dialekts der Megilloth-Targum,”56 may be a bit extreme regarding TgSong—since the vocalization is often consistent—it is fair to say that the Yemenite vocalization is incapable of dealing with the dialectal particularities in the text. As

55. On these words, see Lexical Stock 5.6.2.

56. Dalman, Grammatik, 80. Note that Dalman also points to the incorrect vocalizations of words from Babylonian Aramaic in Yemenite manuscripts. This holds true for TgSong as well. For instance, one of the characteristic LJLA prepositions, מְסָס “on account of,” is vocalized as מָסָס, but an /i/ class vowel after the מ is undoubtedly correct. The word מְסָס is actually a different word meaning “burden” in JLA and JPA; Cook, Glossary, 150; DJPA, 301.
such, since the western recension is without vowel signs, it is impossible to definitively present a complete vocalic inventory of TgSong.

2.1.3 Diphthongs

As stated before, in addition to the long and short vowels /a/, /i/, and /u/, Proto-Aramaic also included diphthongs. These diphthongs were formed when a semivowel /y/ or /w/ immediately followed a short /a/, leading to /*ay/ or /*aw/. In OA the diphthongs are indicated in the orthography with either a י or ו. It does not necessarily follow, however, that none of the original diphthongs were contracted at this time. Over the course of time, Aramaic diphthongs came to be realized in different ways in the various dialects, and these changes were precipitated by two major conditions: word accent and type of syllable (open or closed).

When copying unvocalized manuscripts, later scribes often wrote a doubled י or ו when a י or ו was part of a diphthong or was consonantal, and TgSong is no exception. Since the western recension is unvocalized, it is only through this convention that we are able to perceive the presence of diphthongs, though there may be instances in which a word contains a diphthong that is not indicated by the orthography. With this said, even though a number of manuscripts, including Paris 110, are generally consistent in this orthographical practice, they do not strictly adhere to the convention, as is evident in different spellings of the word י(ע)י "eye."


2.1.3.1 /ay/

Unaccented, Closed Syllables

As is the case in every Late Aramaic dialect, TgSong contracts diphthongs that are in closed, unaccented syllables.

Unaccented, Open Syllables Preceding a Syllable or Word Boundary of an Accented Syllable

Several Aramaic dialects preserve an original diphthong when it immediately precedes a word or syllable boundary, as in the BA אַיֶּהוּ “the house” (Ezra 5:3). This is the case in Syriac and usually in JPA. Though the evidence is sparse and the manuscripts are not unanimous, it appears that TgSong preserves the diphthong in this environment. Examples include חייו “life” (4:12); זייניהון “their weapons” (2:17); אתו in the C-stem, ايיתו “he brought” (3:9). Targum Onqelos, on the other hand, has a contracted /ê/ in these environments, as is the case with certain lexemes in JBA.


60. The characteristic word of this type, בית “house,” is only attested in construct clauses in TgSong and is therefore unable to be used for analysis.

61. See also TgSong 4:4. Both contracted and uncontracted forms are attested in JBA. See DJBA, 410.

62. This is the form in Paris 110. Five manuscripts spell this word as וַאוֹיֵיתוּ, but the Yemenite manuscripts which do so vocalize it with the diphthong. Roughly half of the manuscripts have the participial form וַאוֹיִיתוּ, though the perfect is undoubtedly correct.

Accented, Open Syllables in Final Position

Diphthongs in final, accented syllables tend to remain in later Aramaic dialects. This includes the ordinal number יְהוֹם (יְהוֹם) "first" (1:1; 6:4) as well as the 1cs suffix on masculine plural nouns and certain prepositions. 64 Examples include פיקודיי “my commandments” (1:10; 8:7); עֹנְבְּדֵי “my mercies” (5:4; 8:7); עֹלֶּים “my deeds” (2:1; 5:5); עָלָּי “upon me” (1:6; 2:4; 4:10 [twice]; 5:5; 7:11).

Accented, Closed Syllables in Final Position

Another environment where the dialects have various representations of the older */ay/ diphthong is in accented, closed syllables in final position. There are three common morphological environments in which an older */ay/ diphthong of this type is attested. First, masculine plural endings of participles and stative adjectives of III-weak roots vary among the dialects. Whereas BA and JPA maintain the diphthong, as in בָּנַיִן “they are rebuilding” (Ezra 4:12), 65 Onqelos and JBA contract to /a/, 66 and Syriac contracts to /e/. 67 TgSong likely maintains the diphthong in this environment, as the following cases show: 68 בְּשֵׁם “pure” (4:2

64. The historical development of the 1cs suffix on plural nouns is as follows: */-áyyi/ > */-áyy/ > /-áy/.

65. Rosenthal, Grammar, §150; Fassberg, Grammar, 58.


68. Exceptions to this preservation include, תֵרִים “two” (fourteen attestations).
“resembling,” 69:6 [twice]; “full,” 8:14; “pray” (4:11; 8:14); “dwell” (1:5). To these forms may be added the demonstrative אליי “these,” consistently spelled in Paris 110 with a doubled י. This is not an original diphthong; rather, it is a JPA innovation. 73

Second, a number of the pronominal suffixes on masculine plural nouns and certain prepositions derive from a diphthongal base /*-ayy-/. In addition to Syriac, the ketib of BA may maintain this original diphthong, 74 but the qere monophthongizes the form into an /a/ class vowel. These qere forms are much like those in Onqelos, while the JPA forms contract to /e/. 75

The only relevant suffixes attested in TgSong are the 1cp /-ay/ and the 2fs /-ay(i)k/, and the diphthong is maintained in both, though it is not always explicit in the orthography. 76

For the 2fs suffix, note the following cases: יֵכִין “your deeds” (1:15; 2:14; 5:2; 6:1);

69. Three western manuscripts have the spelling כִּים in the first attestation, and the gender and number of the second attestation is not entirely clear.

70. TgSong 2:16; 4:3, 5; 5:2, 14; 6:12; 7:4, 7, 10; 8:5, 6.


72. TgSong 3:2 (twice), 5; 7:13 (twice); 8:8.

73. DJPA, 153. On the pronoun, see Morphology 3.1.4.1.

74. It is possible that the ketib represents a contracted /ê/.


76. On the 1cs suffix, see above.

77. This takes a feminine adjective here.
“your eyes” (1:15); “your offerings” (4:2; 6:6); “your redeemers” (4:5; 7:3); “your lads” (4:13); “your spice(s)” (5:1); “among you” (6:1); “your ranks” (6:4); “your teachers” (6:5); “your scribes” (7:5); “your sin(s)” (7:7); “your face” (7:7); “your priests” (7:8); “your assemblies” (7:8).

Third, in the environment of closed, accented syllables, special mention should be made of two nouns. Paris 110 occasionally spells the word “eye” with a doubled י to indicate a diphthong, עינא, but the majority of other manuscripts consistently have a single י. Furthermore, Paris 110 is not consistent. For instance, the singular emphatic form is עינא at 1:16 and 2:6, but it is עינא in the two attestations at 8:14. The plural form with 3ms suffix is עיניו at 5:7, but it is עיניהם at 5:12. Elsewhere in Aramaic, the diphthong is retained in JPA and Syriac, but it collapses in JLA, SA, and JBA. The noun חייל “army, strength” is spelled with one י in its absolute (3:11) and emphatic (7:3) forms, but the suffixed form חיילותיו “his armies” (8:4) occurs in three western manuscripts. As with the word “eye,” the diphthong is retained in JPA and Syriac, but it collapses in JLA and JBA. Since both of these words are attested in the BA corpus, it is worth noting that in BA, words of this type have an anaptyctic

78. The manuscripts vary in their representation of the yods in this word.
79. DJPA, 403; SL, 1097.
80. DSA, 632; DJBA, 855.
81. If a diphthong is present, it is not explicit in the orthography of the other manuscripts.
82. DJPA, 199; SL, 447.
83. DJBA, 455.
vowel in the singular absolute state, as in קַיִט “summer” (Dan 2:35), a contracted diphthong in the construct state, and a retained diphthong in the remaining forms.\(^{84}\) In BA, עִם is attested in the singular construct and plural absolute, and חָיָל is attested in the absolute and construct forms.\(^{85}\)

### 2.1.3.2 /aw/

Aside from Mandaic and Syriac, the diphthong */aw/* contracts in the dialects of Late Aramaic. In TgSong there is only one word which occasionally indicates in the orthography that a diphthong may be present. The word טוור “mountain” is frequently spelled with a doubled ו in some of the western manuscripts, including Paris 110.\(^{86}\) This is also attested in certain LJLA texts and may reflect a pronunciation more akin to a spirantised ב than an /aw/ diphthong.\(^{87}\) This would correspond to the frequent Samaritan spelling of טבר, itself a back-formation of the plural.\(^{88}\)

### 2.1.4 Vowel Letters

After adopting the Phoenician alphabet, Aramaic scribes immediately instituted a series of innovations that included the use of consonantal graphemes to indicate the presence of specific vowels. The vowels /\(\ddot{a}\)/, /\(\ddot{e}\)/, /\(\ddot{u}\)/, and /\(\ddot{u}\)/ were represented by ו, ה, א, and י, respectively.

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84. Rosenthal, Grammar, §51.
86. TgSong 1:4; 2:6, 8 (twice), 17; 3:6 (twice); 4:6; 4:8; 6:5; 8:5 (twice), 14.
87. TgJob 9:5; 37:13; TgQoh 10:20; Tg1Chr 21:15; 29:11; 2Chr 2:17; 3:1; 13:4; 18:16; 19:4; 20:10, 22, 23; 21:11; 32:1; 33:15. It is the predominant spelling throughout TgPsJ.
88. DSA, 307.
respectively. This scribal practice was most prevalent with long vowels at the end of words, but some long medial vowels were indicated by these matres lectionis in certain OA texts. The practice is continued in IA orthography as final long vowels are usually represented by matres lectionis, and medial long vowels are occasionally represented by matres lectionis, though without regularity. The use of matres to indicate medial short vowels is initially attested in the use of י to occasionally represent /u/ in the MA dialect of Qumran.

Turning to JLA, final vowels are always indicated by matres, and according to Lambdin, medial matres are “optional with most words, but they are present more often than not.” According to Lambdin, there are no vocalic length distinctions in Onqelos, and matres are simply used to represent certain vowels, regardless of their position. The letter א is used to indicate final /ā/ and rarely final /a/; י is only used in exceptional cases to indicate final /ā/;


ι is used to indicate final and medial /o/ and /u/; ν is used to indicate final and medial /i/ and /e/. ⁹⁴

In the late dialects of JBA and JPA one must speak in generalities since there is a considerable amount of variation among the manuscripts. Texts in both dialects are often plene, even with historically short vowels. This is particularly the case in the use of ι and ν. JBA is more prone to use ι to indicate medial /a/ vowels, particularly in open syllables,⁹⁵ whereas JPA usually restricts the use of medial ι to the disambiguation of homographs or for historical spellings.⁹⁶ A notable characteristic of western Aramaic orthography is the tendency to use η to indicate the article while most other dialects use ι.⁹⁷ Scribes of both dialects use ι and ν to indicate final and medial vowels, as in Onqelos; scribes would frequently also use a doubled ιι or νν to indicate diphthongs⁹⁸ or consonantal letters.⁹⁹ Syriac is notable for the non-use of ιο as a mater.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, ιε is readily used to indicate medial and final /ɛ/.

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⁹⁸. JBA also uses other combinations of ι and ν to indicate the diphthong /ay/. See Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 41.  
⁹⁹. For JBA, see Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 40–41; for JPA, see Fassberg, Grammar, 62–63.  
¹⁰⁰. For the orthographical practices of SA and CPA, which are similar to JPA, see Macuch, Grammatik, 3–9; Müller-Kessler, Grammatik 34–42.  
TgSong most closely resembles the orthographic practices seen in JLA. The letter א is primarily used to indicate final /ā/, as in אבנא ʾabnā “the stone” (1:2; 8:5) and בורא bərā “he created” (8:6). A final quiescent א is used in certain historical spellings, such as the pronouns הוה huʾ “he” and היא hiʾ “she.” Medial /a/ vowels are occasionally indicated by א, as when distinguishing the pronoun מען man “who” (TgSong 1:14; 5:11; 7:5 [twice]) from the preposition מ min “from.”

There are two eastern words that deserve special mention. First, note the spelling of the word שאג ʾteak” (1:17; 3:9), where JBA and Syriac spell the word without the א. Second, the Akkadian loan word רעṭu “drinking trough” is spelled ṭṭ in Syriac, Mandaic, the first hand of Paris 110, and the underlying Hebrew (7:6). Onqelos has the unique spelling רטייא that is attested in several TgSong manuscripts, and in what appears to be an internal mater, a second hand changes Paris 110 to read ראטייא. Finally, א is only used for /ē/ in rare, historical spellings, such as ראש “head,” but the majority of manuscripts in all eighteen attestations of this word spell it with a י.

The letter ה is used as a mater for final /ā/ in the same instances as JLA: when the last consonant of a word is א—, as in נוכראה “foreigner” (8:6) and סנאה “enemy (2:14); the

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102. Other attestations of א for medial /a/-class vowels include the plural emphatic feminine form נפשאותא ʾnafšaʾāh “souls” (2:15), אימים ʾemīyim “my left hand” (8:3), and the word צוארא ṭṣwaʾara “the neck” (5:7), the latter being an alternate means of indicating a consonantal ġ.

103. See DJBA, 1108 and SL, 1507 as well as šaga in Mandaic (MD, 439). The Yemenite recension erroneously spells this word סנא.

104. The precise meaning of the Hebrew term is debated. See HALOT, 1194 #2.

105. Gen 30:38, 41; Exod 2:16. Note that the targumist is recounting the story in Gen 30.

form of the G-stem perfect 3ms verb היה “he was” (15+ attestations); Hebrew proper names such as יִשְׂעֵי “Isaiah” (1:1) and רִיבְלָה “Riblah” (5:7). The evidence of cardinal numbers on masculine nouns is mixed. In opposition to the forms in JLA, the numbers have a final א rather than ה in the following cases: תָּלְתָּא “three” (2:6; 5:14), שָׁנָה “six” (1:2; 5:10), and שֵׁבָעָא “seven” (1:11). Most manuscripts, however, spell the numeral “four” with a final ה, as in אַרְבָּעָה (TgSong 2:6; 4:12; 5:10). Finally, there are two other words to note. The adverb כָּךָ/כָּמה “as; how many” is consistently spelled with א in certain manuscripts and ה in others.107 It is spelled with א in JLA, with ה in JPA, and with either spelling in JBA, though the spelling with א predominates.108 The noun אֹמֶה/אֹם “people” is a feminine noun that is spelled with a ה in a minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110; most of the other manuscripts spell it with an א.109

The letters י and ו are frequently used as matres lectionis in medial and final position. The letter י is used to indicate medial and final /i/ vowels, both historically short and long, as in אֵימָרָה “the lamb” (1:14), אֵרָסָת “desirable” (5:11), and קְוֵמָה “stand” (2:10, 13). It is used to indicate /e/ in medial and final position, as in תְכִדֶּה “it grew strong” (5:5), חוֹדָר “we will rejoice” (1:4), and אַמֶר “master; lord” (20+ attestations). The letter ו is used to indicate medial and final /u/, both short and long, as in אָרוֹנָה “anger” (1:6, 9 [twice]), סָכָם “the amount” (1:11), and פְּוָקָה “go out” (3:11). It is used to indicate medial and final /o/, as in אָרָוָה “the

107. Paris 110 is consistent with the spelling כָּם.
108. DJPA, 261; DJBA, 585.
109. TgSong 3:6; 8:8, 11.
herald” (3:11), רוח “go down” (1:13), and דָּנָה “prayer” (1:9; 2:14; 7:8). Both letters can be
doubled to indicate consonantal letters or diphthongs.

A number of manuscripts, particularly Paris 110, are often *plene*. For instance, Paris
110 is fairly consistent in spelling the t-stems as –ית while the majority of other manuscripts
spell them as –ית. The extent to which Paris 110 can be *plene* is exemplified by the word
סילווייא “the thorns” (2:2) which has a medial short /i/ spelled with a י, a consonantal ת spelled
with a doubled ו, and the masculine plural emphatic ending /-ayyā/ spelled with a doubled י. This *plene* orthography is not entirely consistent, however, as there are plenty of examples of
defective spelling throughout Paris 110.

2.2 Phonological Processes

2.2.1 Assimilation

2.2.1.1 Complete

\( tC > CC \)

The complete assimilation of ר to a following consonant only takes place in the Gt and Dt verbal stems in TgSong, and all of the attested instances of this assimilation are
delineated below. As the examples indicate, many of the t-stems of these roots are only extant
in the Late Aramaic dialects, particularly JBA and Syriac, but the assimilation is limited to
Jewish dialects. In fact, the assimilation of the ר in the t-stems is a much wider phenomenon
in most of the late dialects, and it is not limited to the environments given below.

110. The Ct-stem is not attested in TgSong.

111. Note that this assimilation occurs in Onqelos, but it is limited to a following ג, נ, or
י; see Lambdin, *Introduction*, 64. CPA is similarly conservative in this regard; see Müller-
which assimilation is more frequent in non-Targumic JPA, see Dalman, *Grammatik*, 252–53;
The root בֶּטַע in the Gt-stem “to be sought” occurs in TgSong at 1:8, and there is confusion among the manuscripts. Paris 110 mistakenly adds a space within the word and has the spelling בֶּטַﬠְא, resulting in a conditional particle plus the verb. Some of the other manuscripts use another conditional particle (אַשָּׁא, אָשֵׁא) in a similar fashion. In actuality, the Gt form without the space, בֶּטַﬠ, is to be preferred, as is attested in five manuscripts. The Gt of this root occurs one time in Onqelos and several times in Targum Jonathan. It is only attested in Neofiti and TgPsJ in their parallel to Onqelos. Elsewhere in LJLA, it is attested in TgEsther II and TgPs, all without assimilation. The Gt is common in Syriac, the Babylonian Talmud, and the Palestinian Talmud; the latter two are the only places where the assimilation with this root is common.

The root דָּבָר in the Dt-stem with the nuance “to travel; be led” is common in all of the targumim, as is the assimilation of the ת; note מַדְבַּרְא “it was traveling” (1:4) and מַדְבַּרְי “they [the waters] were flowing” (4:15). Elsewhere in the Aramaic dialects, the Dt-stem is attested one time in JBA and with different nuances in Syriac (without assimilation). The

Odeberg, Short Grammar, 9. For SA, see Tal, Samaritan Aramaic, 33. For Mandaic, see Nöldeke, Grammatik, 213. It is not a feature of Syriac.


113. TgEst II 1:2; 2:8, 23; TgPs 10:13; 31:23; 73:4; 111:2. TgProv 28:12 also has a possible attestation of this root in the form מַדְבַּרְי, but both the parsing (G or Gt) and meaning of the word is unclear. Furthermore, there is a variant form מַדְבַּרְי “examine, search.”

114. SL 169; DJBA, 226; DJPA, 108.

115. On the various forms of this root in JBA, see Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 156.

116. DJBA, 313; SL, 272.
root דכר in the Gt-stem “he remembered” is likewise frequent with assimilation in all of the targumim, JBA, and JPA. It is attested in Syriac, but without assimilation.¹¹⁷

ט: The root דכר in the Gt-stem commonly occurs with the assimilation of כ in JLA, LJLA, and JBA, מיטמרא “hidden” (2:14); Syriac has a Gt of this root, but there is no assimilation.¹¹⁸ Interestingly, manuscripts P and V of the Fragment Targum have a Gt of this root at Num 21:15 whereas Neofiti has a Dt.¹¹⁹ In the particular form under consideration (מיטמרא), only Paris 110 maintains the disambiguating י; all of the other manuscripts are defective. The root מיטלטל as a QuadT, מיטלטל “made to wander” (8:1), occurs with the assimilation of כ in JLA, JPA, and JBA.¹²⁰ Forms with assimilated כ are standard throughout the targumim.

כ: The root מכתב in the Gt-stem, מכתב “was written” (1:4), is attested twice in Targum Jonathan, and frequently in JPA, JBA, LJLA, and Syriac.¹²¹ The assimilation of the כ, however, is only common with this root in JBA and LJLA.¹²²

¹¹⁷. DJBA, 338; DJPA, 150; SL, 302.
¹¹⁸. TgPs 19:7; 26:4; 38:10; 45:14; 54:2; 55:13; 97:11; TgJob 3:23; 5:21; 13:20; 24:4; 28:21; 34:22; TgProv 22:3; Tg2Chr 18:24; DJBA, 507; SL, 547.
¹¹⁹. Apart from this one exception, only the Dt is attested in JPA.
¹²⁰. Only Paris 110 has the disambiguating י; all other manuscripts have מיטלטל. Both the Quad and the QuadT are reasonable in context. ChW 1:302; DJPA, 225; DJBA, 504.
¹²¹. Ezek 13:9; Mal 3:16; DJPA, 272; DJBA, 608; SL, 660.
¹²². TgPs 40:8; TgEsth I 4:1; 8:8–9; 9:27; TgEsth II 1:22; 2:23; 3:12 [twice]; 8:8–10; 9:32; TgPsJ Exod 23:8.
The root מתל in the Gt-stem, אימいただける, “they were compared,” is attested in LJLA, Syriac, and JBA, and the assimilation of א is restricted to JBA and LJLA. The root מלך in the Gt-stem, אימליך, “I will consult” (6:12), is attested once in Onqelos (Num 23:19) and several times in Jonathan, JPA, JBA, Syriac, Mandaic, and LJLA. The assimilation of א is only attested in JPA and JBA. This is the only attestation of assimilated א with this root in LJLA, and a number of the TgSong manuscripts have the form אימליך, perhaps suggesting a C-stem verb.

The form מיפרסמן “to be exposed” (2:17) from the root פרסמן is only attested with the א in Paris 110. The form is either a QuadT with assimilation of the א or an error. The other western manuscripts have a form (פרסמן) that is either a passive participle or defective QuadT. The Yemenite manuscripts have an alternate passive form, פרסם. The QuadT of this root is attested in JPA and JBA, but assimilation is restricted to JBA. In LJLA, TgJob 26:6 and TgEsth II 3:14 have the form פרסם, which is either a passive participle or a QuadT form with assimilation.

123. TgSong 2:12; 4:5, 15; 5:1; SL, 869; DJBA, 721.

124. TgPs 49:13; 21; 50:5; 101:8; 143:7; TgJob 6:26; 30:19, 31; Tg1Chr 8:33; TgPsJ Lev 9:3.

125. DJPA 310; DJBA, 680; SL, 772; MD, 273.

126. The other texts with this root and stem are TgPs 62:5; 71:10; 83:4, 6; TgProv 13:10; 15:22; TgEsth I 1:18; Tg1Chr 27:34; 2Chr 10:6, 8–9; 25:17; 30:2, 23; 32:3. TgPsJ Num 21:29; 23:19.

127. DJPA, 449; DJBA, 936.
The root תָּבְרִים in the Gt-stem, אתיתברים “they were broken” (1:14), is commonly attested among the Aramaic dialects, and the ת is only graphemically distinct in Syriac.\textsuperscript{128} In LJLA, TgProv is the only text that does not regularly assimilate the ת.\textsuperscript{129}

\[ nC > CC \]

The assimilation of \( n \) to a following consonant when there is no intervening vowel is frequently attested in Akkadian and certain dialects of Northwest Semitic, leading Huehnergard to assert that this may be an areal phenomenon.\textsuperscript{130} Among the Aramaic dialects, assimilation is attested in four areas: certain conjugations of I-\( n \) verbs, nouns, pronouns, and the preposition \( n \textit{מ} \) “from” when conjoined with a noun.\textsuperscript{131} The evidence suggests that assimilation was the norm in OA.\textsuperscript{132} This is complicated in IA by an additional typological feature: nasalization, whereby a geminated consonant is dissimilated by a nasal segment.\textsuperscript{133} At times, this added nasal segment effectively returns a previously assimilated \( n \) to its etymological position. In the wake of IA and its phonological and orthographical conventions, one finds instances of assimilation, non-assimilation, and nasalization in the same dialect, as is the case in BA.\textsuperscript{134} JLA exhibits assimilation in all four areas.\textsuperscript{135} In the late

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{128} Cook, \textit{Glossary}, 249; \textit{DJPA}, 575; \textit{DJBA}, 1192; \textit{DSA}, 940; \textit{MD}, 482; \textit{SL}, 1622.
\item \textsuperscript{129} TgProv 14:28; 29:1, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{130} Huehnergard, “Afro-Asiatic,” 230.
\item \textsuperscript{131} Related to this are certain contractions, such as אֲלָלְּתֵה > אַלְלֶהוּ “but; except” (TgSong 2:7; 4:12; 6:12).
\item \textsuperscript{132} Garr, \textit{Dialect Geography}, 42.
\item \textsuperscript{133} For a full discussion of this feature, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.2.
\item \textsuperscript{134} See Bauer-Leander, \textit{Grammatik}, §7i-n; §13a-m.
\item \textsuperscript{135} Lambdin, \textit{Introduction}, 10, 51, and 57. Note, however, that certain root letters of I-\( n \)
dialects, assimilation is more standard in JPA and Syriac than in JBA.\textsuperscript{136} The presence of non-assimilated נ in the JBA manuscripts may not, however, represent the spoken dialect of JBA.\textsuperscript{137} In TgSong, assimilation is attested in all four areas, though there are exceptions.

First, there are three I-נ verbs that exhibit assimilation. The נ assimilates in the root as a C-stem participle, מעס "gushing forth" (4:12). This word is attested in the C-stem in CPA, Syriac, and JBA, and the נ assimilates in all similar areas.\textsuperscript{138} Assimilation is attested with the common Aramaic root נפכ “to go forth” in G-stem imperfect יפקון (TgSong 2:12)\textsuperscript{139} and infinitive למפכ (TgSong 8:5, 8) as well as the C-stem perfect אפיקו (TgSong 2:7) and infinitive לאפקא (TgSong 2:8);\textsuperscript{140} this is also the case with נוח “to give” as a G-stem imperfect והח (TgSong 1:11)\textsuperscript{141} and infinitive להיחה (TgSong 7:13). Second, certain nouns exhibit assimilation: עיזין “goats” from *
ענזין (TgSong 1:8) and the singular emphatic שנתא “year” from *
שנתא.\textsuperscript{142} The נ occasionally assimilates in the noun אפין/אנפין “face,” but none of the manuscripts are consistent. Third, certain independent pronouns show assimilation. The 2mp pronoun אתה is consistently spelled with an assimilated נ, as is the case with the verbs resist assimilation; see Dalman, \textit{Grammatik} §66, 1-3.

\textsuperscript{136} Dalman, \textit{Grammatik} §15 d; §66; Nöldeke, \textit{Syriac Grammar}, §28. Note that certain words are still spelled with a nun in Syriac, with a \textit{linea occultans} in the vocalized texts.

\textsuperscript{137} For further discussion, see Bar-Asher Siegal, \textit{Introduction}, 74; 129–32.

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{DCPA}, 255; \textit{SL}, 885; \textit{DJBA}, 726.

\textsuperscript{139} See also TgSong 1:1.

\textsuperscript{140} See also TgSong 6:2.

\textsuperscript{141} Note the same form with 3mp suffix אתנינון, also in TgSong 1:11.

\textsuperscript{142} TgSong 1:1; 5:12; 7:2.
2ms pronoun את in its two occurrences. In similar fashion, the 2fs pronoun תנ(ו) in its two occurrences occasionally exhibits assimilation, but none of the manuscripts are consistent. Fourth, as is common in all dialects, the נ of the preposition מנ, “from,” assimilates when the preposition is inseparably affixed to another word.

\[sl > ss\]

As is common with all Aramaic dialects, the ל of the verb סלק “to go up” assimilates in environments where there is no separating vowel. In TgSong this occurs in the G-stem infinitive ומיסק, imperfect איסק (TgSong 3:3; 7:9), and C-stem perfect אסיקו (TgSong 5:5).

### 2.2.1.2 Partial

\[דד > זז\]

This is a common assimilation among the Aramaic dialects following the metathesis of a sibilant in the t-stems. There is one occurrence in TgSong: the root זז in the Dt-stem, איזדרז “he prepared for battle” (2:16). This particular root with partial assimilation occurs in the Dt-stem throughout the targumim. The same phenomenon occurs with this root in Syriac and SA, though the Samaritan semantic nuance is “to hurry.”

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143. For the 2mp pronoun, see TgSong 2:5; 7:1; 8:4 (2x), 9; for the 2ms pronoun, see TgSong 1:16 (twice).

144. Several of the words in the foregoing section are also discussed in the section on dissimilation, Phonology and Orthograpy 2.2.2.

145. TgSong 2:7; 3:5, 6; 7:13; 8:4, 8.

146. The majority of manuscripts are defectively written, against the witness of Paris 110 and one other western manuscript. For other imperfect forms, see 8:1, 14.

147. DSA, 239; SL, 308.
This is another common assimilation that takes place in the same grammatical situations as above. There are two verbal roots in TgSong that exhibit this sound change. The first is the root הבּ in the Dt-stem, "is drenched" (5:2). The Dt of this root is attested with partial assimilation as early as BA (Dan 3:12). The Gt and Dt of this root are common in Syriac, where there is also partial assimilation. Elsewhere, this verb is only attested in a t-stem twice: in Onqelos and its corresponding verses in TgPsJ. The second verbal root that undergoes this phonological change is הבּ in the Dt-stem, "was set aside" (8:2). The Dt of this particular root, with this semantic nuance, is limited to JBA and LJLA, though the attestations may in fact be Gt.

*a/i > u/o in the Vicinity of Bilabials*

Some of the attestations of the partial assimilation *a/i > u/o in TgSong are attested in many Aramaic dialects from an early point. Other examples are more specific to the western dialects.

148. SL, 1272.

149. See Lev 13:58; 15:17. Whereas the vocalization in Onqelos indicates that this verb is a Gt; it is suggested in CAL that these should be emended to Dt forms, (accessed 9 July 2014).

150. Some of the Yemenite manuscripts read from the root הבּ, but this is undoubtedly a scribal mistake.

151. Syriac has a Dt of this root, but it has different meanings: “use craft, astuteness,” “act with guile,” “contrive cleverly” (SL, 1295). There is one occurrence of this root in a t-stem in the Palestinian Talmud (Qid 62c[43]), but it is not entirely clear whether it is a Gt or Dt; DJPA (468) states that it is the passive of the second Aphiel meaning “withdraw.” Concerning the Dt in JBA, Sokoloff lists the forms in DJBA (p. 969) as Gt, but CAL lists one attestation as Dt that is not listed in DJBA, but \{ {אכין כטבש לארשי \} (Meg. 16, sd1, ln19), (accessed 9 July 2014). The forms in LJLA may be Gt or Dt: TgQoh 9:7; TgPsJ Gen 14:15; 27:25; Exod 16:4, 15; Lev 7:15.
also” (1:14; 2:6, 12, 13; 5:3; 6:12; 7:9; 8:1) derived from אַף. Paris 110 and some other western manuscripts consistently spell the word with a ָא; the Yemenite recension and some western manuscripts spell without it. Aside from SA, which retains the older pronunciation, the spelling with ָא appears to be a later western innovation. JBA, Mandaic, JLA, Syriac, and SA spell without the ָא.152 Spellings with and without the ָא are attested in JPA, and while spellings without the ָא predominate in Neofiti, the opposite is the case in the texts from the Cairo Genizah and the Fragment Targumim (P and V).153 CPA consistently spells with ܘ,154 and though LJLA exhibits spellings without the ָא, the spelling with ָא is more common.155

גוברין “men” (4:2). This is an early assimilation that is attested in BA and continues in many dialects, Syriac excluded.156 There is some variation in the Palestinian Targumim on this spelling. The vocalization of Gen 37:28 in Ms. D of the Cairo Genizah, however, shows that a defective spelling does not necessarily indicate a pronunciation with /a/.

gופנה and its plural counterpart, “vine” (1:14; 6:11; 7:13). This is another common assimilation seen throughout the dialects.

dבושא “honey” (4:11; 5:16). The following emphatic forms of this word are attested in JPA texts: דָּבָּשא, דבשות, דיבשת. Targum Jonathan spells it defectively, but with an /u/

152. DJBA, 152; MD, 30; SL, 81; DSA, 55.
153. DJPA, 41.
154. DCPA, 8.
155. Certain texts, such as TgRuth, may prefer אָף, but there are manuscript variants with אַף in every attestation (TgRuth 1:5; 2:8, 15, 16, 21; 3:12; 4:10).
156. SL, 202.
vowel.\textsuperscript{157} With the exception of TgPs 19:11, which spells the word with a \(\tilde{\imath}\), LJLA spells this form exclusively with a \(\hat{\imath}\),\textsuperscript{158} as is predominant in JBA; this is in contrast to the Syriac spelling \(\hat{\imath}\).\textsuperscript{159}

157. See אַנְבָּא, Judg 14:8.

158. TgPs 19:11; 81:17; 119:103; TgJob 20:17; TgProv 16:24; 24:13; 25:16, 27; Tg2Chr 31:5; TgPsJ Exod 15:2; Lev 11:20; Deut 32:13.

159. DJBA, 315; SL, 273.

160. The majority of other manuscripts are spelled defectively.

161. DJPA, 535.

With the exception of TgPs 19:11, which spells the word with a \(\tilde{\imath}\), LJLA spells this form exclusively with a \(\hat{\imath}\),\textsuperscript{158} as is predominant in JBA; this is in contrast to the Syriac spelling \(\hat{\imath}\).\textsuperscript{159}

חומתא “heat” (1:7). This is the only occurrence of this word spelled with an /u/ vowel. All other dialects spell the word with some form of /i/ class vowel. If this is a scribal error from חيمة, a common spelling among the dialects, it persisted throughout the western recension.

יובקא “Jabbok” (4:2; 6:6) derived from יַבֹּק. This form of the word is seen in all the targumim, Neofiti’s יבקה excluded. The vocalized Peshitta manuscripts of eastern Syriac have a vocalization with two long /ā/ vowels, نمم.

שובעא “seven” (1:11). The numeral “seven” in its masculine form is attested in a minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110, with a \(\hat{\imath}\), but the construct form is שבעת at 3:5. Similarly, while the numeral “seventy” is שבעים at 2:17 in Paris 110,\textsuperscript{160} it is spelled without a \(\hat{\imath}\) at 1:2; 4:10; 7:3. JLA spell these forms with a short /i/ in the first syllable. While forms with a \(\hat{\imath}\) are attested in JPA, forms without the \(\hat{\imath}\) are more common.\textsuperscript{161} Spellings with \(\hat{\imath}\) are standard in

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\(\tilde{\imath}\)
CPA. TgPsJ frequently spells the word with ꞇ. Syriac and JBA spell the word with a short /a/.163

2.2.1.3 Palatalization

styleType > ꞇ

Palatalization is a partial-assimilation that occurs when a consonant’s place of articulation is affected by the surrounding phonemes, resulting in a palatal ꞇ. One environment in which this occurs in certain Aramaic dialects is when a glottal stop ꞇ, preceded by the Palato-alveolar ꦩ, becomes a ꞇ. In contrast to JLA, this phenomenon is common with the root ꦥ scoped in the late dialects of JBA, JPA, and LJLA.165 In those dialects, the sound change is also attested in the t-stems, even though the two consonants are separated by metathesis. TgSong does not attest this sound change in either the nominal166 or verbal167 forms, though one should note that all four cases of the verb are in the Gt-stem, where the environment for the sound change is absent. Though less frequent, the late dialects

162. DCPA, 416. SA spells without ꞇ; DSA, 866.
163. SL, 1504; DJBA, 1104.
165. DJBA, 1134; DJPA, 547; this takes places frequently in TgPsJ and TgChr. It is also attested in TgPs 76:11; TgJob 19:20; TgProv 2:21 and TgRuth 2:14, 18.
166. TgSong 4:1; 6:5, 8; 8:13.
167. TgSong 2:17; 3:1; 5:1; 8:11.
occasionally exhibit palatalization with the root ֶלֶשׁ. In TgSong, this occurs in two western manuscripts in the participial form ֶלֶשׁ “asking” (TgSong 8:10).

2.2.2 Dissimilation: Resolution of Gemination by ֶ

One of the typological characteristics of IA is the resolution of geminated consonants with the insertion of the nasal ֶ. It seems that this nasalization is a phenomenon that variously affected a number of languages, most notably the Middle Babylonian dialect of Akkadian. According to Garr’s recent treatment, when nasalization occurs, the salient details of the phenomenon are as follows. First, it most frequently affects the least sonorous phonemes of the Aramaic inventory, notably ֵ, ַ, and ֵ. Second, the attestations can be divided into two groups: instances in which the ֶ is etymological and instances in which it is not. Third, there are two regular environments that resist nasalization: forms in which the doubled consonant is original and instances in which the two geminate consonants have an intervening morphemic boundary. Also at issue is whether the nasal element was

168. *DJBA*, 1098; *DIPA*, 532. For the alternate explanation that these forms may be an elision of the ֶ rather than palatalization, see Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, 140–42.

169. Compare the forms with ֶ in TgSong 3:3; 7:13.

170. Note that dialectal variation can be discerned in IA, and there are examples of assimilation (special mention should be made of the Hermopolis Papyri) even though nasalization is the norm.


pronounced or was simply an orthographic convention. While there is some disagreement on this point, it seems likely that the nasal segment was a phonetic reality.

A phonetic shift is perceptible in the various dialects of MA, as assimilation of 𐤉 once again becomes a regular phonological feature. In Palmyrene, nasalization is limited and rare. In QA, there is a phonemic difference between פַּנֶּה “face” and פַּנֶּה “nose,” and there is one instance of a Panel D-Stem. Otherwise, nasalization is restricted to a few, specific lexemes that may be a carryover of IA orthographic conventions. The more conservative dialect of Nabatean maintains more of the IA conventions, though it is unclear if the nasal element was pronounced.

In Late Aramaic, it is clear that the assimilation of 𐤉 to a following consonant when there is no intervening vowel is a phonetic reality in western Aramaic. This is also the case in Syriac, even though orthographic conventions require the writing of nun with a linea occultans on certain words. The situation in the east is a little different. While assimilation

178. See the previous discussion on assimilation, Phonology and Orthography 2.2.1.1.
of ַ is frequent in JBA, there are also some alternative nasalized forms. It is also worth pointing out that nasalization extends to previously unattested environments in Mandaic.

It is under the influence of BA and alternate JBA forms that nasalization in LJLA, and TgSong more specifically, should be understood. There are no examples of nasalization in TgSong that are not similarly attested in either of these sources.

2.2.2.1 Verbs

Only one verb, נגזר, exhibits nasalization in TgSong: the G-stem infinitive לָמֵנֵז “to extend” (7:5). This same form is also attested in JLA, LJLA, and JBA.

2.2.2.2 Nouns

Dissimilation only takes place in a few nouns in TgSong, and in each case, the ַ is etymological.

אָנותוֹת “his wife” (7:11). This word occurs with assimilation in all of the middle and late dialects, though the nasalized form occasionally occurs in JBA. Additionally, it is preserved

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180. Generally, see Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction 74; for a discussion of the I-verbs, see 129–32. Bar-Asher Siegal concludes that assimilation may be lexeme specific from previous periods rather than an active phonological phenomenon in JBA.


182. On the use of nasalization as a form of “archaism” in LJLA, see Kaufman, “Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” 4.

183. Other verbs which regularly exhibit nasalization in LJLA, such as יָדַע, do not occur in TgSong in environments where nasalization might take place. Also, the verb נֶרֶד in the C-stem is not properly considered nasalization because the ַ resists doubling, as in all Aramaic dialects.

184. Onqelos Gen 21:16; Exod 19:13; TgJosh 6:5; Tg 1Sam 31:3; 2 Sam 1:18; TgPs 10:9; Tg1Chr 10:3; 12:2; TgPsJ Gen 21:16; 19:13. Note that Exod 14:7 is spelled לְמֵנֵז; DJBA, 727.

185. DJBA, 128.
in Syriac’s orthography, though with a *linea occultans*.\(^{186}\) The western recension spells the word with the nasalized form, but the Yemenite recension uses the assimilated form.

יִפְה (yiph) “surface, face.” This word is attested in TgSong in forms with\(^{187}\) and without\(^{188}\) י. Other than Mandaic, the assimilated form is standard in all of the later Aramaic dialects; LJLA has both forms.\(^{189}\) The nasalized form is attested in BA.\(^{190}\)

אינביה, “its fruit,” (1:16). A loan from Akkadian (*inbu*),\(^{191}\) this common word is attested with י in BA, QA, and Mandaic;\(^{192}\) the י is assimilated in the other dialects, other than LJLA. According to CAL,\(^{193}\) LJLA uses both forms to distinguish between “fruit” (assimilated) and “produce in general” (non-assimilated); both meanings are appropriate in the non-assimilated attestation under discussion.

There is one Greek loan word which exhibits a nasalization sound change, though it is a phenomenon different from the other words discussed in this section. In a frequent but not universal sound change in Greek and Latin loan words, \(m > n\) when immediately followed by a bilabial.\(^{194}\) This is seen in the word, νυμφή “bride,” which is attested in TgSong in the form

\[^{186}\] SL, 66.

\[^{187}\] TgSong 5:3, 5, 10, 11; 7:7.

\[^{188}\] TgSong 1:2 (twice); 1:5 (twice); 1:11; 4:16; 7:8 (three times).

\[^{189}\] Assimilated forms are more common in TgPs, TgJob, TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgLam, TgChr. Only assimilated forms are attested in TgProv and TgRuth. TgPsJ is mixed.

\[^{190}\] Dan 2:46; 3:19.


\[^{192}\] Dan 4:9, 11, 18; 1Q20 11:12; 13:17; MD, 353.


\[^{194}\] Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und*
There is a second word that may undergo a similar sound change, אָנְפִלִין (TgSong 4:12). The precise meaning and etymology of the word is debated, however, with proposals ranging from a Semitic word meaning “money-box,”¹⁹⁶ to a Greek loan, ἐμπύλιος, meaning “gate house.”¹⁹⁷ If the word is indeed a Greek loan—an assertion for which the evidence is inconclusive—the word may undergo the same sound change as נֹפֶף.¹⁹⁸

2.2.2.3 Pronouns

ָ(ל)ש “you” (fs). In TgSong, nasalization of pronouns is only attested in the 2fs pronoun, and the attestations are not consistent.¹⁹⁹ Though Paris 110 and a number of other manuscripts show a slight preference for nasalized forms, there is a great deal of variation. In fact, the same verse (8:13) has both forms in Paris 110. The form with ל persists into Late Aramaic in the orthography of Syriac (with linea occultans) and as an alternate form in JBA.²⁰⁰

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¹⁹⁵ TgSong 4:8, 9 (twice), 11, 12; 5:1.
¹⁹⁶ See the related Mishnaic Hebrew form attested in m. Shev. 7:6. See also Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 141 note kk with an appeal to Jastrow, Dictionary, 78.
¹⁹⁸ Jastrow’s own emendation to the Latin papilio “pavilion, tent, curtain” is not convincing; see Dictionary, 1708, with reference to the lemma on p. 1204.
¹⁹⁹ The 2ms pronoun in TgSong is רָא, and the 2mp pronoun is נָרָא. For a general discussion of the independent pronominal forms, see Morphology 3.1.1.


2.2.3 Metathesis

The metathesis of a sibilant or dental with the ת of the t-stems is a feature common to all the Aramaic dialects. An additional partial assimilation occurs when the ת comes in contact with an initial צ or ז verb. Metathesis is attested in TgSong in the following verbal roots: זַרְזֵר (with partial assimilation) in the Dt-stem, אָזֵר “girded himself” (2:16); סֵל ל in the Dt-stem, אָסִתֵל “he looked” (2:9); אָסִתֵל “he withdrew” (6:1); שָבָע (with partial assimilation), מַשָּבָע “is moistened” (5:2); אָסִתֵל in the Dt-stem (with partial assimilation), אָסִתֵל “it was set aside” (8:2). See also TgSong 5:12 (twice) and 8:14 (twice).

201. The t-stems are usually spelled with a י in Paris 110 when there is an i-class vowel in the preformative, but most of the other manuscripts are defective. See Phonology and Orthography, 2.1.4.

202. See also TgSong 2:17; 3:1 (twice); 3:2, 3.

203. The Yemenite recension has a D-stem passive participial form מַשָּבָע.

204. Some Yemenite manuscripts read from the root צָבַע “be drenched, moistened,” but the given form is preferred in context.

205. See also TgSong 3:1; 5:1; 8:11.

206. The manuscripts vary on the preformative of this word. Whereas some have the ת, others have an ש. One western manuscript (Ms. Madrid, Villa-Amil 5) has a י, as it frequently does with the t-stems.
“they are released” (4:12); שמע in the Gt-stem, “it was heard” (1:3); שמע in the Dt-stem, “they were drowned” (1:9); שמע as a QuadT, “they will be enslaved” (2:12); שמע in the Dt-stem, “to speak” (5:10).

2.2.4 Weakening (Lenition)

2.2.4.1 Spirantization of בגדכפת

ב and ו

Texts written in JPA frequently display a graphemic interchange between ב, which usually represents /b/, and ו, which usually represents /w/.209 There are three words in TgSong which exhibit this alternation. First, a minority of the manuscripts spell the word כווה “window” (2:9) with a ב as the middle radical, instead of the expected ו.210 Second, the word ריבון “ten thousand” is attested with two spellings among the manuscripts: ריבון at 5:10 and ריבות at 8:5.211 Third, the word עדב “lot, share” is attested with a 3ms suffix at 8:11 as עדבי. The manuscripts are divided in their use of ו or ב in this instance.

2.2.4.2 Loss of א

The loss of א at the end of a word or syllable is a feature attested in the early Aramaic dialects, and it continued in spoken, if not written, form throughout the later dialects.212 This

208. See also TgSong 7:9.
210. Paris 110 does so and then undergoes a further metathesis with the ב, resulting in the form баз for the presumed באז. See Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 106 note nn.
211. Note that the ketib of this word in BA (Dan 7:10) is ריבן whereas the qere is ריבב.
212. Segert, Grammatik, §3.7.8.6.
led to a number of phonological shifts that are common to all later dialects of Aramaic. In TgSong, the older spellings with א are still attested in certain words. This is the case with the adjective “many, much,” where one finds נא at 2:12 and 8:12.

The loss of א at the beginning of a word or syllable is not as systematic among the dialects, aside from a few words. Note, for example, the adjective ביש “evil”; this word exhibits the loss of א in JLA and all the late dialects. The term “head” is spelled as both ראש and ראש throughout TgSong. In both of these instances, the spelling with א is standard in BA. In the same environment, Paris 110 and several western manuscripts maintain the א in נין (י)תא “figs” (1:14; 2:13). The term “well” is spelled three ways among the manuscripts: בירא, באירא, and בארא (TgSong 1:1; 4:5, 15). These alternate spellings are attested in JPA; SA and Syriac also spell the word with an א. Loss of א on the word “man, human” (איש) occurs in TgSong in the collocationنبא נשא “sons of man” (2:14), where it serves as the B-term (nomen rectum) of a construct clause. The two other attestations of the word occur in


214. TgSong 1:12 (twice); 2:2, 6, 7; 4:3; 5:3.

215. Even in Paris 110 one can find both spellings in the same verse (7:5). Aside from JPA, which has alternate forms with א, JLA and the late dialects spell the word without א.

216. The Yemenite recension and some western manuscripts use the form without the א, as in JLA, JPA, and sometimes in JBA; DJPA, 580; Cook, Glossary, 300; DJBA, 1205.

217. DJPA, 101; DSA, 76; SL, 114.

218. The manuscripts are not unanimous on this attestation. While the majority of western manuscripts, including Paris 110, do not have the א, other manuscripts have the forms אישא (Yemenite recension and two western manuscripts) or אישא (two western manuscripts).
situations in which it is the A-term (*nomen regens*) of a construct clause.\(^{219}\) In these cases, the א is present in the spelling אינשי.\(^{220}\)

Finally, of the I-א verbs, only אסי exhibits a loss of א in the form אァסייר “I will be healed” (2:5).

### 2.2.4.3 Weakening of Gutturals

The weakening of laryngeals and pharyngeals is a much discussed feature of later Aramaic dialects. The extent to which the guttural letters weakened is not entirely clear, however. Beginning with anecdotal evidence from rabbinic sources, we learn that there was a clear difference of pronunciation among certain Jews. The weakening of gutturals in the Galilean dialect of JPA, according to Kutscher's analysis, began no later than the second century CE, though not in the entirety of Palestine.\(^{221}\) The first merger was that of ר and י.\(^{222}\)

In addition to this, by the sixth century, there are plenty of examples that show a confusion of other gutturals, particularly א and י on the one hand, ר and ב on the other.\(^{223}\) It seems that Greek influence was a driving force in this phonological change.\(^{224}\)

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219. Note the plural construct form יאינשי (TgSong 2:7; 7:3), written defectively in the Yemenite recension (and vocalized with a schwa) and a few western manuscripts.

220. Note that this is a JBA form of the word; *DJBA*, 119–20. Only in Syriac is the word regularly pronounced as nāšā, and it is spelled with an א and *linea occultans*.


in the west\textsuperscript{225} and Mandaic and JBA in the east,\textsuperscript{226} the actual number of affected words in JPA is relatively small,\textsuperscript{227} and furthermore, the evidence of guttural weakening in the targumim is slight.

The one possible instance of confusion between ה and ח occurs at 6:7. In this instance, the manuscripts exemplify the two ways of spelling “thirst” attested in the Late Aramaic dialects.\textsuperscript{228} Four western manuscripts, including Paris 110, spell the word הָצַהוָנָא. This spelling of the word occurs in the dialects of JLA,\textsuperscript{229} CPA, Targumic JPA, JBA,\textsuperscript{230} and LJLA.\textsuperscript{231} Five other western manuscripts spell the word as צַחוָנָא. This spelling is seen in Onqelos, JBA, and LJLA.\textsuperscript{232} Regardless of the western readings, the original word seems to

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{225} Macuch, \textit{Grammatik}, 9–14; Müller-Kessler, \textit{Grammatik}, 43.


\textsuperscript{227} Kutscher, \textit{Studies}, 84.

\textsuperscript{228} SA is an orthographic outlier with this word, as the form צַהוָנָא is attested (\textit{DSA}, 725).

\textsuperscript{229} Exod 17:3; Deut 28:48. In both cases, there are manuscript witnesses which spell the word differently. Judg 15:18; Isa 5:13; 50:2; Amos 8:13.

\textsuperscript{230} \textit{DCPA}, 349; \textit{DJPA}, 459. The JPA attestations are in Neofiti’s translation sections which match certain manuscripts of Onqelos plus Deut 8:15, where Onqelos has צַהוָנָא. \textit{DJBA}, 953.

\textsuperscript{231} TgPs 88:13; 104:11; 105:41; 107:33; TgLam 4:4; TgPsJ Deut 28:48.

\textsuperscript{232} The Onqelos attestations are the same as above: Exod 17:3; Deut 28:48. \textit{DJBA}, 953; TgPs 69:22; TgJob 24:19; TgRuth 1:1; TgLam 2:12; Tg2Chr 32:11; TgPsJ Exod 17:3 and Deut 32:10. The latter attestation is for Onqelos’ צַהוָנָא.
\end{flushleft}
be זיהא, “dazzling, clarity,” as attested in the Yemenite recension.\textsuperscript{233} The western misreadings are likely graphic in nature (due to the graphic similarity of \(ח\), \(ח\), and \(ח\)) rather than phonological.

Though not precisely the phenomenon of guttural weakening as described above, there is one attestation of an alternation between \(ח\) and \(כ\) in the Yemenite recension that is worth mentioning. The participle \(בחין\) “test” is erroneously spelled as \(בכין\) “then” at 7:9, leading the scribes to insert a compensatory verb.

### 2.2.4.4 Loss of Medial \(ד\)

There are a few words that are known to lose, or possibly assimilate, a medial \(ד\) in several Aramaic dialects. This sound change is attested in two words in TgSong. The first is the preposition \(قبل\) “before.” In contrast to the other manuscripts, Paris 110 frequently (though not always) has the form \(כמי\) when there are pronominal suffixes on the word.\textsuperscript{234} Similarly, the alternate form in JPA is \(כמי\) while it is \(כמי\) (\(א\)) \(כמי\) in SA and CPA.\textsuperscript{235} In eastern dialects, JBA has the forms \(כמי\) and \(כמי\) (with an /a/ vowel), and Mandaic has the form \(כאמ\).\textsuperscript{236} The second word is the ordinal number \(כמי\) “first.” In the midrash of ten songs in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{233} DJBA, 958; SL, 1283; HALOT, 1018.
  \item \textsuperscript{234} TgSong 1:4 (twice), 9; 2:6, 14, 17; 5:6, 10; 7:12; 8:14 (twice).
  \item \textsuperscript{235} Dalman, Grammatik, 103; DJPA, 481; Macuch, Grammatik, 324; DCPA, 375–76.
  \item \textsuperscript{236} Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 67; DJBA, 1024; MD, 401.
\end{itemize}
TgSong 1:1, the feminine form קְמֵי (קְמֵי) is attested in both recensions.\textsuperscript{237} Similar alternate forms with the loss of ד are attested in the dialects of JPA, JBA, SA, CPA, and Mandaic.\textsuperscript{238}

\textbf{2.2.4.5 Loss of Final Consonants}

A notable feature of JBA is the loss of certain consonants when they occur in final position, namely ב, ר, נ, מ, ל, ה, ד, and ת.\textsuperscript{239} This feature is seen on three words in TgSong. On six occasions (TgSong 1:8, 17; 2:8; 3:5 [twice], 5:1), the verb אמר “he said” is attested as אמר in a minority of Yemenite manuscripts. On one occasion, Paris 110 and one Yemenite manuscript have a Gt-stem perfect third feminine singular form לא אמת “it was compared” (5:1), which exhibits the loss of the final ת.\textsuperscript{240} The majority of the other manuscripts have a G-stem passive participial form מתילא. There are two attestations of the adverb כך “thus” (1:1; 4:13), which is derived from הכין.\textsuperscript{241} Notably, aside from the two examples in TgSong 5:1, all of the attestations occur in the first four chapters of the text. These JBA forms may be the result of scribal changes.\textsuperscript{243}

\textsuperscript{237} Note that the masculine form is קֶדֶמָא at TgSong 6:4.


\textsuperscript{240} The Gt of this root is only attested in Syriac, JBA, and LJLA (SL, 868; DJBA, 721). In LJLA, the same form is attested in TgPs 50:5; Tg1Chr 8:33.

\textsuperscript{241} Several manuscripts have הכין instead.

\textsuperscript{242} \textit{DJBA}, 382. It occurs 15+ times in TgPs, TgProv, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgEsth I & II, and TgPsJ.

\textsuperscript{243} On the targumic application of a text-critical principle that the ends of manuscripts have fewer scribal changes than the beginning, see Stephen A. Kaufman and Yeshayahu Maori, “The Targumim to Exodus 20: Reconstructing the Palestinian Targum,” \textit{Textus} 16
2.2.5 Segment Processes

2.2.5.1 Prothesis (Beginning of Word)

The prothetic addition of a vowel before a word-initial consonant cluster is a common feature among Semitic languages.\(^{244}\) Prothesis is most prevalent in the vicinity of liquids, nasals, sibilants, and dentals, and orthographically, the initial vowel is represented by an א.\(^{245}\) While this phenomenon is sporadically attested among certain Northwest Semitic dialects of the Iron Age,\(^{246}\) it becomes more widely attested in Aramaic dialects during MA. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, as short vowels in open, unaccented syllables reduced to schwa or zero, a number of word-initial consonant clusters resulted. This process of vowel reduction seems to have begun as early as IA and increased into the first centuries of the common era, i.e. MA.\(^{247}\) Second, the Aramaic lexicon assimilated a number of loan words during this time, notably Persian and Greek, and these foreign words often began with consonant clusters that were resolved in Aramaic by prothesis.


\(^{245}\) Speiser argues that the conditions are limited to the most resonant sounds: notably liquids, nasals, \(\varphi\), and \(\varphi\). Furthermore, the prothesis-inducing phoneme can be the second phoneme of the consonant cluster rather than the first. According to him, it is the laryngeal \(\varphi\) rather than the sibilant \(\varphi\) that induces the prothesis in the word אֶצְעָדָה “bracelet.” See Speiser, “Secondary Developments,” 152.


TgSong is relatively conservative in its use of prothesis with Aramaic/Semitic words, but it is more common in the case of loan words.

**Vicinity of Sibilants**

**איזמורד** “emerald” (western manuscripts, 5:14) from Greek σμάραγδος. This word is attested in JLA, LJLA, and Syriac in the form **אומצרד**. JPA, LJLA, CPA, and Syriac have forms without prothesis.

**אָדַבְנָה** “finger” (1:11; 7:8). This form with prothesis is attested as early as BA, and it persists among the Aramaic dialects, as well as BH and MH.

**אַיצֵתָלָה** “garment, robe” (5:10) from Greek στολή. Prothesis with this word occurs in JLA and the late dialects of Aramaic.

**אָלֹאֵן אָלָסַל** “aloe” (4:14), perhaps from Greek ξυλαλόη. This word is only attested in LJLA. It occurs here and in TgPs 45:9.

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248. In contrast to several other late dialects, TgSong does not attest prothesis with words such as **דם** “blood” and **שתה** “six.”

249. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 1:130; 2:28. TgOnq Exod 28:18; 39:11; TgJon Ezek 28:13; TgJob 42:14; Tg1Chr 29:2; SL, 25. The given form without a ג is unique to LJLA (see also TgPsJ Exod 28:18; 39:11); see Lexical Stock 5.9.

250. *DJP A*, 179; *SL*, 387, 1021; *DCPA*, 26; TgProv 25:12; TgEsth II 1:2.

251. Dan 2:41, 42; 5:5. The form with ד rather than נ is unique to LJLA and occurs 10+ times in TgPsJ as well; the more common form with נ is attested in some TgSong manuscripts. See Lexical Stock 5.6.1.

252. Forms without prothesis are attested in LJLA at TgProv 7:3 and Tg1Chr 20:6 as well as TgPsJ Lev 11:13; Deut 14:11.


Vicinity of Dentals

“אדרע” (8:6). This word is attested in BA with (Ezra 4:23) and without (Dan. 2:32) prothesis. The form with prothesis is common in the western dialects of JPA, CPA, and SA. The form without prothesis is standard in JLA, JBA, and Syriac. Both forms are attested in LJLA, but the prothetic form is more common.

2.2.5.2 Separation of Contiguous Vowels

Occasionally, an א may also be used to break up a vocalic juxtaposition. This feature is evident in certain III-weak verbal forms of JLA and JBA, and it occurs throughout all of the LJLA texts, particularly in derived stems. It is attested in the following verbal forms in TgSong: “they told” (5:8); “they appointed” (6:2, 8); “they stank” (1:12); “they made stink” (1:12); “they made desolate” (3:5); “she prayed” (1:1).

In a similar fashion, ע may be used to graphically ensure the separation of vowels. First, against every other manuscript, Paris 110 spells the sole attestation of the word סגיאין as סגיעין “many, numerous” (8:7). The spelling with ע is also attested in TgPsJ and the Fragment DJPA, DCPA, DSA.

Jer 32:21 is an exception; DJBA, 353; SL, 324.

Forms without prothesis are attested in TgPs, TgProv, TgChr, TgPsJ. Forms with prothesis are attested in TgPs, TgJob, TgQoh, TgChr, TgEsth II, TgPsJ.


Edward M. Cook, p.c. fall 2015.
Targum P on a number of occasions.260 Second, the word סגיותא (1:2; 5:10) is spelled in Paris 110, in contrast to all of the other manuscripts, as סגיעות. The form with ע is also attested in the Fragment Targum P with the meaning “much”;262 elsewhere in LJLA, it is attested in TgPs and TgProv.263

2.2.5.3 Anaptyxis (within word)

2.2.5.3.1 Segholization

The process of segholization is a phenomenon that affected originally monosyllabic words of the form *qVtl.264 At least three phonological processes took place with these words. First, an anaptyctic vowel of unpredictable quality was inserted in the word-ending consonant cluster. Second, the accent moved from the first to second syllable. Third, the short vowel in the initial consonant was reduced since it was in an open, unaccented syllable. Using a base with an /a/ theme vowel as an example, the reconstructed cline of development is as follows: *

\[ qat\rightarrow q\acute{a}t\rightarrow q\acute{a}\tilde{a}\rightarrow q\acute{a}tal. \]

Some dialects such as CPA, SA, and occasionally JLA


261. DJBA, 788a; SL, 968.

262. Exod 15:7; 20:12. See DJPA, 367. There is no Fragment Targum V for these verses.

263. TgPs 22:26; 37:11; 51:3; 69:17; TgProv 13:23.

264. It is likely that the form was originally *qVtl(V) from which the final, short vowel was apocopated.

seem to maintain a penultimate accent; most others continue through to the end of the development as described above.  

If the presence of a mater is an indication of accent, then there are a few nouns of this type that occasionally indicate a penultimate accent. It is not necessarily the case, however, that defective spelling necessitates accentuation. Furthermore, the defective spelling of most nouns of this class indicates that the majority of words had a reduced or zero vowel in the penultimate syllable and therefore an accent on the ultimate syllable.

Mater after the First Radical

“road, way” (eleven attestations). As is standard among the Aramaic dialects, this word is spelled with a mater.

in the phrase על עספ “because of.” This collocation is attested twice in TgSong, both times with a mater (2:15; 3:3). This is the standard spelling of the collocation in JLA. The Palestinian Targumim exhibit multiple spellings: עספ almost exclusively in Neofiti; in the Cairo Geniza fragments.

“tribe, rod.” There are nine attestations of this word in TgSong, and while the majority of the manuscripts do not have a mater, Paris 110 is usually spelled plene throughout the paradigm. The evidence from JLA suggests that the absolute and construct form was שבט while the emphatic form was the expected שבטי. The evidence is mixed in JPA. The words are written defectively in Neofiti, but the other Palestinian Targumim have


267. Fassberg, Grammar, 75.

268. TgSong 2:15; 3:6, 8; 5:4 (twice); 5:14; 8:11, 12 (twice).
alternate forms, including שֶׁבֶטֶּה and רַבְּשֶׁה in the few attestations. JBA only has emphatic forms, יָשֶׁנָּה.271

Mater after the Second Radical

There are no attestations of this phenomenon in TgSong.

2.2.5.3.2 Vowel Insertion with Gutturals

אינסוי “men.” This particular form of the word occurs twice in TgSong (2:7; 7:3), and most of the western manuscripts, including Paris 110, spell it with a full vowel.272

2.2.5.4 Addition of נ at the End of Words

The addition of נ at the end of certain lexical items is frequently attested in Palestinian texts, though the origin and productivity of this feature is not clear.273 This does not seem to be an active phonological process in TgSong.

כדו “when.”274 TgSong consistently spells this word without the final נ that is commonly attested in JPA, resulting inכדנ.275 The form without נ is common in JBA, Syriac, CPA, SA, and Targum Jonathan.276 Notably, this word means “now; enough” in the

269. Deut 1:1 in Cairo Geniza Ms. Br and Fragment Targum V (P is defective).

270. Deut 33:23 in Fragment Targum V (not attested in P).

271. DJBA, 1102. CPA has the unique לְמַעַל (DCPA, 416).

272. DJBA, 119–20; note that this JBA form of the word is quite common in LJLA.


274. TgSong 2:12; 5:5; 6:1, 9, 12.

275. DJPA, 251.

276. Sokoloff remarks that the forms with נ are archaic and dialectal. See DJBA, 553. SL,
other dialects in which it is attested. Among LJLA texts, the form with \( \text{ן} \) predominates in TgPs, TgJob,\(^{277}\) TgProv,\(^{278}\) TgChr, TgPsJ, and TgEsther II. TgEsther I only has forms without \( \text{ן} \).

\( \text{תמן} \) “there.”\(^{280}\) This word is spelled with a final \( \text{ן} \) in all late dialects.

\( \text{תוב} \) “again” (2:11). This adverb is only attested in Paris 110; all the other manuscripts have \( \text{עוד} \). The form \( \text{תוב} \) is standard in targumic literature.\(^{281}\) The form \( \text{תובן} \) with appended \( \text{ן} \) is attested in JPA, CPA, and rarely in Syriac.\(^{282}\)

\( ^{277} \) There are two attestations without \( \text{ן} \) (– TgJob 6:28; 30:9) in contrast to 42 attestations with \( \text{ן} \).

\( ^{278} \) Only one attestation (TgProv 5:7).

\( ^{279} \) TgQoh has two attestations without \( \text{ן} \) (– TgQoh 2:1; 10:10) and one with (7:19).

\( ^{280} \) TgSong 1:14; 2:9, 17; 3:10; 4:12; 7:13; 8:2, 14.

\( ^{281} \) There is one attestation of the form \( \text{תוב} \) in Cairo Geniza Ms. F at Lev 22:27. See Fassberg, Grammar, 73-74.

\( ^{282} \) DJPA, 576; DCPA, 450; SL, 1626.
3.0 Morphology

3.1 Pronouns

3.1.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Singular Variants</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural Variants</th>
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</thead>
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<td>איהם (א)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>היא</td>
<td>איהן (י)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>את</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>אתון</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>את</td>
<td>אנבייר</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>אנא</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>אנכתנא</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3s. The most common forms of the masculine and feminine third person singular pronouns in TgSong are הוא and היא, respectively. These forms are standard in BA, QA, and the targumim. An alternate masculine form that occurs in TgSong is איהם. It is the

1. This is a mistake in the western recension at 2:5. Context requires a 1cs pronoun, as is attested in the Yemenite recension.
2. This is a form unique to Paris 110 (at 1:16) that is likely an error.
3. There are more than twenty attestations of the masculine form and fifteen of the feminine.
4. Bauer-Leander, Grammatik, §19; Lambdin, Introduction, 51; Golomb, Grammar, 47; Fassberg, Grammar, 111. The spellings הוא in 4Q204 are likely Hebraisms; see Cook, “The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 364. Though rare, these forms also occur in earlier texts, such as the IA Sheikh Fadl Cave Inscription, TAD D23. On the earlier pronouns, which are usually spelled וה in יר, see Segert, Grammatik, §5.1.2; Degen, Grammatik, §35; Cook, Short Grammar, 14–15; Muraoka-Porten, Grammar, 43. Note that the forms וה and וה also occur in JBA and non-Targumic JPA, but other forms are more common in those dialects; see Dalman, Grammatik, §16 and the discussion of JBA below.
5. TgSong 1:1, 9; 2:2; 5:6 (twice); 5:15.
standard JBA form and results from the combination of אֵל and a deictic preformative. This JBA masculine form is also attested in the LJLA texts of TgPs, TgJob, TgProv, TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgChr, and TgPsJ. The corresponding feminine form (אֵלֶּיהַ) is only attested in TgPsJ.

2s. The second person masculine pronoun in TgSong is יְהַ (TgSong 1:16, twice). The two primary forms of the feminine pronouns in TgSong are אָנָּה and אָנָּה, and while the form with ה is slightly more prevalent (as is the case among the other LJLA texts), none of the TgSong manuscripts display consistency. Additionally, certain Yemenite manuscripts have the form יְהַ at 5:9. There are two matters to consider regarding these pronouns: nasalization and final vowels. First, the Proto-Aramaic forms were likely *ʾantā in the masculine and *ʾantī in the feminine. While the oldest attested forms of the 2ms pronoun suggest that the /n/ assimilated to the following /t/ in certain OA dialects, the IA forms are uniformly יְהַ in the masculine and (י)אָנָּה in the feminine. The nasalized spellings continue in MA, as is primarily evidenced by BA and QA. The /n/ assimilates in western Late Aramaic and Syriac, though it is orthographically preserved in Syriac. In eastern Aramaic, the nasalized form is


7. TgSong 1:15; 4:1; 5:9 [twice]; 6:1 [twice], 4; 7:7; 8:13–14.

8. In OA, 2ms forms are only attested in the second Nerab inscription (KAI 226, line 8) and several times in the Assur Ostracon, all without the /n/. Concerning the final long vowels in these forms, see Cook, “Orthography,” 63–4. For a detailed discussion of nasalization, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.2.

9. Bauer-Leander, Grammatik, §19; Muraoka, Grammar, 37. The second person pronouns are rare or unattested in the other MA dialects.

10. The ה is sometimes attested in JPA legal texts. This is likely due to the conservative nature of legal terminology. See Shai Heijmans, “Morphology of the Aramaic Dialect in the
an alternate form in JBA and the standard form in Mandaic.\(^{11}\) Second, the final vowel of the two pronouns distinguished the masculine and feminine forms in older dialects. A final ρ on the feminine forms maintained a distinction in the western dialects of SA, CPA, and likely in JPA.\(^{12}\) Syriac had a pronunciation of ‘att for both masculine and feminine pronouns, though the orthography preserved the distinction. The spelling ת(ַ)א in JLA, JBA, and Mandaic indicates that there was no unique feminine form in those dialects.\(^{13}\)

1s. All 20+ attestations of the first common singular pronoun in TgSong have the form אנה. Later dialects usually have this spelling,\(^{14}\) though the older אנה is also attested in the western dialects of JPA and SA.\(^{15}\)

3p. All 15+ attestations of the third person plural pronouns in TgSong have the form מָנַה. It is first attested in BA, and it is the standard form in JLA and SA.\(^{16}\) It is notable that

\(^{11}\) Note, however, that the vocalic structure in Mandaic (anat) is uniquely formed on analogy with the first person pronouns; see Bogdan Burtea, “Mandaic,” in The Semitic Languages (ed. Stefan Weninger, et al.; HLCS 36; Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 674.


\(^{14}\) It occurs in Hatran Aramaic. It is also attested, though rarely, in QA; Muraoka, Grammar, 37.

\(^{15}\) Occasionally, the non-Targumic JPA texts exhibit the loss of initial א when proclitic particles, such as the conjunction ו, are added, as in אנה. The Hebraic אבָּר is also occasionally attested in SA; see Tal, DSA, 49.

\(^{16}\) BA also has the forms אֵלָה (Ezra) and אֵלָם (Daniel), which are almost exclusively used as the direct object of a sentence; see Rosenthal, Grammar, §29; Bauer-Leander, Grammatik, §13p; Lambdin, Introduction, 51; Tal, Samaritan Aramaic, 36. On the variety of
there are no attestations of the form נון(י)ה. This is the primary form in CPA and Mandaic, and while Syriac uses both forms, they are distinguished in usage. JPA and LJLA use both נון(י)א and נון(י)ה, but there does not seem to be a consistent difference in use.

2p. The second person plural pronoun in TgSong is אתון, which, besides Mandaic, is common to all of the dialects after MA. It is worth noting that there are no attestations of the nasalized form אַנְתּוּן known from BA, QA, archaic JBA passages, and Syriac orthography. In fact, the nasalized form is not attested in LJLA.

1p. There are three forms of the first common plural pronoun in TgSong. The form אנן occurs at 2:9 and 6:1, and אנחנא occurs at 8:14. At 1:16, the majority of manuscripts have אנחנא, while one western manuscript has the form הנחנא. The form אנחנא is the older form,
and it is standard in JLA (and BA in the form נָחֲנוּ). The form נָחֲנוּ occasionally occurs in JLA as an artificial form used to translate the short Hebrew form נַחֲנוּּ. The form נָחֲנוּ is the most frequent form in the later dialects of both eastern and western Aramaic. It is attested in JPA, SA, CPA, JBA, and Mandaic. The texts of LJLA have both נָחֲנוּ and נָחֲנוּ, though there are slightly more of the former. The artificial form נָחֲנוּ is also attested in TgPsJ Num 32:32 (also in Onqelos) and TgLam 3:42.

### 3.1.2 Enclitic Pronouns

There is one enclitic first common singular pronounנא in TgSong. It is in the phrasemeshכמנא עליכן “I adjure you” (8:4), and several of the manuscripts separate the pronoun from the participle. Enclitic pronouns are common in JLA, non-Targumic JPA, JBA, CPA, Syriac, and Mandaic, but they are not attested in the corpora of BA or SA. Enclitic pronouns are not

24. On the various forms attested in the earlier dialects, all of which undoubtedly have the same pronunciation, see Cook, “Orthography,” 60–2. The form נָחֲנוּ also occurs in archaic passages of JBA and rarely in the Palestinian Targumim; DJBA, 144; DJPA, 65.


26. The cline of development may be different in the eastern and western dialects. According to Fassberg, the eastern dialects may have ultimately derived from the older pronoun since there was a tendency for the gutturals, in this case נ, to weaken or be lost. The western dialects, however, maintained the pronunciation of נ, and Fassberg suggests that the form נָּא is the first person singular pronoun 'əna with the first person plural suffix -an. See Fassberg, Grammar, 113.

27. Non-Targumic JPA also has the forms נָא, both independent and contracted. Targumic JPA has infrequent attestations of the following forms נָא, נא, and נא. For the distribution, see Julia Adair Foster, “The Language and Text of Codex Neofiti 1 in the Light of other Palestinian Aramaic Sources” (PhD Diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1969), 69–70.

28. SA also has the form נָא; Tal, Samaritan Aramaic, 36; CPA also has the forms נָא and נא; Müller-Kessler, Grammatik, 67; DJBA, 145; MD, 27.

29. Lambdin, Introduction, 51; Dalman, Grammatik, §65; Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction,
particularly common in the Palestinian Targumim, with only one attestation in Neofiti, two attestations in Fragment Targum P, and one in the Cairo Genizah fragments.\textsuperscript{30} In LJLA, enclitic pronouns are attested in TgJob, TgProv, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.\textsuperscript{31} Enclitic pronouns outside of TgProv and TgEsth II are limited to first common singular forms.\textsuperscript{32}

### 3.1.3 Pronominal Suffixes

#### 3.1.3.1 Pronominal Suffixes on Nouns

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Singular Variants</th>
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<th>Plural Variants</th>
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<td>יָהוּ (n. a.)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>כָּה</td>
<td>כָּה</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>יָה</td>
<td>יָה</td>
<td>יָה</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{31} TgJob 6:11; 34:36; TgProv 8:4; 22:13; 23:8 (twice), 14; 24:14, 23; 23:8 (twice), 14; 24:14; 25:16; 27:1, 22. Given the close relationship between the Targum and Peshitta of Proverbs, it is notable that none of the enclitic pronouns in the Targum are matched in the corresponding Peshitta. TgEsth II 1:12; 3:8 (three times); 4:1; 5:1, 14; 7:10 (seven times). For TgPsJ, attestations not also found in the corresponding location in Onqelos are as follows: Gen 19:19, 22; 21:26 (twice); 33:13; 42:4; 49:4; 50:20; Num 12:6, 8; 23:10; 31:8; Deut 1:9. There is an attested enclitic pronoun in the CAL version of TgRuth 1:16 in the phrase אֶנָּא “I desire,” but this may be a mistake since it is not attested in Beattie’s edition, “The Targum of Ruth,” 245.

\textsuperscript{32} The second person enclitic pronouns in TgPsJ are all paralleled in Onqelos.
The Type 1 pronominal suffixes follow consonants. That is to say, they are usually used with singular nouns, feminine plural nouns, and certain prepositions. The following suffixes are dialectally significant.

3fs. The third feminine singular pronominal suffix in TgSong is אֶה. This particular suffix would have been known to the targumist from JLA, but there, the suffix is one of the second type of suffixes primarily limited to masculine plural nouns (and nouns such as אב “father,” which have a long vowel before the suffix). In the phonological environment of Type 1 suffixes, JLA and the other Aramaic dialects use the suffix א/–. The three exceptions are QA, occasional attestations in the Fragment Targum, and LJLA. Cook attributes the targumic forms to scribal carelessness. Given the consistent use of א/– in both TgSong recensions, however, it is likely that this is a distinct morphological feature of TgSong, whereby the third feminine singular pronominal suffix has leveled across the paradigms known from JLA. One exception is מָה (וֹפָה) “her mouth” (TgSong 2:13, 14), but this, too, is attested as פֹּהַמָּה in one of the western manuscripts. In contrast to nouns, note

33. The majority of QA attestations occur in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20); E. Y. Kutscher, “The Language of the ‘Genesis Apocryphon’: A Preliminary Study,” SH 4 (1957): 11. All of the attestations in the Fragment Targum occur in the Paris manuscript.

34. Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 133.

35. Khan makes the relevant observation that JBA has a tendency to eliminate the distinction between suffixes used with singular nouns and suffixes used with plural nouns; “Morphology,” 111.

36. Note, also, that Paris 110 has the form שלמה at 8:10, but the form is not clear. It could be “her peace,” for which most manuscripts have שלמהה, or “the peace,” for which three western manuscripts have שלמה.

37. One other possible exception occurs in TgSong 5:12. Paris 110 and the majority of western manuscripts read מָרֵי אֶשֶׁת דְּעָה סְפָא אַתַּא “from the beginning of the year until its end” (four western manuscripts conclude with מָשְׁפַּת דְּעָה “the end of the year”). The Yemenite recension and one western manuscript, on the other hand, read the first noun as
that the suffix is היה– when used with particles in TgSong, such as the direct object marker י and certain prepositions.38

3mp. The third masculine plural suffix is היה– throughout Paris 110, as is common in JLA and all of the late dialects of Aramaic. Some of the other manuscripts, however, occasionally attest the use of יהוד–, a suffix known from BA and other early dialects.39 This older suffix is seen in other LJLA texts as well, and it is likely influenced by the suffixes in BA or Hebrew.40 It should be noted that these alternate יהוד– suffixes are more common in the first four chapters of the targum (variants on 49% of the possible suffixes) than in the last four chapters (variants on 23% of the possible suffixes). It is also worth mentioning that the vast majority of these alternate suffixes are limited to four manuscripts. This may be an example of the so-called “Kaufman Effect,” where the latter portion of a manuscript exhibits fewer scribal changes.

though it has a third feminine singular suffix serving as a proleptic suffix in a genitive construction מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָха מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה מְרִישָה

38. With the direct object marker, see TgSong 2:7; with the preposition ב, see TgSong 1:1, 8; 2:14; 3:6; 5:12; 8:8, 9; with ד, see TgSong 1:1; 3:7–8; 4:4; 5:11; 8:6, 9; with the preposition ל, see TgSong 4:12. Given the text’s late date, one cannot rule out the possibility of Arabic influence, which uses /-hā/ in all environments. Note, however, that this includes particles, contrary to what is seen in TgSong. See Jan Retso, “Classical Arabic,” in The Semitic Languages (ed. Stefan Weninger, et al.; HLCS 36; Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 790; Huehnergard, Semitic Languages, 58.


The first common plural suffix was originally /-anā/, spelled defectively in OA and IA and then plene as נ- in BA, certain MA dialects, and JLA.\(^{41}\) Late dialects tend to either drop the final long vowel (as in JPA, JBA, Syriac, CPA, and SA) and use the suffix נ- or close the final vowel with a nasal segment, resulting in נ- (as in CPA and SA).\(^{42}\) TgSong has both the older נ- as well as נ-. Finally, on one occasion, four manuscripts have the JBA suffix נ- on the word "our distress" (8:14).\(^{43}\)

Examples

3ms: חובתיה “his sins” (1:1); זימניה “his time” (1:7); חבריה “his friend” (1:2); אורייתיה “his Torah” (5:11); ליסתיה “his cheek” (1:10); ורגניה “his wrath” (3:4); שpronounPresence “his Divine Presence” (7:11); עמידיה “his word” (6:4); טפיה “its foliage” (1:16); עמיה “his people” (4:16); שפריה “his piety” (3:6); ועריה “his will” (5:15); בחריה “his neck” (4:9); ומיה “his temple” (4:16); שסיה “his sleep” (5:2); בריה “his son” (8:11); ויריה “his merit” (7:3); אימיה “its mother” (8:1); אלניה “his God” (7:6); ואוריה “his ways” (7:11).

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3fs: “her prayer” (1:8); “its foliage” (2:2); “her money” (8:9); “her welfare” (8:10). Compare the form פְּלָמָה “her mouth” (2:13, 14).

2ms: “your mighty act” (1:3); “your people” (1:3); “your name” (1:3); “your Torah” (1:4); “your divinity” (8:1); “your hand” (1:11); “your heart” (8:6); “your Divine Presence” (8:14).

2fs: “your voice” (2:14); “your appearance” (2:14); “your love (pl.)” (4:10); “your virgins” (4:12); “your tears” (5:2); “your temple” (6:1); “your desire” (6:4); “your terror” (6:4); “your school” (7:3).

1cs: אֵלהי “my God” (1:6); יִקְרָא “my glory” (1:11); ברֵית “my daughter” (1:15); רֵעֵית “my will” (1:15); קָרָא “my neck” (2:5); מֹרֵית “my palate” (2:3); לֵב “my heart” (4:9); שְׁכִינָתי “my Divine Presence” (5:1); צָלָתָה “my prayer” (7:12); רֵעוֹת “my will” (6:4); צָלָתָה “my people” (6:11); מַלְכוּת “my kingdom” (7:7); נְפֶשׁ “my soul” (8:1); מַקְדְּשָה “my temple” (8:2); שְׁמְאַל “my left” (8:3).

44. Compare the form צְלוֹתַה in JLA: TgOnq Gen 30:17, 22; TgHos 2:4.

45. Reading with the Yemenite recension and two western manuscripts against Paris 110’s שלמה (either an emphatic form with ה or a suffixed form). Four western manuscripts have the emphatic form שלמה. Compare the form שלמה in TgJer 29:7.

46. One western manuscript has אַשְׂפָּה– on both of these occasions as well.
3mp: פמהון “their mouth” (1:1); רבחון “their leader” (1:12); קבירתן “their idols” (1:7); נסיתון “their decrees” (1:7); עשויתון “their land” (2:8); ו논יתון “their tongue” (2:13); זכרוניתון “their sacrifice” (3:4); אורים “their land” (3:5); נסיתון “their platform” (3:7); ו논יתון “their merits” (4:5); נסיתון “their cities” (3:5); זכרוניתון “their land” (5:2); ו논יתון “their prayer” (6:2); נסיתון “their freewill offerings” (7:2); ו논יתון “their Lord” (8:6); ו논יתון רבחון “their prince” (8:9).

2mp: טעותכון “your idols” (1:6); נבואתכון “your prophecy” (7:1).

1cp: צלותנא “our prayer” (1:16); אבותתאן “our fathers” (2:8); אחנתא “for our sister” (8:8); עקתא “our distress” (8:14); צערת “our pain, sorrow” (8:14); סיגופן “our misery” (8:14).

47. The Yemenite recension and two western manuscripts spell פמהון. רבחון.

48. Two western manuscripts spell רבחון. ליסיתום.

49. One western manuscript spells ליסיתום.

50. Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript spell קבירתן. קבילהון.

51. One western manuscript and Yemenite manuscripts spell קריתון. קבירתן.

52. This is the standard JPA form of this word. In JBA, the bowls attest the form אבותתאן, but the Sassoon manuscript of Halachot Peshuqot (95.1:13) has אבותתאן. In LJLA, seven of the twelve attestations in TgPsJ and four out of ten attestations in TgPs are spelled אבותתאן; אבותתאן in TgLam; TgChr; TgEsth II. Some TgSong manuscripts give evidence that this should be read as “their fathers,” אבותתאן.

53. Four manuscripts are singular without a suffix עקרתא. Four manuscripts have the form עקרקית, which has a 1cp suffix known from JBA; Khan, “Morphology,” 111; Bar-Asher Siegal, Grammar, 90.

54. Note this form in Deut 26:7 in both Neofiti and TgPsJ.

55. Contrast TgPs 44:25 סיגופן.
3.1.3.1.2 Type 2

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The phonological environment where Type 2 pronominal suffixes are used is more complex than that of the Type 1 suffixes. Suffice it to say that they are usually used with masculine plural (or dual) nouns and certain prepositions. The following suffixes attested in TgSong are dialectally significant.

3ms. In TgSong, Paris 110 almost exclusively uses the form -יוהי. There are a few manuscripts which usually use -והי, and the other manuscripts have both forms, irrespective of recension. One singular noun that uses the Type 2 suffixes is אָבוּ “father,” which is אבוכו before suffixes and results in יִ(ה) אָבָו with a third masculine singular suffix. The Type 2 third masculine singular pronominal suffix was originally /-היו/, which, when preceded by the masculine plural ending of the noun, was realized as /-אָיו/. After the contraction of the diphthong, this became -יוהי in the vocalized texts of BA and JLA. In the majority of late

56. Concerning the environments in which these suffixes are used in OA and IA, see Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 237–38; Cook, “Orthography,” 55, note 11; Gzella, *Cultural History of Aramaic*, 30. Concerning the reanalysis of these suffixes in JBA, see Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, 91–92.

57. The exceptions are קומתי “before him” (2:17); אָבוּ “his father” (7:6); חברה “his companions” (7:10).

58. See TgSong 1:13; 7:6.

dialects, the intervocalic ְנ is lost, resulting in a number of different pronunciations, the most pertinent of which is the JPA ְנ–/–oy/.

3fs. There has been some debate concerning the early history of this suffix. The majority of attestations in OA and IA are almost exclusively spelled ְנ–.\textsuperscript{61} Beginning with QA and becoming standard in JLA, the form ְנ– emerges.\textsuperscript{62} While some have argued that the QA suffixes are the result of language contact,\textsuperscript{63} others have posited that this new suffix orthographically represents the original Aramaic suffix /-hā/, which had previously been written defectively.\textsuperscript{64} The suffix used in TgSong is always ְנ–, and given the fact that most of the late dialects have shortened forms such as ְנ– and ְנ–, it is likely that TgSong is modeled after JLA in this regard.\textsuperscript{65}

\begin{itemize}
  \item variety of orthographic representations, though QA usually uses ְנ–, Schattner-Rieser, \textit{L’araméen}, 56–60. See also Cantineau, \textit{Grammaire}, 63; Cantineau, \textit{Nabatéen}, 53.
  \item Fassberg, \textit{Grammar}, 114–18. Though they use different orthographies, SA and CPA have the pronunciation /-aw/; while maintaining the older orthography, Syriac has /-aw/; see Tal, \textit{Samaritan Aramaic}, 38–39; Müller-Kessler, \textit{Grammatik}, 70; Nöldeke, \textit{Syriac Grammar}, §145. JBA utilizes the older ְנ– alongside a form leveled from the Type 1 suffixes, ְנ–; Khan, “Morphology,” 111; Bar-Asher Siegal, \textit{Introduction}, 90.
  \item For the attestations, see Folmer, \textit{Aramaic Language}, 237–41.
  \item This is particularly the case in the Genesis Apocryphon; see Kutscher, “Language,” 11; Lambdin, \textit{Introduction}, 21.
  \item Fassberg discusses the possibility of Hebrew influence in “Hebraisms in the Aramaic Documents from Qumran,” \textit{Abr-Nahrain Supplement} 3 (1992): 53–54; Schattner-Rieser leaves open the possibility that the QA suffixes were influenced by a different Semitic language, such as Arabic, “Some Observations on Qumran Aramaic: The 3rd fem. sing. Pronominal Suffix,” in \textit{The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997} (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 739–45.
  \item JPA and Syriac have the suffix /-eh/ (Fassberg, \textit{Grammar}, 114–17; Nöldeke, \textit{Syriac Grammar}, §145); JBA has both the older /-aha/ and a shortened /-ah/ (Khan, “Morphology,”
2fs. There are two matters to consider regarding the second feminine singular suffixes. First, it seems that the original diphthong preceding this suffix is maintained in TgSong. Several of the attestations have a doubled י, and while some only have a single י, this could also represent the diphthong.\textsuperscript{66} The diphthong is maintained in Syriac, and forms with יי are attested in both JBA and JPA.\textsuperscript{67} Second, there is no evidence for the original, final long /i/ vowel as one occasionally sees in other targumic texts.\textsuperscript{68} Instead, only apocopated forms are attested in TgSong, which is common for the late dialects.\textsuperscript{69}

3mp. As is the case with the Type 1 suffixes, there is an occasional variant of the third masculine plural suffix הום– for the more common הון–.

1cp. There are only two attested first common plural suffixes in TgSong. One attestation has the older form נא–. The other attestation has a form which closes the final vowel with a nasal segment, ננ–, and this is common in the late dialects. These are both forms of the Type 1 suffixes as well.

\hfil 111; Bar-Asher Siegal, \textit{Introduction}, 90).

\textsuperscript{66} While the vocalization of the Yemenite recension is suspect, it is worth noting that some of these forms are vocalized with the diphthong. See Phonology and Orthography 2.1.3.1.


\textsuperscript{68} Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 133.

\textsuperscript{69} Note, however, that Syriac maintains the older orthography.
Examples

3ms: 70 “his hands” (1:2); 71 “his laws” (1:6); “his commandments” (1:6); “his chariots” (1:9); אבות “his father” (1:13); משריע “his riders” (1:9); “his lips” (4:3); מילה “his words” (4:3); “hair locks” (5:2); רחמים “his mercies” (5:8); אנפוי “his face” (5:10); יומית “his friends” (7:10); ינבו “its grapes” (8:2); ימי “his days” (8:12).

3fs: בנקה “her shepherds” (1:8); אבות “her sons” (1:8; 8:5); דורות “her generations” (1:8); סמלמה “her lads” (6:10); שיקסמה “her orders” (6:10); אמתה “its terrors” (6:10); מוחה “her master” (8:5).

2ms: נפש “your miracles” (1:3); אתרותך “your signs” (1:3); נון “your treasuries” (1:4); פיקרדו “your commandments” (1:4).

2fs: 74 עבדיך “your deeds” (2:14); עיניך “your eyes” (1:15); קורבנות “your offerings” (4:2); בשפתך “your redeemers, saviors” (4:5; 7:3); עולמותך “your lads” (4:13); חסדים “your spice(s)” (5:1); טייסך “your ranks” (6:4); ספרים “your scribes” (7:5); חונים “your sins” (7:7); חוליות “your priests” (7:8); קהילות “your assemblies” (7:8).

70. Note that these attestations are from Paris 110; each one has variants with ר—ו—ו.

71. One western manuscript and Lagarde read this as a singular noun, comparing God’s law with the previously mentioned human laws.

72. Note that this is a Hebraizing form. The Aramaic sound change of the masculine plural construct form */-ay/ > /a/ is followed by a Hebrew feminine plural /-hā/, as in BH /bnotēḥā/ “her daughters.” Edward M. Cook, p.c. winter 2016.

73. Note the forms מרכה in TgJob 31:39; TgPsJ Exod 21:8 and מרה in TgQoh 5:10; 7:12.

74. Note that these attestations are from Paris 110; each one has variants with ר—ו—ו.
1cs: “my commandments” (1:10); “my mercies” (5:4; 8:7); “my deeds” (2:1); “my sons” (8:10).

3mp: “their tents” (1:8); “their sides” (2:14); “their deeds” (5:14); “their poisons” (2:14); “their hands” (3:7); “their weapons” (2:17); “their sons” (3:5); “their bodies” (3:5); אבות (3:8); אבות (3:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:3); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אבות (7:8); אנטירית (7:2); אbestos (78).  

2mp: “your deeds” (1:6); “your laws” (1:6); “your brothers” (2:7); “your sons” (2:7); “your father” (2:12); “your sins” (3:3); ידרכם (3:5).  

1cp: “our sons” (1:16); אבות (30).  

75. Note the variant בנים.  

76. One manuscript spells אבות.  

77. One manuscript spells סתרים.  

78. Yemenite manuscripts have a 3mp suffix.  

79. This is the JPA and JBA form. Some manuscripts (particularly of the Yemenite recension) have אבות, the standard JLA form. The standard way of spelling this word in the Palestinian targum tradition is סותרו. In LJLA, the word is spelled אבות in TgPs 66:12; TgRuth 4:11; Tg1Chr 29:10; TgEsth 1:2; 8:15; 9:14 (one attestation of אבות in 3:8). In TgPsJ, where there is a corresponding form in Onqelos, it has the Onqelos form, otherwise it has אבות; Num 27:4 has both forms.
### 3.1.3.2 Object Pronominal Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>יָה</td>
<td>-יהָ</td>
<td>-יהָ; -יִיתָ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-הָא</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-ך</td>
<td>-כון</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-ך</td>
<td>-כון</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-כ</td>
<td>-כון</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With only a few exceptions, the object pronominal suffixes in TgSong are primarily modeled on those attested in JLA. Exceptions include the following. First, the Yemenite recension and one western manuscript have the form יָשָׁהוּתָה "they did [not] find him" (3:1), where the third masculine singular suffix follows a verbal form ending in a vowel. In such cases, JLA uses the suffix יָהוּ; TgSong, however, closes the syllable with יָהַּ before adding the suffix יָהַּ. This feature is known from the late, western dialects. Second, aside from the dialects of JBA and Mandaic, derived stem infinitives in Aramaic have an /-ūt-/ between an infinitive and its suffix. On two occasions, TgSong utilizes the JBA form of the derived stem infinitives with suffixes: לַמְכוּכָּנָה "to humble them" (6:12) and לַפְּרָסָנָה "to reveal them" (5:10). It should be noted that JLA occasionally uses these JBA forms for III-weak verbs (e.g. לַעֲנָהוּת יִבְיָהוּה "to afflict them" [Exod 15:1]). Third, the lone third feminine

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81. There are many variants with this form. The form in Paris 110 seems corrupt.


83. On the form of the infinitive in JBA with and without suffixes, see Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, 125–27, 200–01. While Mandaic also has a ָ between the second and third radical in the derived stem infinitives, it is not present when suffixes are added; see Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §176, §212.
singular object suffix shows the influence of the א – suffixes on nouns, though it is probably an error in this case. The form לְברָכָה “to bless her” (5:12) occurs in the majority of manuscripts, including Paris 110. Since the form of the infinitive is unusual in this instance, it is probably an error for לְברַכֶה, as is attested in four western manuscripts.

Examples

3ms: כְפָתֵיה “he bound him” (1:13); אָשֶׁךְוֹהֵיה “they did [not] find it” (3:1); מְפֶרְסָה “he pitched it” (3:2); באָאוָסֶתְלְכוֹתֵיה “when he withdrew” (6:1); נְבֵיתֵיה “when he comes” (7:3);

לְמַקְטֶלֶיה “to offer him” (7:6); לְמַקָּטֶלֶיה “to kill him” (8:12).

3fs: לְבָרָכָהו “to bless her” (5:12).

2ms: יָאָדְרֵכֶן “I will lead you” (8:2); יָאֱעַלְיֵנֶךָ “I will cause you to enter” (8:2).

2fs: לְמַרְפֶּקֶךָ “to redeem you” (4:5; 7:4); בְֹמַלְלְדוֹתֵךְ “when you speak” (4:11).

1cs: יָאָלְפֵנוּ “they taught me” (1:6); יָאָשָׁמֵעַנְו “show me” (2:14); יָאָסָמָעַנְו “cause me to hear” (2:14); יָאָמָלְכֵנוּ “they declared me king/acknowledged my kingship” (6:5).

84. See the discussion of suffixes on nouns in Morphology 3.1.3.1.

85. One would expect either an –ָת– before the suffix (e.g. לְבָרָכָהו, Tg2Sam 8:10) or a ה between the second and third radicals, as in JBA.

86. This is the form in the Yemenite recension and one western manuscript. Paris 110 has the suffix נ–, which either indicates a third feminine singular suffix (when a masculine suffix is expected) or that a נ has fallen off in transcription. One western manuscript has the JLA form רו–, and other manuscripts have a נ in the forms נוהי– or ח– נולו. רו–.

87. The Yemenite recension has לְמוֹקְדֶה/יוֹמְקֶדֶה “to burn him.”

88. Read הַלְבָרָכָה with four western manuscripts, and see the discussion above.

89. Reading with the majority of manuscripts against Paris 110’s אָשֶׁמָעַנְו. Paris 110 has the given form when it recurs at 8:13.
3mp: "to drown them" (1:9); “I will give them” (1:11); “I will destroy them” (1:13); "to see them" (2:11); “to reveal them” (5:10); "he brought them out” (6:2); "he indulged them” (6:2); "he gathered them” (6:2); "to humble them” (6:12); “to do good to them” (6:12).

2mp: “to redeem you” (8:4).

1cp: “draw us” (1:4).

### 3.1.3.3 Independent Object Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>תָּתּוֹ; לָלָתּוֹ</td>
<td>תָּתּוֹ; לָלָתּוֹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>לָלָה</td>
<td>n.a.; n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>n.a.; n.a.</td>
<td>תָּבָנּוֹ; לָלָתּוֹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>n.a.; n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.; n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>יֶדֶר</td>
<td>לָל</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two particles which may be used in Aramaic to mark the direct object of a sentence (when it is not attached to the verb). The first attested marker is the particle תָּתּוֹ, and the second is derived from the dative use of the preposition לָל. TgSong uses both תָּתּוֹ and לָל.

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90. Reading with the Yemenite recension and four western manuscripts against Paris 110’s לָשְׁנֶקְוֹתּוֹ. Note that there are variants with the suffix מֵוֹ.

91. Reading with the Yemenite recension and one western manuscript against Paris 110’s פְּנֶקְוֹתּוֹ.

92. Reading with the Yemenite recension and three western manuscripts against Paris 110’s נְכוֹשְׁנֶקְוֹתּוֹ.

93. Five Yemenite manuscripts and two western manuscripts have the form נְלוֹמֶכְוֹתּוֹ. Most other variants include a ו or או between the second and third radicals.

94. The marker תָּתּוֹ derives from the older תָּת /ʾiyyat/ (Degen, *Grammatik*, §36, §47, and
though there is a preference for יָּה. Both can be used with suffixes or independent nouns. As to the pronominal suffixes themselves, it is only with these and similar particles and prepositions that the third feminine singular suffix is י– rather than the longer אַי– in TgSong. This use of י– is in line with all other Aramaic dialects in such contexts. Similarly, the first common plural is the shortened י–, rather than the longer אֹי– attested in JLA. In his survey of the complex situation regarding object marking among the Aramaic dialects, Rubin points out that there are several matters to consider. On the one hand, there are temporal and geographical factors, and on the other hand, one should note whether a particular object marker is used with suffixes, independent nouns, both, or neither. Generally speaking, the late dialects tend to show an east–west split. The western dialects primarily use י, with –ל being a minority form; the eastern dialects use –ל. It is important to note that targumic texts very frequently use י as a translational equivalent of the Hebrew יָּה.

§71). The precise origin of this marker within its broader Semitic context has been much debated and is not germane to the discussion here. For a survey of the options, see Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization* (HSS 57; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns), 115–21.

95. There is no discernible translational correspondence with the underlying Hebrew יָּה. In fact, note that the Hebrew phrase אֲשֶׁרָבְתָּ וְהִשְבַּעְתִּי “I adjure you” is translated as אֲשֶׁרָבְתָּ וְהִשְבַּעְתִּי (TgSong 2:7), אֲשֶׁרָבְתָּ וְהִשְבַּעְתִּי (TgSong 3:5; 5:8), and אֲשֶׁרָבְתָּ וְהִשְבַּעְתִּי (TgSong 8:4).


98. Considering the texts that would have been at the disposal of TgSong’s writer, it is notable that BA primarily uses –ל, though there is one attestation of י (Dan 3:12), and JBA attests the use of י in archaic contexts and sayings attributed to Palestinian sages; Rubin, *Grammaticalization*, 95–96, 101.
3.1.3.4 Independent Possessive Pronouns

This possessive particle derives from the relative pronoun דיל with the preposition ל, and it is attested throughout the Aramaic dialects. Examples: דיליך “the head of the school, who is your leader” (4:4); דיליה “all the plunder, which would be plundered from the camp of Gog, will be his” (8:7).

3.1.4 Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ms</td>
<td>דָיוָן; זָדִים</td>
<td>ms (attributive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fs</td>
<td>(attributive) דָיוָן; זָדִים</td>
<td>fs (both attributive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp</td>
<td>(attributive) אָיוָן; זָדִים</td>
<td>mp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp</td>
<td>(attributive) אָיוָן; זָדִים</td>
<td>fp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Hasselbach, the Proto-West Semitic forms of the proximate demonstratives were *
\( \delta \tilde{\iota} \) (ms), *
\( \delta \tilde{a} \) (fs), and *
\( \textit{ul(\pm li)} \) (cp).\(^99\) To these original forms were frequently added a number of prefixes and suffixes, the most pertinent of which include the prefixes *
\( \textit{h\tilde{a}} \)- and *
\( \textit{han} \)- as well as the suffixes -n and *
\( \textit{n\tilde{a}} \).\(^100\) The distal demonstratives divide into two categories among the Semitic languages. They are either based on the near demonstrative with an added suffix or they are anaphoric pronouns.\(^101\) The Aramaic dialects exemplify all these various forms as a microcosm of the Semitic language family as a whole, but in addition to suffixes and prefixes, several dialects undergo further sound changes\(^102\) and

99. The long vowels of the singular demonstratives were reduced when consonantal suffixes were attached, as in *
\( \delta \tilde{\iota} \) > *
\( \tilde{\iota} \) in JBA, which led to the feminine singular


102. For instance, note the loss of medial \( \textit{\gamma} \) in JBA, which led to the feminine singular
add secondary forms for additional specificity. Relevant to TgSong is that some dialects use the prefix –ה to distinguish between demonstratives used as substantives and demonstratives used as adjectives. All of this has led to a number of paradigms which are dialect specific. The paradigm of demonstrative pronouns in TgSong is most similar to the dialects of JLA and JPA.

3.1.4.1 Proximate Demonstratives

The primary masculine singular proximate demonstrative in TgSong is דָּן, and all of the attestations function as substantives, as opposed to an attributive adjectival use. This is the spelling in JLA.Targumic JPA is similar, though the demonstrative is often defectively spelled, דָּן. While other forms are attested in non-Targumic JPA, דָּן is the primary masculine singular demonstrative pronoun. Another masculine singular demonstrative is attested in TgSong, דָּן. This is the demonstrative of BA, though it is spelled with a final ה in the biblical corpus. This demonstrative, דָּן, is also attested in Targumic JPA, but only proximal demonstrative דָּן < דָּן. See Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 81.
as an adverbial imitation of the Hebrew זֶה in time expressions. Similarly, all three attestations in TgSong (1:12; 2:17; 7:6) are used adverbially, either in the collocation מַן קְדָם (as in Daniel 6:11) or the related מַקְדָם דָּרוּ (as in Ezra 5:11) “previously.” Throughout LJLA, nineteen of the twenty-seven attestations of דָּרוּ occur in these collocations.

fs. The feminine singular demonstrative is אֲדַי when used as a substantive and אֲדַו when used as an attributive adjective, and all but one of the adjectival uses follow the modified noun. This is the same situation in JLA and the targumic manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah. Similarly, SA originally maintained a distinction between the substantival and adjectival demonstratives, but the forms are spelled with a final א instead of א.

cp. There is no agreement among the TgSong manuscripts concerning the common plural proximate demonstrative. Paris 110 uses the form אֲלָיִם and its attributive counterpart

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Cairo Geniza Study; vol. 1 (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1980), 65–66. The one exception is SYAP 13, a poem concerned with the events of Daniel 3. DJPA, 153.

110. See Fassberg, Grammar, 199 and 250 note 29; DJPA, 153. Note that it is spelled דָּדוּ in Neofiti and אֲדַו in the Cairo Genizah manuscripts.

111. See also TgJob 42:11; TgRuth 1:16; TgQoh 1:9 (twice), 12; 3:15; 7:10; 10:1, 7; 12:5; TgEsth I 1:1; Tg2Chr 9:11; TgPsJ Gen 5:3; 28:19; 36:20, 30.

112. The other attestations are TgJob 42:16; TgQoh 7:10; TgEsth I 4:11; Tg2Chr 21:18; 35:20; TgEsth II 6:1; TgPsJ Num 21:28; Deut 29:17.

113. TgSong 1:1; 6:10; 7:9; 8:5, 14; the one exception is in TgSong 1:1.

114. Lambdin, Introduction, 17; Fassberg, Grammar, 120–22; DJPA, 153. Note that JPA also has a number of additional demonstrative forms, including אֲדַו and אֲדַו, which primarily occur in non-Targumic texts. See Odeberg, Short Grammar, 7; Dalman, Grammatik, 111; Heijmans, “Morphology,” 22.

115. The substantival form is הָדַד and the adjectival form is הָדַד; eventually the demonstrative הָדַד replaced both forms and was used in all environments; Tal, Samaritan Aramaic, 43.
האילין in every attestation. This form, with an added diphthong indicated by the doubled "י, (ha)ʾellayin, is a JPA innovation.\textsuperscript{116} It is a secondary form in the Cairo Genizah manuscripts, frequent in Neofiti after Genesis 41:35,\textsuperscript{117} and it is the standard form in Fragment Targum P.\textsuperscript{118} The Yemenite recension is equally consistent with the forms אִלֵּין and אֻלֵּין, forms that are frequent in Targumic JPA and the Cairo Genizah manuscripts of the Palestinian Talmud.\textsuperscript{119} Other manuscripts of the western recension either have the same forms as the Yemenite recension or the forms more common in JLA and the printed editions of JPA, אָלֵין and אֵלָין.\textsuperscript{120} The defective forms אֵלִין and אֻלֵּין are rarely attested.\textsuperscript{121} The evidence from other LJLA texts is equally mixed.

3.1.4.2 Distal Demonstratives

The distal demonstratives have been replaced by independent pronouns being used as demonstratives.

ms. The masculine singular distal demonstrative in TgSong is דָּרוֹשׁ, and it is always used attributively. This is the same as JLA, JPA, and early SA.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{116} DJPA, 153.

\textsuperscript{117} Forms with the diphthong are attested only six times in Genesis, but they are attested 50 times in Deuteronomy. It is likely that this is another example of the “Kaufman Effect.”

\textsuperscript{118} Manuscript V primarily uses the form אִלֵּין.

\textsuperscript{119} DJPA, 153; Fassberg, Grammar, 120; Golomb, Grammar, 55; Heijmans, “Morphology,” 22. The demonstrative אָלֵין also occurs in BA; Rosenthal, Grammar, §32. SA has the form רָאֵל, but it begins with an /ā/ vowel, which is an unlikely vocalization in TgSong; Tal, Samaritan Aramaic, 43–44.

\textsuperscript{120} Dalman, Grammatik, 111; Lambdin, Introduction, 21.

\textsuperscript{121} JPA also has forms with an initial diphthong, but these forms are not attested in TgSong.

\textsuperscript{122} DJPA, 159; Lambdin, Introduction, 17; Fassberg, Grammar, 121; Golomb, Grammar,
The feminine singular distal demonstrative is "היא," but there are a number of complications that have led to many variants among the manuscripts. First, all of the attestations in TgSong are attributive, but both forms are used without any apparent difference in function. It seems that the morphological distinction between attributive and substantive demonstratives, which is represented by a prefixed "ה" in JLA, JPA, and early SA, is not maintained in TgSong (see the examples below). Certain manuscripts, particularly of the Yemenite recension, maintain a morphological distinction, but this is accompanied by confusion over the preposition ("ב"), which is usually present. Second, the majority of attestations are preceded by a preposition, either the prefixed "ו" or "ב" “in; at; with.” The latter preposition, which is known from JBA, has especially caused confusion among the manuscripts. In some manuscripts (once again, this is frequent in the Yemenite recension), the prepositions are changed to the more common inseparable "ב" preposition. At other times, this separable preposition is adjoined to the demonstrative as an inseparable preposition. Note the form in Paris 110 at TgSong 2:15: "שעתא ביהיא." Some manuscripts have the form "בההיא" while others have "היא ביה." One manuscript has the form "ב יא היא".

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55; Dalman, *Grammatik*, 112; Heijmans, “Morphology,” 26; Tal, *Samaritan Aramaic*, 44. Note that non-Targumic JPA has a number of additional forms.

123. Some attributive demonstratives follow the noun that they modify, and others precede the noun.


125. Epstein, *Grammar*, 137; *DJBA* 199. While the JBA preposition derives from "בין" “between,” all TgSong attestations occur in temporal adverbial constructions (e.g. “at that time”) or function as an instrumental preposition (e.g. “by that merit” [1:8]).

126. On other occasions, the form "ביה היא" is attested in some manuscripts.
with an inseparable preposition and an attributive demonstrative pronoun with a prefixed –ה. 127 Third, there are two masculine nouns that mean “time,” זִמְנָה and זָמִן, which are modified by an attributive demonstrative pronoun. 128 As with JLA conventions, the demonstrative is usually the masculine זִמְנָה in the Yemenite recension, but it is usually the feminine זָמִין in the western recension.

The constructions with feminine demonstrative pronouns are undoubtedly correct for LJLA. The word זָמִין is attested in the constructions זִמְנָה זָמִין (three times), 129 זִמְנָה זָמִין (twice), 130 and זָמִין זִמְנָה (three times). 131 In fact, זָמִין is modified by a masculine demonstrative only three times in TgPsJ, once in TgQoh; on two occasions, TgLam attests the same Yemenite (masculine)–western (feminine) distinction as in TgSong. 132 The evidence for זָמִין is more striking; it is never modified by a masculine demonstrative pronoun in LJLA.

127. Note that this preposition is used with reference to time elsewhere in LJLA, all without the prefixed –ה on the demonstrative. TgPsJ has ב א֫י זִמְנָה at Deut 9:19; 32:8 (twice) and ב א֫י זָמִין at Gen 3:4; Num 22:28; Deut 22:22. Note, also, the phrase בַּהּ שִׁעַתָּא “at that moment” in BA Dan 3:6, 15; 4:30; 5:5.

128. TgSong 3:11; 6:9; 8:1, 8, 10.

129. TgPsJ Deut 9:19; 32:8 (twice); none of the attestations are paralleled in the other pentateuchal targumim.

130. TgPsJ Gen 14:18; 27:1; neither attestation is paralleled in the other pentateuchal targumim.

131. TgPsJ Deut 9:19; 10:10 (also in Neofiti); TgEsth II 8:15.

132. TgPsJ Gen 15:1; 29:9; Exod 12:26; TgQoh 7:19; TgLam 3:56; 5:5.
Instead, the construction **בָּעֵדְנָהּimited** is the standard. All twenty attestations in TgPsJ are matched by **בָּעֵדְנָהּlimited** in Onqelos and **בָּעֵדְנָהּlimited** in Neofiti.

### 3.1.5 Relative Pronouns

The primary relative pronoun in TgSong is the prefixed –ד, with several hundred attestations. Paris 110 has twenty-six attestations of the older ד, but the majority of manuscripts have the prefixed form for these as well. In addition to these basic relative pronouns, TgSong attests the use of two indefinite relative pronouns. The first is –ד **מאן** “whoever,” and it is common throughout the dialects. The spelling with the נ is frequent in late Jewish texts as a way of disambiguating it from the preposition מינ** from.” It can be further qualified by כל in the phrase –ד **מאן כל** “anyone.” The second is –ד **מא** “what, whatever,” and it combines the interrogative pronoun **מא** “what” with the prefixed relative marker –ד. It can be further qualified by כל in the phrase –ד **מא כל** “everything.” This is also a

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133. TgPsJ Gen 21:22; 38:1; Num 22:4; Deut 1:9, 16, 18; 2:34; 3:4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 23; 4:14; 5:5; 9:20; 10:1, 8; 31:17–18; Tg1Chr 21:28–29; Tg2Chr 7:8; 13:18; 16:7, 10; 21:10; 28:16; 35:17; TgPs 45:18; TgEsth I 8:9.

134. TgSong 1:1, 6, 8; 2:3, 4, 5, 12, 15 (twice), 17; 3:5, 6 (twice), 8 (twice), 10; 4:1, 11; 6:1, 11; 7:3 (twice), 6 (twice), 11; 8:14. On only three occasions (3:6 [twice]; 4:11) is the ד attested in a genitive phrase. All other attestations are simple relative clauses.

135. The original */ðī/ is written as (ך) in the OA corpus (Segert, Grammatik, §5.1.5). This is standard in IA as well, even though the voiced interdental merged with /d/ by this time, as is evidenced by the few attestations of ד (Folmer, Aramaic Language, 55). The form in BA is ד (Rosenthal, Grammar, §36), and that is the standard in QA (Muraoka, Grammar, 152), though prefixed forms are attested as well. The dialects of Late Aramaic all attest to the exclusive or predominant use of the prefixed form.

136. *DJPA* 316 and *DJBA* 636. Compare the spelling –ד מינ in JLA; Cook, Glossary, 156.
common relative construction among the dialects, though the construction – мясא ד – is more standard in JBA.137

**Examples**

Examples: בותמק יא אתחוהל ליר בר: “in the moment that a son was given to her” (1:1); שומלד רהישה יד נור ליהל בור: “the wicked Amalek, who had held a grudge against them” (2:15); בותמק חונשת תניי רד: “the sons of Jacob, who gathered stones” (4:1); בכות מוקדש חונשת יד נוקל אבוטנ: “the second temple, which was built” (6:11); ארורלו דאיאלו די יていきます עירק מתחל: “men of the great assembly, who are compared to roses” (7:3); ליוואר אנדילל: “a young gazelle of a deer which, when it flees, looks behind it” (8:14).

– מיאן דמא. Examples: דאייתיהב מאן כל: “anyone who became guilty” (1:14); מאן דהון: “to whomever keeps them” (5:11).

– מא. Examples: ליוואר אנדילל: “you have heard what I said to him” (2:12); אולל ליוואר מא דרמשאר: “eat whatever remains” (5:1); אולל ליוואר מא דרמשאר: “everything that you do” (8:13).

### 3.1.6 Interrogative Pronouns

מא “what?” This interrogative is common throughout the Aramaic dialects, though it is deemed archaic and dialectal by Sokoloff in JBA.138 There is some variation concerning the spelling מא and מיא, the form with מיא being more prevalent in JPA and SA.139 Examples: мясא

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137. *DJBA* 635; the construction – мясא ד – is archaic and dialectal; see *DJBA* 643.


139. *DJA*, 61; *DJP A*, 293; *DSA*, 453.
“what did the Holy One do?” (1:9);
“what is this chosen nation?” (3:6);
“what is the merit of this people?” (8:5).

ללא “to where, whither?” [لا + לא]. This interrogative is a combination of the preposition –ל “to” and the adverbial לא “where,” a western adverbial that is alternatively spelled הנ in IA. There are consequently two forms of the interrogative attested in later dialects: לא and התה לא. The form התה is standard in SA and CPA; the form לא is standard in JLA. JPA attests the use of both forms, though the form התה predominates in non-Targumic texts. Example: לאן האור לא מתים רדפנימ “to what place did your beloved turn?” (6:1).

מן “from where, whence?” [מן + לא]. This interrogative is attested in the western recension of TgSong. It is also attested in JLA and JPA; JBA, on the other hand, has the form מנה, with the loss of final ת. The Yemenite recension of TgSong has the form מנה(ו) known from RH. Example: מנה היה_Logos “from where was wine for them?” (1:14).

140. Roughly half of the manuscripts have the form בה.
141. On this form, see Morphology 3.2.2.1.
142. Sokoloff regards it as dialectal in JBA; see DJBA, 143.
143. This is only attested in Idumean ostraca. Otherwise, IA uses the form לא. See DNWSI, 79.
144. Cook, Glossary, 16; Tal, Language, 41, 49; DJPA, 278; DSA, 45; DCPA, 196. See also TgProv 21:1; TgRuth 2:19. The attestations in TgPsJ likewise occur in Onqelos.
145. Cook, Glossary, 157; Tal, Language, 56; DJPA, 218; DJBA, 685. See also TgJob 1:7; 2:2. The attestations in TgPsJ likewise occur in Onqelos.
למה "why?" This interrogative is common throughout the Aramaic dialects from MA onwards. There is some variation concerning the spelling למה and لماذا, however, the form with ה being more prevalent in JPA and SA. Example: למה דִּי וַיהוָה מַטְלֵטִין בֵּית עֲדוֹר בֶּן דַּעַשׁ דָּוִד why should they be wandering among the flocks of the sons of Esau and Ishmael? (1:7).

אידין/דין אי “which?” The interrogative pronoun, אידין, is attested in JBA and three times in TgJon. Paris 110 and one other western manuscript have the form אידין, whereas all other manuscripts have the form דין אי. The form with a space is also attested in certain manuscripts of TgQoh 2:3, 6 (but not 11:6). Examples: אידין Which God do you seek to worship? (5:9); דין אי Concerning which sin did the Divine Presence of the Lord depart from your midst? (6:1).

איכדין/היכדין “how?” and “how?” These two interrogatives are related in meaning in TgSong, and there is accordingly some overlap among the manuscripts. The first, איכדין, is attested throughout JLA, and the Yemenite recension tends to solely use this interrogative.

146. Jastrow, Dictionary, 796.
147. DJPA, 284; DSA, 439.
148. ChW, 1:24; Tal, Language, 13; DJBA, 111; DSA, 23. SA similarly has אידין. In contrast to this, JPA and CPA have the forms אידין and אידין, respectively; see DJPA, 162; DCPA 98.
149. Cook, Glossary, 10; Tal, Language, 54. Note that the attestations in Neofiti (which are not consistently spelled) are all paralleled in Onqelos. There are no attestations in the Fragment Targum or the Cairo Genizah manuscripts.
The second is הרך and it is attested in JPA. Some of the western TgSong manuscripts use this form, but others confuse this with the adverb הרך “thus; just as.” Elsewhere in LJLA, eight of the nine examples in TgPsJ use המר, and TgPs only uses המר. TgChr, however, attests איכדין in both of its occurrences (TgChr 13:12; 2Chr 10:6). In the targumim to the Writings, aside from TgEsth I & II, there is a preference for איכדין. Examples: איכדין how will they be supported?” (1:7); וריקניא צדיא לארע בניהון מעיל אנא ויכדין “how can I cause their children to enter a desolate and empty land?” (3:5); ליהדר אנפין לי יהוה ויכדין “how can I have the face to return? (5:3).

3.1.7 Reflexive Pronouns

TgSong utilizes the noun נפש “soul, life” with an attached pronominal suffix to serve as a reflexive pronoun at 6:12. This construction is common throughout all of the later

150. DJPA 164.
151. DJPA, 164.
152. TgPsJ Gen 26:9; 37:30; 44:8, 34; Exod 6:12; Deut 7:17; 18:21; 32:30; the one TgPsJ exception mirrors the Onqelos text at Gen 39:9. See TgPs 11:1; 66:13; 73:11, 19; 137:4.
153. In TgRuth 3:18, all but one manuscript use איכדין. Similarly, the manuscripts are nearly unanimous in using איכדין in four of the five attestations in TgQoh: 2:6; 4:11; 5:8; 11:5; the one exception is 6:8. The same Yemenite–western distinction seen in TgSong is attested in TgLam, where the Yemenite recension uses איכדין in TgLam 1:1; 2:1; 4:1, 2, but the western recension uses רך in the latter two instances. Notably, TgEsth I 1:13; 8:6; TgEsth II 6:11 have רך.
dialects of Aramaic and is attested in Hebrew as well.  

Example: “I will take counsel with myself” (6:12).

### 3.1.8 Reciprocal Pronouns

All of the reciprocal constructions in TgSong utilize a repetition of demonstrative pronouns. This is attested in BA, the targumim, JPA, SA, CPA, and older JBA.  

Examples: המים dia, "The Israelites were saying to each other" (7:13); לא everything dia, “all of them are like each other” (6:6).

### 3.1.9 Indefinite Pronouns

 אחרון “other.” This form with an initial א is attested from OA through the dialects of MA. Other than JBA, there is a tendency in the late dialects to lose the initial א, though JPA often attests historic spellings. In the targumic literature, אחרון א is exclusively attested in JLA, the Fragment Targum, and the Cairo Genizah manuscripts, but אחרון is frequently attested in Neofiti. There is a mixture of forms in the texts of LJLA, though אחרון א is maintained in the orthography, but it is written with a linea occultans; MD, 137.

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156. DNWSI, 41; Vogt, Lexicon, 31; DIA, 30.

157. DJPA, 38, 92; DJBA, 105; DSA, 20; DCPA, 123; SL, 29 (the א is maintained in the orthography, but it is written with a linea occultans); MD, 137.

158. Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 141. Compare the forms in DJPA at 38 (אחרון) and 192 (חרון).
predomina
tes in the targumim to the Writings. 159 Example: א"וחי אורותינן “other tablets” (1:14).

This indefinite pronoun is common throughout the Aramaic dialects, but its form is quite variable. In the lone TgSong attestation, most of the western manuscripts have the form
מדעם while the Yemenite recension has the plene spelling.

The defective form is the primary form in JLA, but the plene form is attested as a minority form. This word, with and without the י, is also attested in JPA, JBA, and certain SA texts. 160

Example: לא תבין מdeer Bệnh ‘there was not in them anything bad” (4:3).

### 3.2 Nouns

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<th>Masculine</th>
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### 3.2.1 Number and Gender

Proto-Aramaic inherited a nominal inflection system that included singular, plural, and dual. From the earliest Aramaic texts, however, the dual was a limited morphological feature, being mostly restricted to natural pairs. 161 The dual eventually gave way to a binary

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159. TgJob is an exception. On the distribution in TgPsJ, see Cook, “‘Kaufman Effect,’” 127–28.

160. Cook, Glossary, 146; Tal, Language, 16–17; DJPA, 303; DJBA 664 (archaic); DSA, 452.

161. Degen, Grammatik, §33d; Muraoka-Porten, Grammar, 64–65; Rosenthal, Grammar,
system of singular and plural, though remnants of the dual may still be evident in certain unproductive forms.\textsuperscript{162} As is common throughout the Semitic languages, Aramaic nouns are either masculine or feminine. While feminine nouns are often morphologically marked, there are a few grammatically feminine nouns which are unmarked in the singular or have masculine morphemes in the plural; this includes some of the most frequent feminine nouns. Likewise, a few grammatically masculine nouns have feminine morphemes in the plural.\textsuperscript{163}

3.2.2 State

3.2.2.1 Absolute State

Masculine singular nouns in the absolute state are unmarked, whereas masculine plural nouns end in īn/. There are a few occurrences of the Hebraic or archaic ס– among the TgSong manuscripts, but these are rare.\textsuperscript{164} As is the case in JLA, early JBA manuscripts, CPA, and Syriac, the few attestations of feminine singular absolute forms in TgSong are marked with a final ā<)/<*/-at/. Note the following:

\begin{itemize}
  \item "barren female" (TgSong 4:2; 6:6)
  \item "signet ring" (TgSong 8:6, twice)
\end{itemize}

There is more of a tendency to use in in

\textsuperscript{162.} Bar-Asher Siegal, \textit{Introduction}, 54.

\textsuperscript{163.} Concerning specific nouns in TgSong, see the discussion on Noun Patterns in Morphology 3.2.3.


\textsuperscript{165.} Note, however, the phrase אשמה בחירהathamah "chosen nation" (3:6) in Paris 110. Most of the other manuscripts have the expected אשמה. Interestingly, the attributive adjective is a feminine emphatic singular form.
The feminine absolute plural ending is הناسım, pronounced /-ān/, as in תהנום “praise, hymn” (TgSong 1:1; 4:11). This is the common Aramaic ending.

The absolute state was originally the unmarked form of the noun; it came to be used with indefinite nouns by IA, whereas the emphatic state was used with definite nouns. The determinative force of the emphatic state was lost in the late eastern dialects, and the emphatic state supplanted the absolute state as the unmarked form of the nouns in those dialects. Consequently, the absolute state was relegated to a few uses, such as quantifiers, predicate adjectives, and existential clauses. The absolute state in TgSong is not limited to these specific uses.

### 3.2.2.2 Construct State

Masculine singular nouns are unmarked in the construct state. Masculine plural nouns are marked with a final י, as was the case with the old dual. This morpheme was originally the diphthong /-ay/, but this contracts to /-ê/ in all late dialects besides Syriac. The absolute state in TgSong is not limited to these specific uses.

### Footnotes


167. An orthography of הناس is also attested. The ending /-ān/ is an analogical change based on the masculine /-ān/; it was originally */-āt/.

168. For a list of uses of the absolute state in JBA, see Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, 61–65; for a similar list in Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, 151–158.

169. Segert, *Grammatik*, §5.2.4.2.4. This contraction is seen as early as the Tiberian vocalization of BA. See Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §42.

inherited feminine singular is /-at/, and the feminine plural is /-āt/; both are orthographically represented as 𐎢. While the use of construct phrases to represent a genitival relationship is attested throughout the Aramaic dialects, other ways of expressing the genitive are increasingly common in the later dialects.¹⁷²

### 3.2.2.3 Emphatic State

TgSong always spells the masculine singular emphatic state with a final 𐎢. This orthographic practice is inherited from OA and continued through the majority of MA dialects and into JLA, JBA, CPA, and Syriac.¹⁷³ Spellings with 𐎢 are attested as early as the Hermopolis letters and become quite common in the western dialects of QA, JPA, and SA.¹⁷⁴

Aside from the exceptions delineated below, the ending of masculine plural emphatic nouns in TgSong is 𐎢(-)/ waypoints. A minority form 𐎢(-)/, is also attested. The first and older form is 𐎢(-)/ waypoints. The second form, 𐎢(-)/,¹⁷⁵ is attested as early as the Proverbs of Aḥiqar in the word ḫēma “the peoples,”¹⁷⁶ and it is frequent in the Uruk incantation.¹⁷⁷ The plural

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¹⁷¹. Some scribes orthographically indicate the plural forms with the spelling 𐎢–.

¹⁷². On genitive constructions in TgSong, see Syntax 4.2.1.1.


¹⁷⁵. This may ultimately derive from Akkadian influence; see Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 127–28.

¹⁷⁶. TAD C1 1.98, 189.

ending /-ē/ is attested as a minority form among certain Middle Aramaic dialects, largely in geographical distribution. Eventually, the form of the masculine plural emphatic noun becomes a major isogloss between the late eastern and western dialects, with the western dialects using /-ayyā/ and the eastern dialects using /-ē/. 179

The eastern plural forms in TgSong primarily occur in lists, and several of the words are only known from eastern dialects. For instance, in TgSong 1:17 and 3:9 there are lists of trees whose lumber is used to construct temples. TgSong 1:17 concludes with בְּרָאוֹתָם וֶשָּׁמָאִי: נוּרְבָּכִין “junipers and teaks and cypresses.” The last two nouns (teaks and cypresses) are only attested in eastern dialects. 180 TgSong 4:6 includes a list of demons: מיֵית וְטלֵיָה וְטַהַרְיָה וְתַשְּׁהֵרְיָה “imps and shadow demons and morning demons and midday demons.” Alexander states that the targumist is making an allusion to Ps 91:5–6, 182 but the strongest parallel is found in the Aaronic blessing of TgPsJ Num 6:24–26. All four of these demons attested in TgSong 4:6 are likewise attested in TgPsJ Num 6:24, and the רֵי (“midday demons” and תַלְמֵרְיָה “morning demons” are only attested in these two passages. Notably, after this list of


179. Note that JLA uses the western form שַׁאֹמָא, though there are a few eastern forms -א that are attested in both Onqelos and Jonathan. See the previous note.

180. For שַׁאֹמָא, see DJBA, 1124; SL, 1535, MD, 457. For גִּנֵבָלָא, see DJBA, 1108; SL, 1507; MD, 439. TgSong 3:9 has the list גִּנֵבָלָא וְטַשָּׁמָא וַשָּׁרְבָּנִי: זַנְגְּבַלֶא “ginger and teaks and cypresses.” The word גִּנֵבָלָא is likewise an eastern word, perhaps Persian; see DJBA, 417; SL, 388; MD, 160.

181. Reading with the majority of western manuscripts against Paris 110’s צֶרְדִּידִי מִדָּק and the Yemenite דִּיר, both nonsensical.

four demons, the targumist returns to western plurals in the same verse with the מַזִּיקָא מַחְבֵּלָא “imps and destroyer angels.” Based on these examples, it seems reasonable to posit that the targumist is drawing from standardized lists and does not feel that it is necessary or appropriate to change the morphological form.

In addition to these lists there are a handful of other nouns with eastern plural morphemes in TgSong. Note the word חיי in the construction אֲלַלְכָּא דָּהִי “tree of life” (TgSong 4:12); this collocation is also attested elsewhere in LJLA: TgProv 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4; TgJob 28:7. The verb רַכְבּ “to mount, ride” occurs twice in TgSong 6:8, and the manuscripts attest a number of different forms. Paris 110 reads רַכְבּ על מַסָּא ... רַכְבּ על מָלִיָא “riders upon horses ... riders upon elephants.” Fontela places a dot above the י in the first attestation, indicating that it is uncertain. Furthermore, six manuscripts have רַכְבּ, and this is undoubtedly correct. Some Yemenite manuscripts have the collocation חָלִי (ו) כְּנוֹפֶךָ “antimony stones” in their list of jewels in TgSong 5:14. Note, also, the word מְפַטְּרִי.  

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183. The Yemenite recension has חיימ.
184. The Yemenite recension has a third attestation, but this should read דָּהִי (ו) כְּנוֹפֶךָ “leaders,” as in the western recension.
185. It is possible that the י– ending was influenced by the immediately preceding phrase מַלְוָשָׁא שֶׁרְיִיתָא, “clothed of chain mail”; additionally, this 말ְוָשָׁא may have precipitated some of the other variants, such as רַכְבּ (a passive participle in construct) and רַכְבּ (an anomalous form).
186. Other Yemenite manuscripts simply have the word מְפַטְּרִי.
187. Several manuscripts have the absolute singular form מְפַטְּר ה or the absolute plural form מְפַטְּרִי. TgPsJ often has the form מְפַטְּרִי, but the form מְפַטְּרִי is attested in the verse which is the closest parallel to the TgSong context, Exod 12:8.
“unleavened bread” (TgSong 2:9) and the phrases דְּבֵי הָעִזִּים מְדִי בַּילַעַט (TgSong 1:8) and מְדִי בַּילַעַט תִּפְרֵי (TgSong 8:2).189

The feminine singular emphatic form is תַּא in TgSong, as in מַהַתַּא מְדוּלְתָא “circumcision” (TgSong 2:9). The plural form is תַּא or תַּא– תַּא, as in תַּא (א) חַפְּסָא “lives” (TgSong 2:15). The former is common Aramaic, and the latter is influenced by JBA spelling conventions.190

The emphatic state is used to indicate determination in IA,191 and this continued in the MA dialects.192 The determinative force of the emphatic state is lost in the late eastern dialects, and the emphatic state replaces the absolute state as the unmarked form of the noun.193 While the emphatic state never replaced the absolute state as the normal form of the noun.

188. While this could be a masculine plural construct form, we expect the head noun and dependent noun to agree in state in this kind of genitival construction; Cook, “Aramaic Language and Literature,” 180.

189. Note that the underlying Hebrew has the form רִמֹּנִי “my pomegranate,” and see the discussion in Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 191.


noun in the late western dialects, evidence suggests that the determinative force began to weaken in at least SA and CPA.  

### 3.2.3 Noun and Adjective Patterns

As is the case in all of the Semitic languages, Aramaic nouns and adjectives are comprised of a root of three consonants, though roots of two or four consonants occasionally occur. A particular sequence of vowels is inserted into the radicals, and the resulting form is a pattern or base. Various prefixes or suffixes may also be added to this pattern.

Given that various vowel changes occurred in different Aramaic dialects, a number of the noun patterns have merged or exhibit partial mergers. What follows is a representative sample of nouns and adjectives attested in TgSong. They are organized according to their presumed underlying form in TgSong. Preference has been given to nouns and adjectives which show dialectal differences through their consonantal orthography, and discussion of such differences is provided in the footnotes. For each word, one reference is given for each attested form. Common differences among the manuscripts, such as the 3ms suffix /ay, are not discussed in this section.


195. For the most recent treatment, see Fox, *Semitic Noun Patterns*.

196. For a diagram of the mergers that have taken place in the Cairo Genizah targum manuscripts, see Fassberg, *Grammar*, 137.
3.2.3.1 Monosyllabic Base, Two Consonants

*qal

*ʾab “father”: אב (s. con., 7:5); ámb (s. emph., 7:5); אב (s., 3ms suff., 1:13);

ʾaḥ “brother”: אח (abs. s., 8:1); אח (pl. [!], 2mp suff., 2:7); אחים (pl. [!], 3mp suff., 7:8)

ʾaḥ-ā “sister”: אחות (s. [!], 1cs suff., 4:10); לאה (s., 1cp suff., 8:8)

*bar “son”: בר (con. s., 3:4); בר (s., 3ms suff., 6:2); בנים (abs. pl., 4:13); בנים (con. pl., 3:5); בנים (pl., 3ms suff., 4:1); בננה (pl., 3fs suff., 8:10); בנין (pl., 1cs suff., 8:10); בנים (pl., 1cp suff., 1:16); בנין (pl., 2mp suff., 2:7); בנים (pl., 3mp suff., 3:5)

197. Some manuscripts have אבונא, as in JLA.

198. Across the Aramaic dialects, the form אוח is the singular form of the word before suffixes; אוח is the plural form of the word before suffixes. The context in both TgSong 2:7 and 7:8 requires that the nouns be plural, and whereas all Yemenite manuscripts have the expected אוח at both verses, the western recension is almost unanimous in reading אוח. One explanation is that the western consonantal structure is formed on analogy with the noun carrying 3ms suffixes (אוחה), which is /-ū(h)ī/ in the singular and /-ō(h)ī/ in the plural. More likely, the singular form has leveled across the paradigm to the plural form. This plural form אוח with suffixes is frequent in other LJLA texts as well; note TgJob 42:15; TgQoh 7:4 (some manuscripts); TgLam 1:3; most of the attestations in TgChr (throughout the genealogies); TgPsJ Exod 13:17; Lev 7:35; 8:15; Deut 3:18, 20; 18:15, 18; 33:9, 10. This does not take place in other Aramaic dialects.

199. The doubled ה suggests a pronunciation like the plural form of this noun across the dialects. Context requires that this and the other attestations of this form (4:9; 5:1, 2) are singular since they are governed by 3fs passive participles. The same form is likewise attested in TgJob 17:14. There are variants among the TgSong manuscripts that include ארות (which could still be the same pronunciation of consonantal ה or the underlying Hebrew pronunciation אורות) and אורות (which could be the form of אורות as in JLA and other dialects going back to IA [e.g. TAD A2 1.1] or the underlying Hebrew form).
*yad “hand”: ר (con. s., 8:11); יד (s., 3ms suff., 6:11); יד (s., 2ms suff., 1:11); יד (pl., 3ms suff., 1:2); יד (pl., 1cs suff., 1:17); יד (pl., 3mp suff., 6:9); יד (pl., 2mp suff., 3:5)

*qul

*חומ-א < * ويم-א “heat”: חומתא (emph. s., 1:7)

*pum(m) < *pim “mouth”: פום (con. s., 2:4); פומ (s., 3ms suff., 2:7); פ (s., 3fs suff., 2:14); פומ (s., 3mp suff., 6:5); פ (s., 2fs suff., 5:2)

*שם < *שמ “name”: שום (abs. and con. s., 2:7; 4:10); שמנה (emph. s., 2:17); שמנה (s., 3ms suff., 8:9); שמנה (s., 2ms suff., 1:3); שמנה (s., 1cs suff., 5:1); שמנה (s., 3mp suff., 7:9)

*qāl

*dār “generation”: דרא (emph. s., 1:9); דרים (s., 3fs suff., 1:8); דרים (emph. pl., 7:14)

200. One western manuscript and all but one of the Yemenite manuscripts have חומתא, which one Yemenite manuscript orthographically makes explicit with the form חימתא. All of the other western manuscripts have the given form with ו, which does not occur elsewhere in Aramaic. Every other dialect has some kind of /i/ vowel. The ו may be the result of confusion with י; otherwise, the change to an /u/ vowel could be due to the following bilabial.

201. BA spells the word פום (Vogt, Lexicon, 274), and the later dialects exhibit an east–west distinction. Eastern dialects (and JLA) spell with an /u/ vowel (DJBA, 687; Cook, Glossary, 222; SL, 1165; MD, 368), and western dialects spell with an /i/ vowel (DJP A, 437; DSA, 687; DCP A, 333). In TgSong, Paris 110 usually spells פום; the other manuscripts spell פומ. The majority of LJLA attestations are פומ.

202. Several Aramaic dialects (e.g. JPA, JLA, JBA) attest to both medial /i/ and /u/ in the absolute or construct states. With only two exceptions (7:1; 8:1) in two Yemenite manuscripts, TgSong spells שום in forms without sufformatives.

203. Some manuscripts have emphatic singular forms.
*ṭāb “good, fine”: טב (abs. m.s., 1:11); טב (emph. m.s., 1:10); טבין (abs. m.pl., 4:4);

*ṭב (abs. f.pl., 4:10); אטב (emph. m.pl., 1:3)

*‘āq-ā “distress”: עקתן 204 (s., 1cp suff., 8:14)

*qāl “sound, voice, rumor”: קל (con. s., 5:2); קליה (s., 3ms suff., 2:5); קליך (s., 2fs suff., 2:14)

*šā ‘ā “moment, hour”: ושעה (emph. s., 2:15); ושעים 205 (abs. pl., 1:1)

*qīl

*bīṣ < *ba ṭā “bad, evil”:206 ביש (m. abs. s., 4:3); בישה (m. emph. s., 2:6); ביש (f. abs. pl., 2:2); בישה (m. abs. pl., 5:3); אבישה 207 (m. emph. pl., 5:3)

*mūr < *mūr “myrrh”:208 מיר (emph. s., 4:14; 5:13)

*nūr “yoke”: נר (con. s., 5:3); נרה (emph. s., 1:10)

*pīl “elephant”: פילים (abs., s., 7:5); פילים (emph. pl., 6:8)

*qūl

*lāh “tablet”: לוח (con., s., 4:9); לוחה (emph. s., 8:9); לוחי (con. pl., 1:2); לוחים 209 (emph. pl., 1:14)

204. Variants include an emphatic form ושעתא and the JBA suffix עקתשׁ “our distress.”

205. Three Yemenite manuscripts have שענו, the absolute plural form of the word in JLA (cf. TgIsa 38:8). The absolute plural form of the noun is שעני in JPA, SA, CPA, and Syriac (*DJP A, 561; *DSA, 917; *DCPA, 438; *SL, 1584).

206. Note that the BA form of the word is באיש (Vogt, *Lexicon*, 65).

207. This is attested in most of the manuscripts, in contrast to Paris 110.

208. The form with י is an LJLA form also attested in TgPs 45:9; TgEsth II 2:5, 12. The Yemenite recension and one western manuscript have the common Aramaic form מורה. See Lexical Stock 5.6.1.

209. Many manuscripts have a slightly different phrase from that in Paris 110 and have an
*rūḥ “spirit, wind”: רוח (con., s., 1:1); רוחה (emph. s., 5:2); רוחים (con. pl., 2:6)

* qēl

*ḥôb < *ḥawb “sin”: חובה (emph. s., 6:1); חביב (abs. pl., 6:1); חיבים (con. pl., 1:14); חביבים (pl., 2fs suff., 7:7); חביבות (pl., 2mp suff., 3:3); חביבות (pl., 3mp suff., 4:3)

3.2.3.2 Monosyllabic Base, Three Consonants

*qatl

*’abn “stone”: אבן (emph. s., 1:2); אבני (abs. pl., 5:13); אבניים (emph. pl., 3:10)

*gabr “man”: גבר (abs. s., 5:2); גביר (emph. s., 6:2); גביר (abs. pl., 4:12)

absolute plural form לוחמי.

210. Variants include בaira and ביארה. Historic spellings with א are attested in JPA, SA, and Syriac (DJP4, 101; DSA, 76; SL, 114).

211. None of the TgSong manuscripts exhibit any consistency regarding the orthography of this word. BA spells with an א (Vogt, Lexicon, 300), and historic spellings are attested in JPA (DJP4, 510).

212. The Yemenite recension and one western manuscript read רישה.

213. Several manuscripts read זוכי; three Yemenite manuscripts have the feminine synonym זוכית instead.

214. Forms with an /u/ vowel are first attested in BA (Vogt, Lexicon, 79) and are likewise attested in the later Jewish dialects. There is often confusion between this word and gibbār “warrior” in the TgSong manuscripts.
*hayl “strength, army”: חיל (abs. s., 3:11); חילא (emph. s., 7:3); חילוהו (pl., 3ms suff., 8:4)

*taby “gazelle”: טביא (emph. s., 7:4)

*kasp “silver; money”: כסף (abs. s., 3:10); כספתא (emph. s., 8:9); כספהו (s., 3fs suff., 8:9)

*malk “king”: מלכּא (emph. s., 2:8); מלכּים (abs. pl., 6:12); מלכּין (emph. pl., 4:9); מלכים (pl., 3mp suff., 1:15)

*napš “life, soul”: נשּ (emph. pl., 2:15); נשּי (s., 1cs suff., 8:1); נשּתי (pl., 3mp suff., 4:12)

*ʿayn “eye”:

215. There are many variants on this form, the most significant of which is that three western manuscripts indicate the presence of the original diphthong (חוֹלָהוּ), as in BA, JPA, and Syriac (Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §51; *DJP A*, 199; *SL*, 447).

216. Several manuscripts have a defectively spelled נשּתי; context indicates that the noun is plural.

217. The diphthong is retained in JPA, Syriac, and certain contexts of BA (*DJP A*, 403; *SL*, 1097). It collapses in JLA, JBA, and SA (Cook, *Glossary*, 209; *DJB A*, 855; *DSA*, 632).

218. Note that the misplacement of the diphthong (for the suffix) caused the scribe to add a כ when the expected form is עיני (con. pl., 8:10); עינִי (pl., 2fs suff., 1:15); עינִי (pl. with 3ms suffix, 5:7, 12)
219. Concerning the morphology of this word, see Theodor Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1904), 61–62. Note that the plural forms in Syriac and CPA have an /u/ vowel after the initial radical. JBA and JLA have /i/ class vowels after the initial radical. Forms with both /u/ or /i/ vowels (or defective spellings) after the initial radical are attested in JPA and LJLA.

220. This form (and the Yeminite vocalization) is in line with JLA (קרתא), JPA, SA, and the majority form of CPA (Cook, *Glossary*, 254; *DJP A*, 505; *DSA*, 800, *DCA* 383). It is in contrast to the form קִרְיְתָא as in BA, the majority form of JBA, and Mandaic (Vogt, *Lexicon*, 298; *DJB A*, 1043#1; *MD* 412 #3), as well as Syriac's ܪܲܬܳܐ. The Yeminite recension reads אתתיה. The nasalized form is sometimes attested in JBA (*DJB A*, 128) as well as the orthography of Syriac—though not pronounced (*SL*, 66).

221. Most manuscripts read קרוי; the JLA form is קרויון.

222. Most manuscripts read קרויון. Some Yemenite manuscripts have a Hebraic or archaizing plural morpheme, קרויים.

223. The Yeminite recension reads אתתיה. The nasalized form is sometimes attested in JBA (*DJB A*, 128) as well as the orthography of Syriac—though not pronounced (*SL*, 66).

224. This form is in line with the Jewish dialects and contrasts with Syriac ܪܬܳܐ.

225. Most manuscripts spell עין.

226. Most manuscripts spell עינא.

227. Most manuscripts have the form אִינְא(ם) as in JLA, JPA, and CPA (Cook, *Glossary*, 250; *DJP A*, 497 #2; *DCA*, 376). Compare with the JBA and Mandaic form אִינְא (*DJB A*, 1013 #2; *MD*, 411). The given form occurs elsewhere in LJLA (sometimes with a metathesis of the ' and 느): TgJob 36:33; TgProv 27:4; TgQoh 4:4; TgPsJ Exod 20:5; Num 5:14 (twice), 18, 25,

228. (pl., 3mp suff., 3:5)
*rigl “foot”: רַגְלִּים (pl., 1cp suff., 5:3); רַגְלִיּוֹן (pl., 3mp suff., 7:2)

*šibṭ “tribe”: רֶבֶשַׁת (emph. s., 5:4); רֶבֶשֶׁה (abs. pl., 5:14); לְבַטֵּים (emph. pl., 3:8); רֶבֶשְׁיָה (pl., 3ms suff., 3:6)

*qūṭl

*dubš < *dibš “honey”: דָּבוֹשׁ (abs. s., 3:5); דָּבוֹשָׁה (emph. s., 4:11)

*hukmucción “wisdom”: חוכמתא (emph. s., 7:5)

*qudš “holiness, Holy One, holy thing”: קֹודֶשׁ (emph. s., 1:1); קֹודֶשׁי (s., 3ms suff., 6:3); קֹודֶשׁ (s., 2ms suff., 1:16); קֹודֶשׁ (emph. pl., 5:1)

* ’upply “foliage”: עָפְיֵהּ (s., 3ms suff., 1:16); עָפְיֶהָ (pl., 3fs suff., 2:2)

29, 30, and it may indicate a Syriac pronunciation אֶחָד (SL, 1379).

228. This is not attested in Paris 110, but it is present in many of the other manuscripts.

229. Most manuscripts read רַגְלִיּוֹן. Note that the BA and JLA form before sufformatives is רַגְלִי, (e.g. TgOnq Exod 30:19; Vogt, Lexicon, 304), and this is the Yemenite vocalization. The form /rigl-/ predominates in some late dialects (Macuch, Grammatik, 243; DCPA, 399; SL, 1434), though /ragl-/ is sometimes attested in the Jewish dialects (DJBA, 1073; DJPA, 516). Forms with a / after the initial radical are most frequent in LJLA.

230. Most manuscripts consistently spell this word defectively. The retained /i/ class vowel contrasts with Syriac אֵחָד (SL, 1501) and CPA אָחָד (DCPA, 416).

231. This vocalization is in line with JLA and JBA (DJBA, 315) and contrasts with Syriac אֵחָד (SL, 273). JPA attests a number of different vowels in the emphatic singular form of this word (דָּבוֹשָׁה, דָּבֶשׁ, דוֹבֶשׁ). CPA spells דָּבֶשׁ, but note that the majority absolute form is דָּבֶשׁ (DCPA, 85).

232. Some manuscripts spell חכמתא.

233. Note that this word occurs in BA with a 3ms suffix, תְפִיָּה (e.g. Dan 4:9) as well as Syriac אֵחָד (SL, 1083). Most Yemenite manuscripts spell with א; most western manuscripts spell without one.

234. This noun is modified by plural passive participles. Yemenite manuscripts have אֵחָד (א).
*qall

* ʾapp “face, surface”: 235 פין (ספ, 5:3); אפיהון (ספ, 3ms suff., 5:10); אפעי (ספ, 2fs suffix, 7:7); אפעי (ספ, 1cs suff., 5:5) ʾapp “festival”: מנה (ספ, 2:9) ʾʿamm “people”: 237 עמא (ספ, 2:12); עמה (ספ, 3ms suff., 5:10); עמי (ספ, 2ms suffix, 1:3); עמא (ספ, 3:5); עמי (ספ, 3:6); עמא (ספ, 6:4) ʾʿamm “people”: 237 עמא (ספ, 2:12); עמה (ספ, 3ms suff., 5:10); עמי (ספ, 2ms suffix, 1:3); עמא (ספ, 3:5); עמי (ספ, 3:6); עמא (ספ, 6:4)

*qill

*ginn-ā “garden”: 238 גינתא (ספ, 2:5); גינת (ספ, 5:13) *mill-ā “word”: 239 מיליא (ספ, 2:5); מיל (ספ, 5:16); מיליא (ספ, 3ms suff., 5:6); מיליא (ספ, 2fs suff., 8:13) *qiṣṣ “(appointed) time”: קץ 241 (ספ, 7:14); קצה (ספ, 2:8)

235. On the nasalized form, see the discussion in Phonology and Orthography 2.2.2.

236. A few manuscripts have an absolute plural form אפעי; others have the emphatic singular אפא.

237. Paris 110 usually spells the plural forms without a reduplicated מ; most other manuscripts spell with it.

238. Forms with /i/ after the first radical are attested in JLA (Cook, Glossary, 52) and the eastern dialects of JBA and Mandaic (DJBA, 281; MD, 91). Forms with an /a/ after the first radical are attested in Syriac (SL, 250) and the western dialects of JPA, SA, and CPA (DJPA, 133; DSA, 154, DCPA 74). Aside from TgEsth I and TgLam, LJLA shows a preference for the eastern spelling.

239. Several manuscripts consistently spell this word defectively.

240. There are many variants with the yods.

241. Yemenite manuscripts have the emphatic קצה.
*qull

*kull “all, every”: כל (abs. & con. s., 2:4; 3:10); כלות (s., 3mp suff., 6:6); כל (s., 1cs suff., 2:3); כלך (s., 2ms suff., 4:7)

3.2.3.3 Bisyllabic Base, Three Simple Consonants

*qatal

*dahab “gold”: דהב (abs. s., 5:15); דЊא (emph. s., 5:14)

*tawar < *ṯūr “mountain”:242 טוע (abs. & con. s., 2:17; 4:8); טוע (emph. s., 8:14); טוע (det. pl., 2:6)

*nahar “river”:243 נהרה (abs. s., 4:8); נהרה (emph. s., 7:3); נהרה (abs. pl., 4:12); נהר244 (con. pl., 5:4)

*ʿaqar-ā “barren female”: עקרה (abs. s., 4:2)

*sawar “neck”:245 צוארה (emph. s., 5:7); צוארה (s., 3ms suff., 4:9); צואר (s., 1cs suff., 2:5)

*ṣalō < *salaw “prayer”: צלף (abs. s., 1:9); צלף (emph. s., 2:14); צלף (s., 3fs suff., 1:8); צלף (s., 1cs suff., 5:6); צלף (s., 3mp suff., 6:2)

242. Paris 110 usually spells this word with a doubled ו, but most other manuscripts use one ו. The spelling – טוע, which is common in LJLA, may indicate a pronunciation like a spirantized ב, as is frequently the case with this word in Samaritan (DSA, 307).

243. Paris 110 does not have this form, but the majority of manuscripts have it.

244. The manuscripts vary concerning whether this noun is singular or plural.

245. Manuscripts sometimes spell צואר, צואר, as is common in the late dialects. In LJLA, TgPsJ usually spells צואר, while the other texts usually spell צואר. Forms with the non-etymological נ are attested in BA, SA, and occasionally in JPA (Vogt, Lexicon, 281; DSA, 725; DJPA, 460). Notably, the Hebrew form is צאל (HALOT, 1009).
Proto-Semitic *qatal replaced by Proto-Aramaic *qital

*bisar “flesh” (con. s., 4:2); בשר (s., 3ms suff., 3:8); בשריווהות (pl., 3mp suff., 1:12)

*mītar “rain” (emph. s., 2:6)

qital

*lībah “heart, mind” (abs. s., 6:9); לב (s., 2ms suff., 8:6) (s., 1cs suff., 4:9); לבלב (s., 3mp suff., 5:2) (emph. s., 1:1)

*sītaw “winter” (emph. s., 2:11)

qatil

*hābir “companion, colleague” (s., 3ms suff., 1:2); חביר (con. pl., 8:13) (emph. pl., 1:7); חבירו (pl., 3ms suff., 7:10)

*kaniš-ā “congregation, assembly” (emph. s., 4:9)

*nakis-ā “(animal) sacrifice” (abs. s., 2:9); נכש (con. s., 7:13)

246. On this sound change, particularly concerning Syriac, see Fox, Semitic Noun Patterns, 163–64.

247. Yemenite recension tends to spell with ס.

248. Several manuscripts have the singular form with suffix, בשריווהות.

249. All manuscripts besides Paris 110 are defectively spelled.

250. Compare with Syriac נכשא (SL, 1051).

251. Most manuscripts are defectively spelled. Compare with Syriac נכשאה (SL, 634).

252. Some manuscripts spell נכשא. Compare with נכשא in JPA, SA, and CPA (DJP A, 351; DSA, 527; DCPA, 264).
*qašîy “harsh”: קשתיי (f. abs. pl., 1:7)

*qutil

* ’urîb “raven”: עורבה (emph. s., 5:11)

*qatāl

*yâqâr “glory”: יקר (emph. s., 3:3); יקר (s., 1cs suff., 1:11)

* ’anân “cloud”: עננה (emph. s., 1:4); עננים (abs., pl., 5:6); ענני (con. pl., 2:6)

*šalâm “peace, welfare”: שלמה (abs. s., 1:5); שלמים (emph. s., 8:11); שלמה (s. with 3fs suffix or emphatic s., 8:10)

*qatîl

*šalîm < *salîm “whole, perfect”: שלמים (f. emph. s., 6:9)

*qîlāl

* ’ilâh “God”: אלוהים (emph. s., 5:9); אלהי (s., 1cs suff., 1:6); אלהים (s., 3ms suff., 7:6)

253. Several manuscripts have קשתיי.

254. This is in line with BA, JLA, and JBA (Vogt, Lexicon, 159; Cook, Glossary, 118; DJBA, 541). Compare this form with those having prothetic alef יקר, as in JPA, SA, CPA, and Syriac (DJP A, 54; DSA, 358; DCP A 166; SL, 38).

255. The Yemenite recension has an emphatic singular שלמה.

256. Two western manuscripts and the Yemenite recension have the form השלמה; some other western manuscripts have השלמה. On the form, see Morphology 3.1.3.1.1.

257. The Yemenite recension and several western manuscripts have the standard JLA and Syriac form השלמה (e.g. Lev. 3:9; SL, 1568). Note that the spelling with ’ is either a Hebraic pattern of the adjective with an assumed long theme vowel (CAL, 2 October 2015) or a case of epenthesis (Edward M. Cook, p.c. fall 2015). This form occurs in JBA and occasionally in JPA (DJBA, 1149), and it is the most common form in LJLA: TgPsa 19:8; 37:37; TgRuth 2:12; TgLam 5:21. While TgPsJ frequently has השלמה, most are paralleled in Onqelos. One of the two additions unique to TgPsJ has the form השלמה (Num 6:19).
*’ināš “man”: בֵּן נָשָׁה (emph. s., 2:14); נָשָׁי (con. pl., 7:3)

*qutāl

*’ubād “deed”: שְׁבוּדִי (abs. pl., 4:4); שְׁבוּדיִים (pl., 2fs suff., 2:14); שְׁבוּדי (pl., 1cs suff., 5:5); שְׁבוּדִים (pl., 3mp suff., 1:12); שְׁבוּד (pl., 2mp suff., 1:6)

*qatāl

*baḥār < PPtc “chosen, excellent”: בְּחִיר (m. abs. s., 1:3); בְּחִירה (m. emph. s., 5:13); בְּחִירתא (f. emph. s., 8:3)

*barīk < PPtc “blessed”: בְּרִיך (m. abs. s., 1:8)

*kalīl “crown”: כְּלָלָא (emph. s., 4:9)

*nābiy “prophet”: נַבִּי (emph. s., 1:2); נַבִּיָּה (con. pl., 1:6); נַבִּי (con. pl., 7:10); נַבִּי (emph. pl., 7:10)

*qabīlā “complaint”: קְבִּילָה (s., 3mp suff., 2:8)

*qatāl

*batūlā “virgin”: בְּתוּלָד (pl., 2fs suff., 4:12)

*labūš “garment”: לְבֻשׁ (con. pl., 4:11)

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258. The Yemenite recension and two western manuscripts have the form בֵּן נָשָׁה; two western manuscripts have the eastern form נָשָׁי.

259. Note that this is a JBA form of the word, with a full vowel after the alef—ש (DJBA, 119–20). It is quite common in LJLA. The Yemenite recension and some western manuscripts have the form נָשָׁי.

260. Several manuscripts consistently have the spelling נַבִּי.

261. The majority of manuscripts have the spelling נַבִּי.
*qātil

*kāhin “priest”: (emph. s., 6:7); (abs. pl., 1:3); (emph. pl., 3:8)

*kāšir “proper, fit”: (abs. s., 2:6)

*māri “Lord, master”: (con. s., 5:3); (s., 3ms suff., 1:10); (s., 3fs suff., 8:5)

unless emph., 6:9); מרדא (s., 3fs suff., 8:5)

*rā’iy < Ptc “shepherd”: רעיותא (emph. pl., 1:8)

*šāriy “beam, rafter”: שרוחותיו (pl., 3ms suff., 1:17)

qātōl

*kāroz “herald”: כרזה (emph. s., 3:11)

qutēl

*zuʾēr < *zuʾ ayr “small”: ניער (abs. s., 8:4)

262. Some other manuscripts read with a 3ms suffix (יה), the 3fs suffix (הא), or a genitive phrase מיר דעלמא (Lord of the world).

263. Note that JLA, TgPsJ, and Syriac have both רעווה רעווה as emphatic plural forms (Cook, Glossary, 268 and Exod 2:17 for alternate form; SL, 1480), and both forms are attested as variants among the TgSong manuscripts. JPA uses א and JBA uses תא (SL, 1480).

264. On the suffix, note that this is a feminine plural noun with the 3ms suffix of masculine plural nouns. Note also that the normal plural form is שרות, as in Tg1Kgs 6:6 (this is attested in one manuscript). Three manuscripts have a form שרות, and several manuscripts, including the entire Yemenite recension, do not have the word on account of parablepsis. The form with consonantal i is also attested in TgPsJ Num 35:20, a form that is otherwise not attested in Aramaic.

265. According to Creason, this pattern emerged in MA; “Aramaic,” 119.
* 'ulēm < * 'ulaym “youth”:\(^{266}\) (abs. s., 5:15); \(\text{עֻלֵּיָּהּ} \) (emph. pl., 2:13); \(\text{עֻלֵּיָּהּ} \) (pl., 2fs suff., 4:13); \(\text{עֻלֵּיָּהּ} \) (pl., 3fs suff., 6:10)

\*qutōł

\*R* bukur “firstborn”:\(^{267}\) (emph. sing., 2:9); \(\text{עְבוֹרָא} \) (emph. pl., 2:12)

3.2.3.4 Bisyllabic Base, Three Consonants, Middle Doubled

\*qattal

\*yabbaš-ā “dry ground”:\(^{269}\) (emph. s., 1:9)

\*qittal

\*'iddar “threshing floor”:\(^{268}\) (abs. s., 7:3)

\*'immar “lamb”:\(^{268}\) (emph. s., 1:14)

\*'iqqar “root”:\(^{268}\) (con. pl., 4:12)

\*qittol

\*ribbon “lord”:\(^{270}\) (con. s., 7:12); \(\text{רֶבֶן} \) (s., 3mp suff., 8:6)

266. Compare the Syriac form \(\text{Ղււմ} \) (SL, 1102).

267. Every manuscript besides Paris 110 has the form \(\text{בּוֹכֶרָא} \). Note that CPA and JPA have both \(\text{בּוֹכֶרָא} \) and \(\text{בּוֹכֶרֶא} \) \(\text{בּוֹכֶרֶא} \) (DJPA, 102; DCPA 48). The form \(\text{בּוֹכֶרָא} \) is standard in JLA, JBA, SA, Syriac, and Mandaic (Cook, Glossary, 34; DJBA 190; DSA, 97; SL 126; MD 55). Every other attestation in LJLA is \(\text{בּוֹכֶרֶא} \).

268. Reading with four western manuscripts. Paris 110 and the majority of other manuscripts have the form \(\text{בּוֹכֶרֶא} \), with a simple metathesis of the \(ְכֹּיָא \) and \(ְכֹּיָא \). The context refers to the night of the Passover, and other LJLA texts use the plural emphatic form in such cases, as in TgPs 135:8; 136:10.

269. The vocalization in JLA and the majority of attestations in JBA is \(\text{יַבְשָׁתָא} \) (Cook, Glossary, 112; DJBA 523). A form with an /i/ class vowel is attested in BA \(\text{יַבְשָׁתָא} \) (Vogt, Lexicon, 146) and elsewhere in JPA, CPA, Syriac, and secondarily in JBA (DJPA, 234; DCPA, 156, SL, 560; DJBA 523). LJLA texts attest to forms with and without a \(ְכֹּיָא \) after the \(בּוֹכֶרֶא \).

270. According to Fassberg’s survey, the form \text{ribbon} occurs in JLA and the Babylonian tradition of Rabbinic Hebrew. The forms \text{rabbun} and \text{rabbon} occur in the Palestinian sources
of Rabbinic Hebrew, SA, and the New Testament. See Fassberg, Grammar, 164. To his summary one may add Syriac to the second group (SL, 1429). The Yemenite recension and a few western manuscripts consistently spell as ריבון; the rest of the western recension spells יריבון.

271. The spelling with י is only attested here, and a minority of manuscripts have the common Aramaic spelling אוגנא.

272. The absolute plural form with י occurs in Paris 110, Fragment Targum (P) and TgPsJ. Compare the BA form שניע (Vogt, Lexicon, 310).

273. Many manuscripts have a masculine plural emphatic form.
*qittāl

*gibbār “n. warrior; adj. mighty”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>נברך</td>
<td>(abs. pl., 4:8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נברך</td>
<td>(abs. s., 5:15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נברך</td>
<td>(con. pl., 3:7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*hiwwār “white”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>חור</td>
<td>(abs. s., 5:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>חור</td>
<td>(abs. pl., 5:11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*qittul

*sippun “north”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>צפונה</td>
<td>(emph. s., 4:16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*piqqud “commandment”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>פקודין</td>
<td>(abs. pl., 5:11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פקודים</td>
<td>(emph. pl., 4:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פקודיו</td>
<td>(pl., 3ms suff., 1:6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פקודך</td>
<td>(pl., 2ms suff., 1:4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פקודיו</td>
<td>(pl., 1cs suff., 1:10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.5 Nouns with Reduplicated Elements

*laylay “night”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>לילה</td>
<td>(abs., s., 1:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>לילה</td>
<td>(emph. s., 3:8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*sagalgal “round”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>סגלגל</td>
<td>(abs. s., 7:3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.6 Quadriliteral Nouns

*aqrab “scorpion”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>עקרבין</td>
<td>(abs. pl., 2:6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

274. Three manuscripts have נברך.

275. Five manuscripts have נברך.

276. Four manuscripts have נברך.

277. Several manuscripts consistently spell פקודו.

278. Yemenite recension reads לילה, and this is the preferred reading.

279. Yemenite recension reads לילה.

280. This word is only attested in QA (*DQA*, 163) and TgJon, where it is vocalized as סְגַלגַל (e.g. Tg 1 Kgs 7:23). On this noun pattern more broadly, see Aaron Michael Butts, “Reduplicated Nominal Patterns in Semitic,” *JAOS* 131 (2011): 99–104.
3.2.3.7 Nouns with Prefixes

\[ mV^- \]

*\textit{magdal} “tower”:
- \( \text{מגדלא} \) (emph. s., 7:5); \( \text{מגדלא} \) (emph. s., 7:5); \( \text{מגדלה} \) (pl., 7:5); \( \text{מגדלון} \) (emph. pl., 8:10)
- \( \text{מגדליא} \) (emph. s., 7:5); \( \text{מגדלי} \) (pl., 7:5); \( \text{מגדליון} \) (pl., 7:5)

*\textit{maqdaš} “temple”:
- \( \text{מקדשא} \) (emph. s., 3:7); \( \text{מקדשיה} \) (s., 3ms suff., 4:16); \( \text{מקדישך} \) (s., 2fs suff., 6:1); \( \text{מקדישים} \) (s., 1cs suff., 8:2)
- \( \text{מקדשי} \) (s., 1cs suff., 8:2)

\[ šV^- \]

*\textit{šalḥābī} “flame”:
- \( \text{שלחהבית} \) (con. s., 2:5)
- \( \text{שנהובא} \) (con. s., 2:5)

*\textit{ši būd} “enslavement”:
- \( \text{שנהובא} \) (emph. s., 2:11)

---

281. This form in Paris 110 is in contrast to every other manuscript which reads \( \text{מגדליא} \). It is an LJLA form also attested in TgQoh 7:28; Tg1Chr 27:25; Tg2Chr 14:6; 26:15; 27:4; 32:5; TgPsJ Gen 11:4; 11:5; 35:21. Note that while JLA attests to the form \( \text{מגדלא} \) (TgOnq Gen 11:4), \( \text{מגדלי} \) is much more common. Syriac spells \( \text{שנהובא} \) (\textit{SL}, 707).

282. This is a peculiar form of the plural. Other manuscripts have the absolute plural form \( \text{מגדלי} \).

283. Some manuscripts have singular forms.

284. Forms with \( v \) are consistently used in Paris 110 and several other western manuscripts. These are Palestinian forms also attested in Neofiti and the Fragment Targum (P and V) but not in the texts of the Cairo Genizah; \textit{DJP A}, 326. They contrast with \( \text{מקדישך} \) in JLA, JBA, and Syriac (Cook, \textit{Glossary}, 163; \textit{DJBA}, 107; \textit{SL}, 820).

285. The manuscripts exhibit tremendous variation with the \textit{yods} in these forms.

286. Contrast JLA \( \text{משריית} \) (e.g. TgOnq Gen 49:17). The form \( \text{משריית} \) occurs 15+ times in TgPs; TgJob; TgChr; TgPsJ.

287. Almost all manuscripts have the spelling \( \text{שנועודא} \).
*tapnūqīn “delicacies”: 288

*tušbāh-t “praise, hymn”: 289

3.2.3.8 Nouns with Suffixes

-ān

*ʾulpān “instruction”: 289

*ḥušbān “calculation”: 289

*mašumšān “attendant”: 289

*nīshān “victory”: 289

*pulḥān “work, worship”: 289

-ōn

*nisyōn “temptation”: 289

288. This word is always plural and is only attested in JLA and JPA (Cook, *Glossary*, 305; *DJPA*, 588).

289. This form with the -ān suffix is in line with JLA and non-Targumic JPA; Cook, *Glossary*, 166; *DJPA*, 335. CPA and Syriac likewise have the suffix, but they have an /a/ vowel after the ġ; *DCPA*, 251; *SL*, 851. The Palestinian targon tradition prefers the form *משמש* (Neofiti Num 11:28 only) or the synonymous noun *שמש*; *DJPA*, 558. Forms without the suffix occur in JBA and SA; *DJBA*, 716; *DSA*, 913. LJLA primarily uses the form with the suffix, and the form without the suffix is limited to sacred ministers, whether priestly (TgPsJ Exod 19:6) or heavenly (TgPsJ Deut 10:14).

290. Note that BA has the vocalization פֶלְחָן/ *polḥān/ (Vogt, *Lexicon*, 274); the original /u/ vowel is retained in JLA, Syriac, and Mandaic (Cook, *Glossary*, 222; *SL*, 1163; *MD*, 367). This is in contrast to the vocalization פָלְחָן in JPA (*DJPA*, 435).

291. Yemenite manuscripts have an absolute form פָלָחֵן.
"ruler": šulṭōn (abs. pl., 8:8); שלטונين (emph. pl., 6:9)

"Canaanite": kana’ anay (gentilic pl., 3:5)

"foreign": nūkray (emph. s., 8:6); נכראה (abs. pl., 1:9)

"divinity": ’a’ilahū (s., 2ms suff., 1:4); אלהותה (s., 3ms suff., 8:1)

"birthright": bukurū (emph. sing., 2:15)

"kingdom": malkū (emph. s., 4:9); ממלכת (s., 1cs suff., 7:7); מלכוות (con. pl., 6:9)

"testimony": sāhidū (emph. s., 3:10)

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292. Several manuscripts spell – וֹawning.

293. The dialects of BA, QA, JLA, and JPA, as well as the attestations in BH, have שולטונ (Vogt, Lexicon, 328; Cook, Glossary, 285; DQA, 235; DJPA, 552; HALOT, 1523). JBA also has a שלטונא (DJBA, 1148).

294. A minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110, have the plene spelling, but the majority of manuscripts have שלטונ.

295. This emphatic singular ending שולטונא is in line with JLA and JBA (Cook, Glossary, 174; DJBA, 736) and in contrast to JPA, CPA, and Syriac (DJPA, 344; SL, 899; DCPA, 259).

296. Several manuscripts have נכראין.

297. Some Yemenite manuscripts have a 2ms suffix.

298. Yemenite manuscripts have the form נכראין, as in TgOnq Gen 25:32 and JPA (DJPA, 103). The given form is attested in JLA and JBA (Cook, Glossary, 34; DJBA, 220) and in a comparable absolute form in CPA (DCPA, 49). Compare the Syriac #١٤٨٧٨.

299. Several manuscripts spell מלכוה.

300. Note that BA spells this word with ש (Vogt, Lexicon, 312).
*šalīmū “perfection”*: 301 שלמות (con. s., 5:2)

*ẓahorī “scarlet”:* 3ahor (emph. s., 4:3)

*šalhābī “flame”:* 3alhōb (con. s., 2:5)

### 3.3 Numerals

#### 3.3.1 Cardinal Numbers, 1–10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine (absolute)</th>
<th>Additional Declined Forms</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>חד</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>חדא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>תרין</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>תרתין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>תלת</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>תלת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ארבעה (con)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ארבע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>שבעת (con)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>שבע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

301. The form with ה is attested in JBA (*DJBA*, 1150); it occurs 15+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgProv, and TgQoh. It contrasts with שלמה in JLA, SA, CPA, and Syriac (*ChW* 2:488; *DSA*, 903; *DCPA*, 435; *SL*, 1568).

302. TgSong 1:14; 2:6; 3:8; 4:9; 8:8, 11, 14.

303. TgSong 1:2, 4, 11, 12; 2:14; 3:19; 4:5; 5:13; 7:4; 8:12.

304. TgSong 1:1; 2:6; 5:14; 7:2. On the form תלתה in 8:3, see Morphology 3.3.5.

305. TgSong 1:9; 2:6, 14; 4:12; 5:10; 6:4. There are some variants with the spelling ארבעה.

306. TgSong 1:1, 2; 5:10.

307. TgSong 1:11; 3:5.
The consonantal structure of the cardinal numerals 1–10 is largely consistent across the Aramaic dialects, and TgSong is no different. The cardinal numbers are declined for gender. As is the case throughout the Semitic languages, the unmarked forms correspond to masculine nouns for the numerals one and two, but the unmarked forms correspond to the feminine nouns for the numerals three through ten. Though sparsely attested in earlier dialects, certain MA dialects attest the declension of cardinal numbers according to state as well, and this also occurs in the late western dialects.\(^{309}\) The eastern dialects (and JLA), however, do not have declined forms of the cardinal numbers according to state. Third, the numeral ten and its derivatives, tenth and the like, are attested in the western recension as \(עֵשֶׂר\), with a historic \(שׂ\). This also occurs in BA, JPA, and as a variant in JBA. The Yemenite recension uses spellings with \(ס\), as in JLA.\(^{310}\)

The cardinal numbers in TgSong are generally in line with those of JLA. The following deviations from JLA occur, and they are most like the late, western dialects.\(^{311}\) First, TgSong has construct forms for the numbers four, seven, and ten.\(^{312}\) These construct

\(^{308}\) TgSong 1:1; 5:13; 7:9.


\(^{311}\) Note that there are forms unique to the late western dialects which are contrary to the forms in TgSong, such as the number “six,” which has a prothetic \(א\) in JPA and SA and occurs as a minority form in Syriac as well.

\(^{312}\) Note the following examples: אֶלֶבֶנֶה נִכְסִיִּד  “your four orders/camps” (6:4); שְׁבָעָה  "the seven peoples" (3:5); עָשְׁרָה שִׁירֵי  “the ten songs” (1:1); עָשָׁרָה בֵּרְיָא  “the ten
forms occur when the B-term is definite. Second, variants of the numeral seven are most like the western dialects. The short /a/ vowel of the original *šab ’ā in a closed, unaccented syllable became /i/ in BA and JLA.\textsuperscript{313} The western dialects of JPA and CPA attest a change to an /u/ vowel on account of the following bilabial;\textsuperscript{314} JBA and Syriac have a retained (?) /a/ vowel.\textsuperscript{315} Third, most of the masculine absolute forms have a final א, where JLA uses a final פ. This orthography is attested in Syriac and CPA, and JBA uses both א and פ.\textsuperscript{316}

### 3.3.2 Cardinal Numbers, 11–19

TgSong only has two numbers from the second decade of numbers, twelve and fourteen, and they are variously spelled in the manuscripts. Aside from IA and a series of alternate forms in Mandaic,\textsuperscript{317} the standard Aramaic way of representing the numbers eleven through nineteen is to begin with the numeral that indicates the unit followed by the numeral ten, both of which are declined for gender. There is a tendency to contract the two numbers into one unit, and other than JPA and JLA, this is attested in all of the later dialects.\textsuperscript{318}

______________

words” (1:11).

\textsuperscript{313} Bauer-Leander, \textit{Grammatik}, §6x. There are some Babylonian forms with short /a/ in JLA; see Gropp, \textit{Introduction}, 75.

\textsuperscript{314} For JPA, see Emerton, “Numerals,” 100; Kutscher, \textit{Studies}, 28; for CPA, see Müller-Kessler, \textit{Grammatik}, 133–34.

\textsuperscript{315} Note that Mandaic has šuba for masculine and šaba (and sometimes šuba) for feminine; see Macuch \textit{Handbook}, 230; Nöldeke, \textit{Grammatik}, §152.


Twelve. The masculine form of the number twelve is primarily spelled תָּרִים in TgSong.319 This form of twelve is attested as early as BA (Dan 4:26; Ezra 6:17) and is standard in JLA.320 It is also attested in JPA and rarely in JBA.321 On one occasion (TgSong 5:14), a minority of western manuscripts, including Paris 110, use the absolute form of the number “two” in the construction תָּרִים עָשָׁר.322 This form is also attested in JPA and on rare occasions in JBA.323 On three occasions, some of the Yemenite manuscripts have a form תָּרִים סִיר, which is similar to the JBA form תָּרִים סָר.324 Among the texts of LJLA, the form תָּרִים עָשָׁר is attested in TgRuth, TgQoh, and TgEsth II, and the form תָּרִים עָשָׁר often serves as a minority or variant form.325 The JBA form תָּרִים סָר is attested in TgPs 60:2, and it is the predominant form throughout TgEsth I, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

Fourteen. Recalling the dedication of the first temple under Solomon in 1 Kgs 8:65, TgSong 3:11 states that Solomon enacted a festival for fourteen days. The targum to this passage reads יומין עָשָׁר עָשָׁר (with a masculine numeral), and this is what the Yemenite recension and one western manuscript have. The western manuscripts do not consistently


320. Gropp, Introduction, 75. Note that JLA spells with ס.


322. This form also occurs in one manuscript at TgSong 3:6 and two manuscripts at TgSong 4:16.


324. TgSong 4:16; 5:14 (twice); see Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 173.

325. TgRuth 4:11; TgQoh 2:7; TgEsth II 1:2 (twice); 2:12; 3:8, 13; 4:16; 8:12; 9:1. Note that these forms are also attested in TgEsth I 2:12, 13.
indicate the gender here. Roughly half of the manuscripts, including Paris 110, have the mixed form אברע/אאברע whereas the others have the masculine אברע/אאברע. Finally, one western manuscript has the JBA form אברע.

### 3.3.3 Larger Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Hebrew 1</th>
<th>Hebrew 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>עשרין</td>
<td>Eighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty</td>
<td>תלתין</td>
<td>Ninety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forty</td>
<td>ארבעים</td>
<td>Hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifty</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>Thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixty</td>
<td>ש(י)ים</td>
<td>Ten Thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventy</td>
<td>ש(י)ים</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

326. If the modified noun were feminine (which is not the case here), the expected form of ten is עשר/סרי.


328. TgSong 1:4; 5:10.

329. TgSong 6:8.

330. TgSong 1:1; 2:7.

331. TgSong 2:8.

332. TgSong 1:11; 2:7; 3:5 (twice); 4:5.

333. TgSong 2:8.

334. TgSong 4:1.

335. TgSong 3:7; 6:8.

336. TgSong 5:10 (twice); 8:5 (twice).

337. TgSong 1:2; 2:17; 4:10; 7:3.
As is common among all the Aramaic dialects, the number twenty is the plural form of the number ten, and the numbers thirty through ninety are the masculine plural forms of their corresponding integer, three through nine. There is no gender distinction in these numbers. The only dialectally significant feature attested in TgSong for this group of numbers is seventy. In one of the four attestations of this number, a minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110, have an initial /u/ vowel, as in the western dialects of JPA and CPA.

Compound numbers consist of the decade followed by a conjunctive ו and the digit, as in "twenty-two" (TgSong 1:4), "twenty-four" (TgSong 5:10), "thirty-six" (TgSong 1:1), and "forty-nine" (TgSong 1:11). Numbers higher than one hundred proceed from the larger to the smaller number, as in "one hundred and ninety" (TgSong 2:8). Concerning the word "ten thousand" in the phrase "myriads upon myriads," there are a number of variations regarding the use of matres, but the more significant point is that the attestation at TgSong 5:10 (ריבון) is most like the ketib in Dan 7:10 whereas the attestation at TgSong 8:5 (ריבבון) is most like the qere.

### 3.3.4 Ordinal Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ms abs</th>
<th>ms emph</th>
<th>fs emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>כּדָמָהּ (א); כּוֹפָי (א)</td>
<td>כּדָמַתָה (א)</td>
<td>כּדָמָא (א)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>ת (י) נֵי</td>
<td>ת (י) נֵא</td>
<td>ת (י) נָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ת (י) לָטָא</td>
<td>ת (י) לָטָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>רַבּוֹת (י)</td>
<td>רַבּוֹת (י)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>חָמִשָּׁה (י)</td>
<td>חָמִישָּׁה (י)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>שֶׁחָת (י)</td>
<td>שֶׁחָת (י)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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339. The one instance is TgSong 2:17; note that this is the standard spelling in TgPsJ. See Emerton, “Numerals,” 101; Kutscher, *Studies*, 28; Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik*, 136.
Two factors have led to the presence of various forms of the ordinal numbers among the TgSong manuscripts. First, TgSong begins with a list of ten “songs,” each of which is introduced by an ordinal number. Second, the manuscripts are not always consistent when indicating state or gender with the ordinals. The labels in the chart above, therefore, indicate the historical representation of gender and state rather than their actual status in the text.\(^{340}\)

The ordinal numbers other than “second” are inflected as adjectives with an -ay ending. The emphatic masculine singular form with an ā– ending is due to a phonological change whereby the intervocalic ā of *-āyā changed to a glottal stop ʕ. This is attested in JLA, JBA, and the qere of BA.\(^{341}\)

The ordinal “first” derives from the root קָדֶם, and forms without ר—whether assimilated or elided—are attested among the late dialects of JBA, JPA, CPA, and SA.\(^{342}\)

Forms with and without ר are attested in both the Yemenite and western manuscripts of TgSong. At TgSong 6:4, the emphatic masculine form קָדמָא is attested in one Yemenite manuscript, but all of the other manuscripts have the expected absolute form, קָדֶם. At

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340. TgEsth II 1:1 begins with a list of ten kingdoms (feminine), and there is a similar mixture of forms. The list of ten famines (masculine) in TgRuth 1:1 only includes absolute forms.


TgSong 1:1, one western manuscript has the emphatic feminine form קדמתא; all other manuscripts have the ending תא(י), which is common in the late dialects and may be variously vocalized.

The ordinal “second” is likewise an adjective, though with the ending -ān. When modifying a masculine head noun, the gender and state of the ordinal is matched (TgSong 6:11; 8:6), and aside from Syriac, these forms are common across the dialects. The emphatic feminine ordinals at TgSong 1:1, 14 exhibit two forms. The first is the JLA and JBA form תא(י)ני(י). The second form is orthographically the same as the emphatic masculine form תני(י); this is also similar to the feminine absolute form in BA Dan 7:5 (תנינא). If influenced by BA, the state is incorrect since an emphatic form is expected in both instances where the head nouns are respectively שירתא “the song” and זימנא “the time.”

The ordinals “third” through “tenth” are only attested in TgSong 1:1, and they modify the emphatic feminine noun שירתא “the song.” The Yemenite manuscripts mostly use the endingיתא, as is common in JLA and the late dialects. Most of the western manuscripts, however, exhibit a confusion of gender and/or determination and usually use the ending א. For instance, the ordinal רביעא “fourth” can be parsed as an emphatic masculine form—as in the qere of BA (Dan 3:25) and the late dialects (Mandaic excluded)—or an absolute feminine form, as in the qere of BA (Dan 2:40; 7:7, 23).

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343. Syriac usually uses the rootܬܪܝ rather than the rootܬדר; see Nöldeke, Syriac Grammar, 98.

344. Gropp, Introduction, 112; Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 174. This form is also attested in JPA along with וני(תא); see Emerton “Numerals,” 104.

345. Note that this is also the form used in the list of kingdoms in TgEsth II 1:1.

346. Note that this same mixture of forms is attested in the list of kingdoms in TgEsth II
3.3.5 Fractions

There are three fractions attested in TgSong. The first, פלגות “one-half” (TgSong 5:4), is common throughout the Aramaic dialects. The second, רבעות “one-fourth” (TgSong 1:14), is a western word attested as early as Palmyrene and further attested in JPA, SA, and JLA.347 The third, תולתא “one-third” (TgSong 8:3), has caused some confusion among the manuscripts. It is in a passage that mirrors TgPsJ Deut 6:9; 11:20, and the reading is therefore without question. Aside from LJLA, the word is attested in JBA and Syriac.348 The unfamiliarity of the word, however, led to a number of variations in the manuscripts. The most pertinent variant is תלתא/ה,349 which can be the cardinal number “three” or a secondary form of the word “third” in JPA,350 the primary western form being תלתו.351

3.3.6 Quantifiers

The standard way of indicating totality is the noun כל “all, every, whole,” spelled plene – כָּל when sufformatives are added. In TgSong it is almost always in construct with a following noun: "every time" (4:6), "the whole world" (7:12), "all of them" (3:8), "all the righteous ones" (1:4), "all the imps" (4:6), and כל 1:1.

347.  *DNWSI*, 1059; *DJPA*, 515; *DSA*, 814; Cook, *Glossary*, 258.
348.  *DJBA*, 1187 #1; *SL*, 1630 #2.
349.  Other variants include the Hebraic דלתא “door” or a feminine form of its Aramaic equivalent תרעתא “door” (the word is masculine).
350.  *DJPA*, 583 #2.
351.  *DJPA* 583; Cook, *Glossary*, 302; *DSA*, 952.
“all the inhabitants of the earth” (6:10). There are many more occurrences of this common word (60+ attestations).

The word כל is also attested in the following constructions: -
(7:5), -
(8:13), and -
(3:8).

3.4 Verbs

3.4.1 Verbal Stems

TgSong utilizes a system of verbal stems that is common to the late dialects of Aramaic. The basic, unmarked stem is the G-stem (Grundstamm), or Peʼal. The D-stem, or Paʼel, has a doubled middle radical. The C-stem was originally marked by a prefixed –ו, as in Haphʼel. The Haphʼel evolved into the Aphʼel with a prefixed –א. This is likely due to the loss of intervocalic ה in the imperfect, a phonological change which was analogously adopted by the perfect conjugation.352 A transitional time in which both the Haphʼel and Aphʼel are written is attested in several dialects of IA and MA.353 Eventually, all late dialects use Aphʼel. TgSong has one Haphʼel, the infinitive לוהבד “to destroy” (TgSong 2:17).354 Throughout the other LJLA texts, this word is usually in the Haphʼel. Significantly, this word is attested in

352. Cook, Short Grammar, 25. The use of the terminology of perfect and imperfect is in line with the classic grammars and is not meant to imply that the Aramaic verbal system was purely aspectual in nature.


354. Two western manuscripts and the Yemenite recension have changed the word to read as an Aphʼel, לוהבד.
BA in a *Haphʿel* form, and Cook has shown that all of the *Haphʿel* forms in TgPsJ (including this verb) can be attributed to BA influence.

In addition to these three stems—the G-stem, D-stem, and C-stem—are a series of corresponding t-stems which are used for passive or middle-passive nuances; these are morphologically marked with a prefixed –ת(ה)א. Earlier Aramaic dialects attest a series of internal passive forms, of which TgSong may have one: יד “it was revealed,” a *Peʿil* perfect third masculine singular (1:7). These internal passives are eventually eclipsed by the Gt-stem (*Ithpeʿel*), Dt-stem (*Ithpaʿel*), and Ct-stem (*Ittaphʿal*). TgSong has one attestation of the older Gt-stem, the *Hithpeʿel*: шתבורה “were found” (6:1). As is the case

355. For infinitival forms, see Dan 2:12, 24; 7:26.

356. Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 182–84. To Cook’s list one may add the following roots attested in the *Haphʿel* in other LJLA texts and BA: יד “to make known,” (e.g. TgPs 7:18; BA Dan 2:23; 6:11); יש “to change” (TgPs 55:20; e.g. BA Dan 2:21); ינד “to be insolent” (TgQoh 10:5; BA Dan 2:15; 3:22); י锘 (e.g. TgEsth I 3:2; e.g. BA Dan 3:3); וייב “to make waste” (TgEsth 1:1; *Hophʿal* in BA Ezra 4:15); יג “to remove” (TgEsth II 1:2; e.g. BA Dan 2:21). There are two *Haphʿel* forms in LJLA not attested in BA. The first, יס “to appear, shine” (TgPs 80:2; 94:1), is attested in TgJon as a *Haphʿel* (TgJudg 5:4; TgEzek 7:10). The second, יז “to incline” (TgPs 31:3), is likely influenced by the underlying Hebrew *Hiphʿil* form.

357. One western manuscript of TgSong frequently uses the preformative –ית in the perfect conjugation.


359. This could also be a G-stem passive participle. Either form is viable in context, and regardless, it is likely due to BA influence (note Dan 2:19, 30).

360. There are no attestations of the Ct-stem in TgSong. Note that several phonological changes are common with the t-stems. See the discussions on Complete Assimilation (Phonology and Orthography 2.2.1.1), Partial Assimilation (2.2.1.2), and Metathesis (2.2.3).

361. One western manuscript and the Yemenite recension have an *Ithpeʿel* –שׁ. The *Hithpeʿel* of this verb, however, is also attested elsewhere in LJLA: TgRuth 4:22; TgQoh 7:28; 9:15; 10:12; Tg1Chr 24:4; Tg2Chr 34:21; TgPsJ Gen 15:1; 19:15; Gen 44:16; 47:14;
with the *Haph’el* discussed above, this verb is similarly attested in BA in the *Hithpe’el* (e.g. Dan 5:11). Finally, there are a number of quadriradical verbs and one attestation of the minor stem *Ithpolel* from the root גָּלָל, “to be emotionally overcome” (*TgSong* 5:4). This word is used in the context of lamenting over the lost tribes of northern Israel and is likely influenced by comparable passages in *TgJon*, particularly *TgJer* 31:20.

3.4.2 Perfect

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>מ–; once כ–</td>
<td>3fp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>כ–</td>
<td>2mp</td>
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<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>כ–</td>
<td>2fp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>כ–</td>
<td>1cp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The G-stem perfect (suffix conjugation) is comprised of a consonant root with a theme vowel after the second consonant. The verb is inflected for person, gender, and number by the addition of sufformatives.

**Third Person.** The third person forms in *TgSong* are most consistent with BA, JLA, and the late western dialects. The late eastern dialects exhibit a number of different forms due to various sound changes, such as the apocopation of final vowels or the loss of final consonants. There is one example of the JBA third feminine singular כ– ending, אֲמָתָּלָה “it

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Exod 35:23, 24; Lev 8:15; Deut 22:20; 33:8; 34:8.

362. There are a number of variants among the manuscripts, but the reading תגוללו(ו) is surely correct.

363. See also *TgHos* 11:8.

was compared” (5:1). Notably, the Gt of this root only occurs in eastern dialects, and an eastern morphology is therefore unsurprising.365

Second Person. The second person singular forms of both masculine and feminine verbs are the same in TgSong; there is no final /-tā/ on the masculine verbs.366

First Person. The pointed Yemenite manuscripts suggest that the first common singular verbs are pronounced kətabit, as in JLA and JBA.367 This contrasts with the pronunciation ka/it(ə)bet, as in BA, JPA, and Syriac.368

Strong Verb Examples in the G-Stem369

3ms: דבר “he took” (5:4); חלף “it passed” (2:11); וכבש “he subdued” (7:5); לבש “he wore” (7:6); מ présence “he handed over” (1:1); עבד “he did” (1:9); מصلاة “he worshiped” (3:6); קטל “he killed” (2:9); רדף “he pursued” (2:14); שלח “he sent” (6:2); שלם “it is complete” (7:14); תך “it grew strong” (1:9).370

365. Several manuscripts have a more common G passive participle מתילה. The Gt of this root occurs in Syriac, JBA, and LJLA (SL, 868; DJBA, 721).

366. Forms with and without the older masculine morpheme are attested in IA, BA, QA, JLA, SA, and rarely in JPA; see Cook, “Orthography,” 62; Fassberg, Grammar, 165.

367. Lambdin, Introduction, 5; Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 113. Note that JBA also has forms of the first common singular without the final פ.

368. Rosenthal, Grammar, §101; Fassberg, Grammar, 165; Nöldeke, Syriac Grammar, §158.

369. The examples given throughout the verbal section are primarily drawn from Paris 110. The forms in other manuscripts are discussed in the footnotes. Common orthographic differences, such as the fact that Paris 110 usually spells the t-stem verbs as א made whereas most of the other manuscripts have א made (and one western manuscript often has א made), will not be indicated.

370. Five western manuscripts are defectively spelled, תך. Four Yemenite manuscripts have תעם, likely derived from the imperfect תאם; this form is also attested in TgEsth I 2:1; 5:9; TgLam 1:2 (Yemenite); Tg2Chr 28:13.
3fs: אמרתה “she said” (1:6); פתחה “she opened” (2:13, 14); הופת “it grew strong” (5:5).

2ms: עבדת “you did” (1:3).

2fs: עבדת “you did” (5:1).

1cs: מסרתי “I passed on” (3:7; 8:1); מרעת “I am sick” (2:5); סגידית “I bowed down” (1:6); עבדית “I did” (1:6); קרבית “I approached” (2:5); שאילית “I asked” (3:3); טבעית “I sought” (5:6).

3mp: בטילו “they ceased” (2:15); גרמו “they caused” (8:4); סתרו “they scattered” (2:3); ערקו “they fled” (3:5); חזרו “they went around” (3:2); עבדו “they made” (4:1); שארו “they pursued” (1:9); רדפו “they loved” (1:3); שפכו “they defeated” (2:16).

2mp: שמעון “you heard” (2:12).

**Strong Verb Examples in the D-Stem**

3ms: ב라도 “he scattered” (1:14); כפרו “he made atonement” (1:14); פליגו “he divided” (2:17); פקידו “he commanded” (3:4); קבלו “he received” (5:6); קרבו “he offered (sacrifices)” (4:1); שבחו “he praised” (1:1); שבחו “he made to dwell” (3:10).

3fs: שבחת “she praised” (1:1).

1cs: קבלתי “I received” (5:1); קדישתי “I sanctified” (5:3).

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371. Yemenite manuscripts have the form מָרַעְתָא.

372. Several manuscripts have the defective form שאילית.

373. A minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110, have a different ending to this verse and therefore do not have the word.
3mp: “they walked” (6:4); “they acted corruptly” (1:13); “they offered (sacrifices)” (5:5); “they praised” (2:13).

**Strong Verb Examples in the C-Stem**

3ms: א SHR “he brought back” (7:5); א SHR “he acknowledged as king” (7:6); א SHR “he laid aside, hid” (3:10); א SHR “he looked upon” (2:9).

1cs: א SHR א SHR “I adjure” (5:8); א SHR א SHR “I found” (5:6).

3mp: א SHR א SHR “they overtook” (5:7); א SHR א SHR “they declared justified” (6:5); א SHR “they found” (3:2).

**Strong Verb Examples in the Gt-Stem**

3ms: א SHR א SHR “he remembered” (2:17); א SHR א SHR “it was forgiven” (1:1); א SHR א SHR “it was heard” (7:9).

3fs: א SHR א SHR “it was sealed” (3:8). 3fs: א SHR א SHR “it was compared” (5:1).

3mp: א SHR א SHR “they are compared” (2:12); א SHR א SHR “they were buried” (8:5); א SHR א SHR “they became dark” (1:5); א SHR א SHR “they have been cut short” (2:11); א SHR א SHR “they were found” (6:1); א SHR א SHR “they were broken” (1:14).

374. A few manuscripts have the form א SHR א SHR.

375. Most manuscripts have a more common G passive participle א SHR. The Gt of this root is only attested in Syriac, JBA, and LJLA (SL, 868; DJBA, 721; TgPs; TgJob; TgEsth I; Tg1Chr; TgPsJ).

376. One western manuscript and the Yemenite recension have an Ithpe ’el א SHR.
Strong Verb Examples in the Dt-Stem

3ms: “he prevailed” (3:6); “he prepared for battle” (2:16); “he looked at” (2:9); “it was prepared” (5:1); “it was commanded” (1:14); “it was set aside, hidden” (8:2); “it was received” (5:5).

3mp: “they delayed” (2:7); “they grumbled” (2:15); “they were drowned” (1:9).

3.4.3 Imperfect

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<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ב</td>
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Third Person. The imperfect (prefix) conjugation has a –י preformative on the third person forms in TgSong. As is the case in all of the later dialects, there is no morphological distinction between the imperfect and the jussive. The preformative –י is in line with JLA and the western dialects; the eastern dialects use either –ל and –נ. Aside from several –ל

377. A few Yemenite manuscripts have a Dt from the root הצער, “to be drenched, moistened,” but this is less likely in context.


preformatives in TgProv and a few attestations of –ל or –נ in TgEsth II, all of the targumim use the –ל preformative in the imperfect.

**Second Person.** There is one strong verb in the second person feminine form attested in TgSong: תָּסְבֹּלְיָא “you bear” (7:7). Notably, it does not have a final ת, as is the case in the majority of dialects. JBA and SA have alternate forms which are the same as TgSong in this regard, but the targumic form may ultimately derive from Hebrew. Forms with and without ת are attested elsewhere in LJLA.

**First Person.** TgSong does not attest the innovative JPA first common singular forms with –נ preformative.

**Strong Verb Examples in the G-Stem**

3ms: יָדָכֵר “he will remember” (8:4); יָשֹּלַט “he will rule over” (2:6); ישלט 385 “he will rule over” (2:6).

2ms: תַּיפְרֹוק “you redeem” (8:14).

380. One Yemenite manuscript has the final ת.


382. Strong verbs with apocopated ת are attested in TgPs 42:6; TgRuth 2:8; TgEsth I 4:13; 4:14. Similarly, the geminate verb תִּיעָלֵי “you shall enter” (4:8) occurs with a final ת, though there are several variants among the manuscripts; see Morphology 5.4.7.5.


384. All of the imperfect forms in Onqelos are in the Gt-stem, but the lack of vocalization in TgSong makes it impossible to determine if assimilation of the ת has occurred (most Yemenite manuscripts vocalize as a G-stem). See Cook, *Glossary*, 61.

385. This is omitted in most of the Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript due to parablepsis.
Strong Verb Examples in the D-Stem

3ms: “he will make atonement” (3:3); יִכְפֹּר 3ms יִפְקֵד “he commands” (2:4); יִקְבֶּל “he will receive” (4:16).

1cp: “we will examine” (7:13); נְבָקֵר “we will accept” (7:10).

Strong Verb Examples in the C-Stem

3mp: ”they shall possess it” (2:7).

1cp: ”let us surround” (3:2); יִנָּשָׁר 389 “let us rise early” (7:13).

Strong Verb Examples in the Gt-Stem or Dt-Stem

There are no attested imperfect forms of strong verbs in any of the t-stems.

386. This form may be a Hebraism since it does not have the final †– known from other dialects of Aramaic.

387. Several manuscripts have the form אֲבָדָה.

388. This is in the relative clause יִפְקֵד. Three western manuscripts have an inseparable יִפְקֵד and perfect form יִפָּקֵד; four western manuscripts have a separable יִפְקֵד with a perfect for יִפָּקֵד; two western manuscripts and most of the Yemenite manuscripts have the form יִפָּקֵד. Context suggests that an imperfect form is original.

389. One western manuscript has נָכְדָו.
3.4.4 Imperative

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<td>ṣ</td>
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<tr>
<td>fs</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>fp</td>
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The Aramaic imperative is formed from the same base as the imperfect conjugation, though without the preformatives. The imperatives in TgSong are consistent with the forms attested in BA, JLA, and the late, western dialects. The late eastern dialects exhibit various forms of the imperatives. Some forms have apocopated final vowels, and Syriac and Mandaic have alternate, though rare, plural forms with final /-n/.

Strong Verb Examples in the G-Stem

ms: עורק “flee” (8:14).

fs: הדרי “return” (6:1); פתחי “open” (5:2).

mp: סעידו391 “sustain” (2:5).

Strong Verb Examples in the D-Stem

ms: קבילי392 “receive” (7:12); קרב “bring near” (1:4).

fs: שבחי “praise” (5:2).

mp: קבילים “receive” (2:5).

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391. Four Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript have סעידו. Compare the form סעודי in Onqelos and סעידו in TgPsJ (Neofiti does not orthographically indicate a theme vowel) at Gen 18:5.

392. Some western manuscripts, including Paris 110, have a defective form קבל in 7:14, but the majority of manuscripts have the form קבלי.
Strong Verb Examples in the C-Stem

fs: אֶסְכִּרִי “cause to go around” (6:5).

Strong Verb Examples in the Gt

There are no attested imperatives in the Gt-stem.

Strong Verb Examples in the Dt-Stem

mp: אָתִתֵּקָה “be delighted” (5:1).

3.4.5 Infinitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>G-stem</th>
<th>D-stem (including absolute)</th>
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</table>

393. Steven E. Fassberg, “Infinitival Forms in Aramaic,” in Historical Linguistics 2005 (eds. Joseph C. Salmons and Shannon Dupenion-Smith; CILT 284; Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2007), 251. While there is only one attested infinitive with the preformative in OA (Tell Fekhereye line 7), the fact that all of the infinitives in IA (other than the verb אָמַר “to say” and possibly לִבְּנֵא “to build” in Ezra 5:3, 13) have the preformative suggests that these forms may have been more widespread than our current evidence shows; see Folmer, Aramaic Language, 189–90.
exception. On two occasions, Paris 110 attests the JPA form لمركر “to redeem” (2:8; 7:14) with an /o/ vowel between the second and third radicals; the other manuscripts have لمركر.  

As for the so-called derived stems, TgSong has forms that are largely consistent with the ones found in JLA (and BA): קַטָּא (D-stem), הַקְטָא/א (C-stem), etc. The final א– is usually changed to –וּת– when suffixes are added. Later dialects have a number of different forms that include a preformative –מ, likely derived from either the G-stem infinitive or some other form of the verbal system, like the participles. This is the case in JPA, SA, Syriac and the majority of attestations in Mandaic. There are two occurrences with a preformative –מ

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394. Infinitives without the preformative may not have completely disappeared from the spoken language since they are the most common forms in all of the Neo-Aramaic dialects; see Fassberg, “Infinitival Forms,” 249.

395. This form is not uncommon with this verb in LJLA. See also TgPs 31:3; 74:11; 80:3; 109:31; 116:6; TgRuth 4:4, 6; TgEsth II 7:10; TgPsJ Gen 15:18; Exod 2:23; 12:42; Lev 25:26; 20:4; 32:39; these are roughly half of the LJLA attestations (not including TgSong). On the JPA form, see T. Muraoka, “On the Morphosyntax of the Infinitive in Targumic Aramaic,” in Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition (ed. Michael Sokoloff; Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University, 1983), 78–79; Kutscher, Studies, 29.

396. See the paradigm charts in Lambdin, “Introduction,” 68–69; Rosenthal, Grammar, §111.

397. Forms with the preformative are attested as early as IA in the Hermopolis letters and Ahiqar; see Folmer, Aramaic Language, 191–98.

398. See the forms listed in Fassberg, “Infinitival Forms,” 547. CPA is different in that the C-stem forms with the preformative are late and likely influenced by Syriac. All of the western dialects (and Syriac) maintain forms without the preformative, and they function as verbal nouns.
in TgSong: למשתעי “to recount” (5:10, Dt-stem); למהכא “to walk, go” (1:7, D-stem).

Eastern dialects have different suffixes on their derived stem infinitives, and JBA additionally has a different vowel pattern with an /o/ vowel (e.g. קשתל in the D-stem).

These JBA infinitival forms are attested on two occasions in TgSong, and both of them have suffixes: למכוכינון “to humble them” (6:12); לפרסומינון “to reveal them” (5:10).

Strong Verb Examples in the G-Stem

למדהל “to fear” (8:2); למחתס “to inherit” (3:5); למחורט “to repent” (5:4); לממער “to make” (1:14); לממפה “to worship” (1:1); למפרוק “to redeem” (2:8; 7:14); למ UNSIGNED “to approach” (158).

399. This is consistent with the rest of LJLA, which has forms with –מ in fewer than 10% of the derived stem infinitives. This particular root is an exception (TgPs 50:16, 19; 73:28 [with an 8– suffix, as in JPA]; 102:22; TgJob 37:23); three attestations are spelled without the –מ (TgPs 26:7; TgPsJ Gen 9:24; Num 12:8). TgProv has the preformative on all seven of its derived stem infinitives (1:2, 3, 6; 24:8; 25:27; 26:19; 30:21), and forms with the preformative are much more common in TgEsth II. For TgPsJ, see Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 193–96.

400. Note that the Yemenite recension and three of the western manuscripts have the JLA form. Forms with the –מ preformative are not uncommon with this root in the D-stem in other LJLA texts. Note TgPs 56:14; TgJob 1:7; 2:2; TgPsJ Gen 14:14; Deut 13:6. It occurs without the –מ in TgPs 78:10; 139:3; TgJob 34:8; Ruth 1:16; Tg2Chr 6:16; 17:6; TgPsJ Lev 18:4 (mirrors the Onqelos form).

401. Syriac ends in a final /-ū/ while JBA and Mandaic have a final /-ē/. See Fassberg, “Infinitival Forms,” 246. For the geographical distribution of the derived stem infinitives in MA dialects, see Cook, “Qumran Aramaic,” 11-12.


403. On the form of the infinitive in JBA with suffixes, see Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 200–01.

404. Most manuscripts have the defective form למחורט.

405. Most manuscripts have the defective form לממלת.

406. Only attested in Paris 110; all others have למפרך.

407. This is a G-stem infinitive with what is traditionally a D-stem meaning, “bring near,
offer sacrifices” (1:14); למשלח ⁴⁰⁸ “to send” (2:7); משלב “the completing of” (3:5); "to seek” (5:6).

**Strong Verb Examples in the D-Stem**

- הלכא “to walk” (1:6);
- למהכא ⁴⁰⁹ “to go” (1:7);
- לכתלכ “to destroy” (2:9);
- לכפתא “to bind” (7:5);
- למקבה “to receive” (8:5). There is one infinitive absolute attested in TgSong: קבלא “receive” (7:10).

**Strong Verb Examples in the C-Stem**

- לאחסנה “to inherit” (3:5).

**Strong Verb Examples in the Gt-Stem**

- לאיתבза “to be split open” (8:5);
- לאיתפרקה “to be redeemed” (7:13).

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offer sacrifice.” This also occurs at 7:6 (western recension), 13.

⁴⁰⁸ All other manuscripts have the defective form למשלח.

⁴⁰⁹ Three western manuscripts and the Yemenite recension do not have the מ. LJLA has forms of this verb with and without מ. Forms with מ are attested in TgPs 56:14; TgJob 1:7; 2:2. Forms without מ are attested in TgPs 78:10; 139:3; TgJob 34:8; TgRuth 1:16; Tg2Chr 6:16; 17:6. Of the three attestations in TgPsJ, the form without מ is in line with Onqelos (Lev 18:4); the two forms with מ are not attested in Onqelos (Gen 14:14; Deut 13:6 [also in Neofiti]).

⁴¹⁰ Four western manuscripts have לכתלכ; one Yemenite manuscript has the Hebrew form לבלכ. The form לכתלכ predominates in LJLA, and the form לכתלכ only occurs in Tg1Chr 1:43; TgEsth II 1:2; TgPsJ Exod 12:13.
Strong Verb Examples in the Dt-Stem

לַאֲתָכְרַבָּה (1:1); לאַיְכוֹדְשׁ (1:1) “to be offered as sacrifice” (1:15).

3.4.6 Active and Passive Participles

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<td>כ (emph)</td>
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Participles are inflected in the same manner as nouns and adjectives. The G-stem active participle derives from an original pattern *qāṭīl- whereas the G-stem passive participle derives from an original pattern *qāṭīl-. As for the other stems, though each has a unique pattern, they all have a –מ preformative in their participial forms. 414

3.4.6.1 Active Participles

Strong Verb Examples in the G-Stem

ms: גָּנִיב “stealing” (2:15); דְּמִיך “he sleeps” (8:14); כְּהִל “is able” (7:9); עָרִיק “it flees” (8:14); רַדְפָּה, רַדְפָּה “pursues” (2:14); רֹדִיק “love” (1:8).

411. Most manuscripts have the defectively spelled לאַסְּתַקְפָּה.

412. This form and its defectively spelled counterpart is likely a mistake in the western recension; the preferred imperfect form יִתְקֵדָשׁ is attested in most of the Yemenite manuscripts. The א of the western form was initially added to the imperfect by a word division mistake from the preceding א בָּל (8) “as the night.”

413. One western manuscript has the form לאַרְתּוֹבָה, and all other manuscripts are defectively spelled לאַרְתּוֹבָה.

414. On the different participial patterns, see the chart in Gzella, Cultural History of Aramaic, 34–35.
fs: עבדא “making” (3:5); קסלא “worship” (6:3); נברא “it defeats” (2:16).

mp: גเทคโนโล “they reach a decision” (5:12); דתלי “fearing” (1:4); חסרין “lacking” (7:3);ปรין “rebelling” (8:4); עברין “they transgress” (5:15);טערי “they squeeze” (1:14); מדרין “worshippers of” (8:6); RUNNING (1:4); רדסינ “lovers of” (5:1); תשלל “lift” (3:8).

fp: עלות “drip” (4:11).

Strong Verb Examples in the D-Stem

ms: מבור “guiding” (1:8); מوحد “he promulgates, renews” (5:10); מעיב “detains” (3:5); מעלף “receive” (1:16); מעפל “killing” (2:15); מעפל “praising” (4:7).

fs: מחלא “walk” (1:8); מעבלה “receive” (7:7).

mp: מחבר “bless” (3:7); מחבר “guides of” (1:8); מעבר “intercalate” (7:5); מעמשינ “they minister” (5:10); ديسمฬינ “who ally (trans.)” (1:7).

415. Two Yemenite manuscripts do not have this word.

416. The subject is the compound דישראל ומחדת ואכלים וכול ווליואי ‘the priests, Levites, and tribes of Israel.”

417. The Yemenite recension mistakenly has כלים “to them.”

418. The Yemenite recension has מעיב. The three attestations of this form attested in LJLA are spelled without the י: TgPsJ Gen 22:1, 10 (also in Neofiti and Fragment Targum V); Num 12:14.

419. The Yemenite recension and one western manuscript have מעיבל. Forms without the י are much more common in LJLA.

420. Several manuscripts, including the entire Yemenite recension, have מעיבל. The three other attestations of this form attested in LJLA are spelled without the י: TgPsJ Gen 49:11; Num 11:26; Deut 33:20. All are likewise attested in Neofiti.

421. The Yemenite recension has מעיבל.

422. Most Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript have Dt forms, but the D is
Strong Verb Examples in the C-Stem

ms: מחדר “bring back” (8:7); ממאכין “agree” (8:13); ממהנה “look upon” (8:14).

fs: מסחרא “surrounds” (3:7); ממאכין “finds” (8:10).

mp: מסחרין “surround” (7:3); ממלוחין “make prosperous, successful” (3:7).

fp: מסחרן ממאכין 423 “surrounding” (2:6).

Strong Verb Examples in the Gt-Stem

ms: מתפריש “was separated” (4:12).

fs: מיטמרא ממאכין 424 “is hidden” (2:14); מכתכתבא ממאכין 425 “is written” (1:4).

mp: מתעבדן ממאכין 426 “they are done” (3:6); מתפרישין ממאכין 427 “are separated” (7:8); ממשלחין ממאכין 427 “are released” (4:12).

Strong Verb Examples in the Dt-Stem

ms: המסכל “looks” (8:14); ממתעדת ממאכין 428 “is drenched” (5:2).

preferred. Most variants can be traced to a separable relative pronoun דִּי before the verb. This has become inseparable in Paris 110, though the י is abnormally maintained.

423. The subject is ענני “clouds” (masculine).

424. All other manuscripts are defectively spelled, ממאכין.

425. Most manuscripts are defectively spelled without assimilation, מכתכתבא.

426. Most manuscripts have ממאכין “miracles.” The subject is the masculine נפשי “their souls.”

427. The subject is נפשיו “their souls.”

428. This is attested as a D PPtc in most Yemenite manuscripts.
**Passive Participles**

**Strong Verb Examples in the G-Stem**

- **ms:** "engraved" (5:14); "sealed" (4:12); "compared" (2:1); "enwrapped" (5:10); "is occupied with" (4:4); "affixed" (4:9).
- **fs:** "torn" (2:2); "remembering" (8:1); "compared" (2:2); "enclosed" (2:14); "sustained" (3:6).
- **mp:** "shorn" (4:2); "remember" (1:4); "compared" (2:15); "trusting" (4:4).
- **fp:** "torn" (2:2); "engraved" (5:14); "hewn" (1:11); "sealed" (4:12); "hidden" (4:12); "are compared" (2:15).

**Strong Verb Examples in the D-Stem**

- **ms:** "is sweet" (2:14); "clarified" (1:1); "praised" (2:3).

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429. Two Yemenite manuscripts have a fuller spelling.

430. Three western manuscripts have a masculine plural form.

431. The majority of manuscripts read as feminine. The subject is the 1cs pronoun מ(kernel) whose antecedent is the feminine משלשהディיירשתא "congregation of Israel."

432. Reading with the majority of manuscripts against Paris 110’s מהרillas.

433. Most manuscripts have the absolute masculine והר.
Strong Verb Examples in the C-Stem

There are no attested passive participles of strong verbs in the C-stem.

3.4.7 Weak Verbs

3.4.7.1 Verbs I-

Verbs that are I- exhibit changes in certain conjugations of the G-stem and C-stem.

In the G-stem, the undergoes a regular sound change and quiesces at the end of syllables. Consequently, the vowel quality changes, and it is written with a  י; this affects the imperfect and the infinitive. The quiescing of in such conditions is an early, phonological feature, but the remained in the written texts of certain dialects, such as BA and Syriac. As is common throughout the Aramaic dialects, the initial acts as an initial י in several conjugations of the C-stem. As such, it contracts to י. In TgSong, this is attested in the imperative and infinitive.

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434. Most Yemenite manuscripts have absolute forms, מלבשין. The construct is preferred.

435. Rosenthal, Grammar, §120–21; Nöldeke, Syriac Grammar §174. One occasionally finds historic spellings with in other dialects, such as JPA and JBA; see Fassberg, Grammar, 180–81; Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 135–36. Note that in JBA and Mandaic, the I- and I- are usually grouped together as one verbal class on account of the weakened gutturals; see, Macuch, Handbook, 295–96; Nöldeke, Grammatik, 241–42.
Examples

G-stem imperfect. 3ms: יימר “he says” (8:4). 3mp: ימרור “they will say” (8:1). 1cp: ניזל "we go" (3:2).

G-stem infinitive. ימלל "to learn” (2:4); ימלמר "from saying” (1:1).

C-stem imperative: mp: אוריך "wait” (2:7).

C-stem infinitive: להבדה "to destroy” (2:17).

3.4.7.2 Verbs I-ן

Verbs with an initial ק in TgSong usually exhibit assimilation of the ק when there is no intervening vowel, as is standard in JLA and most of the late dialects. This sound change is attested in the imperfect, imperative (which usually only contains the second and third root letters), and infinitive in the G-stem as well as the perfect, participle, and infinitive in the C-stem. Exceptions include the G-stem infinitive ימלע "to beat” (7:5) and the root נהר, which resists the assimilation across the dialects on account of the הר.

Examples

G-stem imperfect. 1cs: אתן “I will give” (1:11). 3mp: יפקת "they will go out” (2:12).

436. Three western manuscripts have the form ניזל.

437. Note the use of the older Haph’el.

438. Mandaic is inconsistent, and JBA has a number of exceptions. See Macuch, *Handbook*, 291–92; Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, 129–32. For a full discussion of the assimilation of ק in TgSong, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.1.1. The verb ילק "to come up, go up” similarly acts like a I-ן verb.

439. Note that this attestation is closely followed by a D-stem infinitive of the same root, which does not assimilate the ק. On the inconsistency with this particular root in TgPsJ, see Cook, “Rewriting the Bible,” 199.

G-stem infinitive. למומג “to beat” (7:5); למאמס “to go out” (8:8); למיתינ “to give” (7:13).

C-stem perfect. 3mp: אפיקו “they sent out” (2:7).


C-stem infinitive. לאמנטאר “to illuminate” (4:16); לאפקא “to bring out” (2:8).

3.4.7.3 Verbs I-

A feature common to all Northwest Semitic languages is that initial /*w/ merged with /*y/, with only a few exceptions. The resulting group of I- verbs undergo two types of changes in the verbal conjugations. First, evidence from vocalized texts in other dialects indicates that in G-stem conjugations with preformatives, the \* quiesces or assimilates, depending on the verb. Note that the imperative only has the second and third root consonants, as is the case with I-ו verbs. Second, the etymological \* of I-ו verbs is retained in the C-stem and contracts to /ô/ in all of the late dialects.

Examples

G-stem imperative. ms: הב “give” (1:4). mp: הב “give” (2:5).

440. Several manuscripts have the defective spelling למאמס.

G-stem infinitive. לַמלְדָּה “to bear a child” (8:5); לַמַּכוּדְדוּה לַמְּכוֹדְדוּה “to burn him” (7:6, Yemenite recension); לַמלְתָּב “to sit” (2:3).

C-stem perfect. 3ms: אָבָב meaning “he brought” (5:2); אָסָס “he admonished” (1:1); אָסָב “he stretched out” (5:4); אָסָב “he caused to dwell” (8:11). 3mp: אָבִּיל “they brought” (5:7).


C-stem active participle. ms: מַכְוָה “admonishing” (7:7). mp: מְדָעָה “make known” (2:3); מַכָּוָה “admonishing” (5:15).

C-stem infinitive: לַמַּכְּבָה 443 “do good to” (5:12); לַמַּכְּבָה “burn” (8:6).

3.4.7.3 Hollow Verbs

Hollow roots have a long /ū/ or /ī/ vowel instead of a middle consonant. 444 The G-stem perfect conjugation is of two types. Some of the verbs simply have the two root consonants, and the Yemenite vocalization suggests an /a/ class vowel between the two consonants. Other verbs have an /i/ class vowel between the root consonants, orthographically indicated by a י. In the imperfect, the hollow verbs have a medial י, with the exception of the root הָהָד, which likely has an /ǎ/ vowel in the form והד. The imperative has a medial י. Participles have either

442. Note that TgPsJ Gen 11:28 has both לַמֵּכֶה לַמָּכְּדֶה and לַמָּכֶה לַמְּכֶה־לַמָּכֶה. The western recension has לַמָּכֶה־לַמָּכֶה “to offer him” at TgSong 7:6.

443. Yemenite manuscripts have לַאֵיטב. Both forms are attested in JLA, though לַאֵיטב is more common. Evidence from Neofiti and the one vocalized form in the Cairo Geniza manuscripts (Deut 5:29 Ms. D) suggests that the JPA form was mayṭāḇā. The C-stem perfect form of this root is spelled אָטָב in SA and CPA (DSA, 342; DCPA, 161). Forms with י are more common in LJLA.

444. Note that middle נ verbs are treated as strong verbs in TgSong.
a medial י or א. Most infinitives have no middle consonant, though certain roots have a ת, a feature known from late western dialects.445

In the D-Stem and Dt-stem, the hollow verbs are treated as though the middle “radical” is strong. As such, it is indicated by either י or ו. In the C-stem, the stem vowels /i/ or /e/ are used, indicated by י, though defective forms suggest an /a/ vowel in certain words affected by guttural consonants. Hollow verbs in the Gt-stem have no middle consonant in the perfect conjugation and what is likely an /ā/ vowel between the two root consonants in the infinitival forms.

Examples

G-stem perfect. 3ms: זן “he fed” (6:3); חס “he had pity” (2:9); מית “he died” (8:11); קפ “he withstood” (7:9); בחר “he turned” (3:4). 1cs: יתע “I trembled” (2:5). 3mp: عم “they trembled” (1:3); יהב “they sinned” (5:2); מב “they died” (8:5); קב “they arose” (3:5).

G-stem imperfect. 3ms: קום “stands” (7:5). 3mp: יסופין “they shall perish” (2:7). 1cp: ניאך “we will go” (7:13).

G-stem imperative. ms: קום “arise” (7:14). fs: בחר “rejoice loudly” (5:2); קומי “arise” (2:10); יהב “turn” (7:1).


445. Kutscher, Studies, 29; Fassberg, Grammar, 185–86; Tal, Samaritan Aramaic, 69. Müller-Kessler states that all of the hollow verb infinitives in CPA are infinitive absolutes, as in עת “he will indeed die”; Grammatik, 217.

446. The majority of manuscripts are defectively spelled, ניאך.

447. Four manuscripts have the explicitly masculine form פ”ש(ש). The subject is the 1cp pronoun אנחנא, and the antecedent is the feminine כנישתא “congregation.”
G-stem infinitive. "to spend the night" (2:6); "to die" (2:7); "arise, stand" (7:9); "turn, return" (5:4).

D-stem perfect. 1cs: נמיית "I established" (2:13); סנינ "they fenced in" (7:3).

D-stem participle. ms: מוחזר "whitens" (5:15). mp: מוחזרין "whitens" (4:3).

D-stem infinitive. לחיים "to pronounce guilt" (8:13).

C-stem perfect. 3ms: אוגח "he initiated battle" (1:1); אתי "he replied" (3:3). 3fs: אניבת "she replied" (1:16). 3mp: אוגחו "they initiated battle" (2:16; 6:9); אניבו "they replied" (6:1).

C-stem imperfect. 3mp: תזידון "you might [not] plan to act haughtily" (2:7).

C-stem imperative. ms: אצייה "listen" (1:1).

448. The majority of manuscripts are defectively written למהות.

449. The majority of manuscripts have the form כש(ו) למהות. LJLA has forms with and without ו; forms with ו are attested in TgPs 69:3; TgJob 1:6; 2:1; 22:20; TgRuth 4:10, 15; Tg2Chr 20:6, 12; TgEsth II 1:2; twenty of the twenty-eight attestations in TgPsJ (four of the exceptions have suffixes).

450. The ו in this form have caused some confusion among the manuscripts, particularly in the Yemenite recension. Several western manuscripts have the more characteristic כש(ו) למהות. The western form attested in Paris 110 (משנה) is also attested elsewhere in LJLA: TgJob 15:22; TgRuth 1:7, 16; TgQoh 3:20; 12:13; Tg2Chr 18:21; 20:27; 36:13; TgPsJ Exod 4:21; Num 35:32; Deut 10:6; 17:16; 24:4.

451. This is most likely a denominative verb from סני "fence"; see ChW 2:157. This is attested as כש in three manuscripts, which may be a tertiary meaning of כש בד in JBA, "to shut" (DJBA 787), or a scribal error.

452. Four manuscripts have a feminine form. The subject is the masculine המות המותות "their sins." It is possible that the feminine המות המותות "scarlet" led to the variants.

453. The majority of Yemenite manuscripts have the form אניה.

454. Three western manuscripts and the Yemenite recension have the form אניה.
C-stem active participle. ms: מעך “oppressing” (2:14). fs: מתרבת “replying” (8:10).

mp: מעך “oppressing” (5:7).

C-stem infinitive. לאגחא “to initiate battle” (8:4).

Gt-stem perfect. 3mp: איתערו “they woke up” (7:10).

Gt-stem infinitive. לאיתערא “to wake up” (5:2).

Dt-stem perfect. 3ms: אתחייבו “they incurred guilt” (1:14). 3mp: אתחייבו “they incurred guilt” (2:15).

3.4.7.5 Geminate Verbs

Geminate verbs have identical second and third radicals. In the attested forms in TgSong, the G-stem geminate verbs other than the passive participle (there are no active participles in TgSong) only have the first two radicals. One notable imperfect form is the verb תעיל “you shall enter” (4:8), which occurs with a final א– rather than a final ת.\(^{455}\) This may be due to Hebrew influence. The C-stem attestations likewise only have the first two radicals, and the forms have a medial /i/ vowel indicated by a י. The one Gt-stem attestation (from the root חማ) is an error in some Yemenite manuscripts for the III-weak verbs חמי or חזי “to see” (TgSong 8:5). The D-stem and Dt-stem have all three radicals as a strong verb.

Examples

G-stem perfect. 1cs: עלית “I entered” (5:1). 3mp:علا “entered” (8:4).

\(^{455}\) Note the following variants: תעיל, תעיל, and תעילים. Similarly, see the discussion of the verb תשים “you bear” (7:7) in Morphology 3.4.3.
G-stem imperfect. 3ms: ייעול “may he enter” (4:16). 2fs: תיעול “you shall enter” (4:8). 3mp: ייעוב “which they will plunder” (8:7); ייעול “they shall enter” (2:7).


G-stem infinitive. ייעל “to enter” (1:1; 4:12).

D-stem perfect. 3ms: חביב “he loved” (1:2). 1cs: שרגית “I desired” (2:3). 3mp: קיצוץ “they cut down” (3:5).

D-stem imperfect. 1cs: אמלל “I shall speak” (1:1).

456. Two Yemenite manuscripts have the erroneous form ייעיל.

457. There are several variants on this word: ת אליהו, ת אליהו, and ת אליהו. The other forms in LJLA are ת אליהו (TgProv 22:24); ת אליהו (TgRuth 3:4, with many of the same variants as TgSong); ת אליהו (TgEsth II 1:12). Note that the one attestation of this form in JLA (1 Kgs 1:13) is ת אליהו. JBA has the form ת אליהו (Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 143); Syriac has the form יכלל (Peshitta Mark 9:25)

458. Two western manuscripts have the form יכל (pf), but the imperfect form is preferred.

459. Yemenite manuscripts have ייעול.

460. This is perhaps a variant of יכלל “to reveal.” Otherwise, the meaning of “reveal” with this root (גלל) is only attested in Mandaic (MD, 94). The subject is שבטית, being treated as feminine, unless defective. The word is not attested in most Yemenite manuscripts.

461. Three manuscripts have the defective form ייעל.

462. Several manuscripts have the form יכל, which could be a G-stem perfect, but the geminated consonant is not standard in the G-stem in TgSong.

463. The majority of manuscripts have the forms אמלל or אמלל. The standard JLA form is אמלל, and the JPA form is אמלל. The form as seen in Paris 110 (אמלל) is frequent in JBA, where the vocal schewa after the preformative of D-stem imperfect verbs is often represented with א (Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 125–28). This is the more frequent form in TgJob (9:35; 13:3, 13, 22; 32:20) and TgPsJ (Exod 35:22; Num 11:17; 12:6; 22:20, 35; 24:13; Deut 5:31; 31:28; 32:1). Most importantly, this is the form attested in TgPsJ Deut 32:1, which is being quoted here. It contrasts with the other targumic forms at this verse.
D-stem active Participle. ms: מָאָלָלathamal 464 “spying out” (2:6). mp: מָאָלְלָיָהmalalaya 465 “spying out” (2:7); מָמָלָלsouth “speaking” (7:1).

D-stem passive participle. ms: מָוָההmovah 464 “refined” (3:10).

D-stem infinitive. לְמָאָלָלšimalale “to spy out” (2:7); לְמָמָל south “to bring low” (2:6).

C-stem perfect. 3ms: אָגִיןagin 466 “he protected” (1:1).

C-stem imperfect. 2ms: תֵּעִילtuval “you shall bring in” (8:14).


C-stem active participle. ms: מָעִילme’il “bringing in” (3:5).

C-stem infinitive. לְמָעָטâlt “to defile” (7:1).

Dt-stem perfect. 3ms: סֵיָבָטâibat “it was founded” (2:5).

Dt-stem participle. ms: מָתָמָלmatmal “conversing” (1:2).

464. The Yemenite recension has a number of different forms.

465. This is likely an infinitive with prefixed preposition מְלָאָל thalamal “from spying out,” as is attested in a number of manuscripts.

466. The other attestation of this form at 2:9 is defective in Paris 110 but plene in most of the manuscripts.

467. Reading with the Yemenite recension and two western manuscripts. The other manuscripts have the root בָּשם bashem in the Dt-stem “to be made sweet,” a simple graphic error.
3.4.7.6 Verbs III-Weak

The III-weak verbs are a complex group of verbs whose final radicals were either an etymological */y/, */w/, or */ʾ/. The III-weak verbs in TgSong are most like those in JLA.

One notable JLA feature attested in TgSong is the frequent use of a final י— on the perfect first common singular forms (e.g. צביתי “I desired,” 5:6); this does not occur in other dialects. The few exceptions to JLA forms tend to exhibit JPA influence. First, the plural participles are often like those found in BA and JPA. For instance, the JLA masculine plural G-stem participle of the verb בָא “to seek” is בָאַן in JLA, but it is attested as בָּאַי in TgSong 4:3, as it

468. For discussion of these complex verbs in the various dialects, see the following grammars: Folmer, Aramaic Language, 222–236; Rosenthal, Grammar, §144–56; Cantineau, Nabatéen, 83–84; Muraoka, Grammar, 130–40; Lambdin, Introduction, 50, 69; Fassberg, Grammar, 188–190; Odeberg, Short Grammar, 32–37; Tal, Samaritan Aramaic, 73–75; Müller-Kessler, Grammatik, 136–256; Bar-Asher Siegal, Introduction, 147–50; Nöldeke, Syriac Grammar, §176; Nöldeke, Grammatik, §190–95.

469. Lambdin, Introduction, 27.
appears in BA and JPA. Second, the western word חמי “to see” unsurprisingly has JPA forms in the G-stem perfect third masculine plural and imperative masculine plural, חמון (TgSong 3:1, 11; 6:9).\(^{470}\) All of the other III-weak words in TgSong have the forms attested in JLA (e.g. בנה “they built,” TgSong 6:2). Third, the Gt-stem perfect third masculine plural form of the root חזי “to appear” is attested with a variant JPA and JBA form אית了多少 (TgSong 2:12), rather than the JLA אתחזו.\(^{471}\) Fourth, the G-stem participial form ענה “responds” (TgSong 5:2) is likely modeled on the BA form.\(^{472}\) Finally, the Gt-stem perfect third feminine singular of the root חמי “to appear” is oddly attested as איתחמת (TgSong 8:5).\(^{473}\)

**Examples**

G-stem perfect. 3ms: בה נבר “he built” (3:7); חוזא “he saw” (2:9); מטא “it arrived” (1:7).

3fs: ענת “she replied” (5:3); שרת “resided” (1:5). 2fs: בנת “you built” (5:1). 1cs: גנאת \(^{474}\) “I hid,” as one sees in the other manuscripts.

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\(^{470}\) Paris 110 and several western manuscripts prefer חמי (the western word); Yemenite manuscripts prefer חזי (the eastern and JLA word).

\(^{471}\) Note that while five of the Yemenite manuscripts vocalize the word as איתחו, one of the manuscripts has the mixed form אתחיו. For similar forms in LJLA, see TgPsJ Num 6:3; TgJob 22:16; 33:21.

\(^{472}\) Note that this occurs with אמר “to say” and is likely modeled on the BA forms ... ענה ואמר (e.g. Dan 2:5). The TgSong verse concerns the Babylonian exile.

\(^{473}\) This may be a miscopying of the original אסרון, where the ח was copied as a ח; Edward M. Cook, p.c. winter 2016. For similar forms, see TgPsJ Gen 7:17; Deut 25:4; TgEsth II 3:14. Yemenite manuscripts erroneously have חמה in the Gt-stem “to be hot.”

\(^{474}\) This occurs in two Yemenite manuscripts. The word is only attested in Syriac, but it is not the Syriac form, for which we would expect גננה. In fact, it is likely a scribal error for גננה “I hid,” as one sees in the other manuscripts.
hid” (7:14); “I desired” (5:6); “I regretted” (5:5). 3mp: בנה475 “built” (6:2); “they sought” (3:1); תחתימות476 “they saw” (6:9); “they stank” (1:12).

G-stem imperfect. 1cs:owski477 “I will see” (7:9). 3mp: בנין “they will build” (3:5); עניינן “they might [not] turn aside” (1:10). 1cp: נבך “we will seek” (8:9); נחידי “we will rejoice” (1:4); נישתון478 “we will drink” (8:2).

G-stem imperative. mp: חדון479 “rejoice” (3:11); חٻון480 “see” (3:11).

G-stem active participle. ms: דמי “resembles” (2:11); עניין “turn aside” (1:10); ענה481 “responds” (5:2); דמי “throws” (8:5). fs: בעיו “seek” (5:9); דמי “resembles” (4:8; 8:6); טארון482 “dwells” (4:6). mp: בעין “seeking” (4:3); טארון483 “arguing” (3:8); סגיין484 “are many”

475. Similarly, the form בני occurs in Paris 110 at 1:8. Fontela puts a dot above the י indicating the uncertainty of the reading. The manuscripts are divided over whether or not it is בני (masculine singular participle) or בנה. The verb has the compound subject וד שלמהלך “David and Solomon,” and the original form was likely בנה.

476. Most of the manuscripts have the verb חרז “to see.”

477. Most of the manuscripts have the verbחרז “to see.”

478. All manuscripts besides Paris 110 have the defective formنشرית.

479. Several manuscripts have the singular formחרז.

480. Most of the manuscripts have the verbחרז “to see” in the JLA formחרז.

481. Two manuscripts have the third masculine perfect form ענה; most of the Yemenite manuscripts have the participial form עניין. The given form is likely modeled on the BA construction with אמר “to say.”

482. Most manuscripts have the formשריחא.

483. There are many variants for this word, which in the given form (טארון) is treated as a hollow root rather than a III-weak root.

484. Variants include סגיין and סגיין.
are many” (6:11); "burn” (1:9); “pasturing” (4:5). fp: דמיין 485 “resembling” (4:2).


G-stem infinitive. לָהֵמָיו 487 “to extinguish” (8:7); לָחֵמָי לָכַיָּהו 488 “to acquire” (8:7).

D-stem perfect. 3ms: מני “he appointed” (1:14); צלי “he prayed” (3:6). 3fs: צליאת “she prayed” (1:1); סריאת “began” (5:10). 1cs: צליתי “I prayed” (5:6). 3mp: מניון “they appointed” (6:8); צריין “they made desolate” (3:5).

D-stem imperfect. 1cs: אנסי 490 “I will test” (7:9); אצלי “I will pray” (3:3). 2mp: תבזון “may you [not] despise” (1:6). 1cp: נצלי “we will pray” (6:1).

485. Variants include דמי and דמיין.

486. This may be a Peʾ il form.

487. Most manuscripts have the defective form לָחֵמָי.

488. Most manuscripts have the form לָמָּכַי.

489. There are many variants with this word. It is clear that the scribes were not sure if this was a hollow verb or a III-weak verb.

490. There are several variants with this verb, all related to suffixes.
D-stem active participle. ms: מְרֵבִי, produce (5:13). fs: מַעְלָא, pray (7:12). mp: מֶבוּב, “despising” (8:1); מַעְלֵי, “they were praying” (4:11); מְרֵבִי, “producing” (5:13).

D-stem infinitive. דַּכֵּא, to ritually purify (7:3); לַכְּא, “to declare innocent” (5:12).

C-stem perfect. 3ms: אָגָלְי, “he exiled” (7:12); אָשֵׂקִי, “he caused to drink” (1:14). 1cs: אָעָדְתי, “I removed” (5:3); אָשֶׁרֶית, “I caused to dwell” (6:11). 3mp: אָסָרָיו, “they made to stink” (1:12); אָסָרְיו, “they have made desolate” (3:5).

C-stem imperfect. 3ms: יָשְׂרֵי, “he will cause to dwell” (3:3). 2ms: תָּשֵׂרְי, “you will cause to dwell” (8:14).

C-stem imperative. ms: אַחָזִינִי, “cause to see” (with 1cs suff., 2:14).

C-stem active participle. ms: מָשְׂרֵי, “causing to dwell” (7:11).

C-stem infinitive. לַאָשָׁכֵא, “to give to drink” (4:15).

491. Paris 110 and several other manuscripts have this form. The subject in some of these manuscripts is the feminine plural גֶּנֶּנֲאָתָא “gardens,” though most manuscripts have a form which could be singular, גֵּנָה.

492. Three western manuscripts have the defective spelling of מַצֶּלָא; three western manuscripts and most Yemenite manuscripts have the masculine form מַצֶלָא. The feminine form is preferred as the subject is גֵּנֶעְתָא “congregation.”

493. Five western manuscripts have the form מָבוּב.

494. Variants include מְרֵבִי and מְרַבָּא, the latter form modifying the B-term rather than the A-term of the construct clause.

495. A few manuscripts have the form אָסָרָיו.

496. Two western manuscripts have the form אָוָיינִי.
Gt-stem perfect. 3ms: "it was built" (1:17); "it was created" (8:2); "it was revealed" (5:4); "it was full" (5:2). 3fs: "it appeared" (8:5). 3mp: "they appeared" (2:12).

Gt-stem imperfect. 2ms: "you are pleased" (8:14).

Gt-stem participle. ms: "being built" (4:6); "is revealed" (8:1); "be full" (5:15); "is called" (4:15). fs: "is called" (5:4).

Gt-stem infinitive. "to be built" (1:17); "to be seen" (1:1).

Dt-stem perfect. ms: "was appointed" (7:6).

Dt-stem imperfect. 2ms: "you are pleased" (8:14).

Dt-stem participle. mp: "incited" (8:4); "prophesy" (5:16).

Dt-stem infinitive. "to recount" (5:10).

497. Some of the Yemenite manuscripts erroneously have חם in the Gt-stem "to be hot."

498. The expected form is אתחזא. 

499. This may be a Dt-stem.

500. Variants include the perfect form אתחלי and the imperfect form יתחלי.

501. This may be a Gt-stem.

502. The Yemenite recension has the feminine form מתנבן; the subject is the masculine, collective noun עםא בית ישראל "people, house of Israel."

503. Several manuscripts have the form מתנבה.

504. The form למשתעאה is expected. Note, however, that the given form occurs in TgPs 50:16, 19; 102:22; TgJob 37:23.
3.4.7.7 Quadriradical Verbs

Some of these verbs contain four root consonants; others are comprised of a reduplicated bi-radical root.

Examples

Quad imperfect. 1cs: אישיצינון 505 “I will destroy them” (with 3mp suff., 1:13). 3mp: רדיטישון 506 “who will destroy” (8:4).

Quad active participle. ms: מסובר 507 “supporting” (6:2); מפרנס 508 “carrying” (2:6); מטטטל 508 “makes wander” (7:11). fs: מבלבלא 508 “blooms” (2:2). mp: מצלטל 508 “wandering” (1:7).

Quad infinitive: לסוברא 508 “to carry” (1:10); לפרסומינון 508 “to reveal them” (5:10).

QuadT perfect. 3mp: אחותו 510 “they were emptied out” (2:17).

QuadT imperfect. 3mp: יתפרנסון 509 “they will be supported” (1:7); ישתעבדון 509 “they will be enslaved” (2:12); ידישתיצון 510 “who will be destroyed” (8:4).
QuadT participle. ms: מתפרנס “is supported” (7:3); ms: מתפרנסין “supported” (1:8). fs: מתפרנסים “made to wander” (8:1). fs: מתפרנסים “were exposed” (2:17).

3.5 Particles

For a full list of occurrences of each particle in TgSong, see the glossary. Only those particles which show dialectal affinities are discussed and exemplified here.

3.5.1 Prepositions

– ב “in; at; with.” Common Aramaic.

בgni “because of.” This is attested in JPA and once in JLA (TgIsa 28:15). This preposition occurs 90+ times in LJLA. Examples: ובני רבות הראביה חיות ועכב “because of the merit of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” (TgSong 1:9); ובני דא톤 טוסקן מתחננים והרניה “because they occupy themselves with the words of the Torah” (4:15).

בדיל “because of.” This is primarily attested in MA and western dialects. This preposition occurs 250+ times throughout LJLA. Example: ודיל רוחות ללהמא בהי ישראל “because of the merit of the people, the house of Israel” (7:9).

511. Most Yemenite manuscripts have the form מתפרנס.

512. All other manuscripts have what is indistinguishable from a Quad form מתפרנסים. Both the Quad and the QuadT are feasible in the context. On the assimilation, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.1.1.

513. There are many variants for this word related to the assimilated ר.

514. DJP A, 84.

515. DQA, 31; DJA, 40; DJP A, 85, Cook, Glossary, 28; Tal, Language, 19; ASA, 81; DCPA, 192. It is attested in archaic contexts in JBA (DJBA, 186).
“by; at.” This is a JBA preposition, and it is always used adverbially in TgSong. Yemenite manuscripts change this to the more common –ב. The preposition ב is attested elsewhere in LJLA, but it is notably frequent in TgSong, occurring over ten times. Note that even in Paris 110 there are times when the preposition is separable and other times when it is prefixed. Examples: בַּשַׁעֲתָא “at that moment” (2:3), בְּהָיְמָא שֵׁעַרְתָא “by that merit” (1:8).

 Chun “between.” Common Aramaic.

 בר “aside from.” Common Aramaic. ברְמִיאיִים וְרָוֵרֵכְנָינִים “aside from the officials and rulers” (4:3), ברְמִיאיִים וְרָוֵרֵכְנָינִים “aside from Matitiah the High Priest and his sons” (6:7).

 בחר “after.” Common Aramaic.

 This always occurs in the constructions בְּגָרְנָא “within,” בְּגָרְנָא “from within,” and בְּגָרְנָא “into.” Common Aramaic.

 כ “like.” This is primarily a western preposition in the form רְדִי. It is quite common in LJLA, occurring 800+ times. Example: כְּבָרְנָא “like pomegranates” (4:13; 6:11).

516. DJBA, 199.

517. On the various forms and constructions, see the discussion in Morphology 3.1.4.2.

518. Note the similar temporal phrase בְּרֶשֶׁת שֵׁעַרְתָא “at that moment” in BA Dan 3:6, 15; 4:30; 5:5.

519. Alexander avers that this is closer in meaning to the Arabic ba’da; The Targum of Canticles, 11, note 9.

520. Variants include –כ ה and –כ רְדִי.

521. DJPA, 164; DCPA, 99. There is one JBA attestation in Bowl 69 (DJBA, 376).
“as, just as.” This is attested in western Aramaic, though in various forms. Examples: “just as Pharaoh and his horses, chariots, and riders were drowned” (1:9); “just as Jacob’s flock of sheep was pure” (6:6).

“as; like.” Common Aramaic.

“like.” This is attested as an adverb in older dialects. It is used in later dialects as a preposition, always with suffixes. It is complementary with –כ “as; like,” which cannot take suffixes. Example: “righteous sons like themselves” (4:13).

“towards.” This is attested in BA, JPA, and JBA; spellings vary, even within the same dialect. In LJLA, it occurs 100+ times in TgRuth, TgQoh, TgLam, TgEsth I, TgChr, and TgPsJ. Examples: “The congregation of Israel said before the peoples” (1:6); “face to face towards the priests” (7:8).

“to, toward, for.” Common Aramaic.

“outside of.” Common Aramaic.

“to, towards.” Common Aramaic.

Endnotes:

522. Variants include –דכמא.

523. DJPA, 164; DSA, 206; DCPA, 100. This particle occurs 80+ times in the targumim to the Writings; most of the TgPsJ attestations likewise occur in the Palestinian targum tradition.

524. DNWSI, 495; DJA, 56.

525. DQA, 112; DJPA, 253; Cook, Glossary, 123; DJBA, 556; DSA, 384; DCPA, 177; SL, 40 (סומר); MD, 16 (akuat).

526. Vogt, Lexicon, 284; DJPA, 259 (and note); DJBA, 978.
Forms with the prefixed –ל on the base קבל appear in the MA dialects and are common in the late dialects. There are, however, a wide variety of spellings, even within individual dialects.527

איהו—“from among” [מן + בע”מ]. This is primarily a western form.528 Example: נברא “he removed his divine presence from me” (5:6).

דפריס—“(from the) outside.” This is only attested in JLA.529 Example: מברא “which Moses pitched outside the camp” (3:2).

מטול—“on account of.” This is attested in Palmyrene, Neofiti margin, JBA bowls, and Syriac.530 It is a notably common preposition in LJLA, occurring 600+ times. Example:

“their scent is accordingly like fine spices” (4:13).

מדלע—“from below” [מן למטה]. This is primarily a western word. It is attested in JLA, Targumic JPA, SA, and one JBA bowl.531 Examples: הדר ממלע להן “one was below them” (2:6); מברא ממלע לארעא “burial caverns below the earth” (8:5).

מן—“from out of.” Common Aramaic.

עד—“until, up to.” Common Aramaic.


528. Attested in various forms, often as two separate words (מן בע”מ): *DJPA*, 313; for JLA, Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 163; *DCPA*, 231. The JBA form is מברא; *DJBA*, 203. Note that in the given example, the 3ms pronoun is a JBA form.

529. Cook, *Glossary*, 39; see also Tg2Chr 32:3; 33:15; TgPsJ Num 9:13; 35:19.

530. *DNWSI*, 618; *DJPA*, 301; *DJBA*, 665; *SL*, 747.

531. *DJPA*, 315; Cook, *Glossary*, 155; Tal, *Language*, 58; *DSA*, 66; *DJBA*, 668. See also TgPs 50:4; 120:4; TgJob 18:16; 26:5; Tg2Chr 4:3; 6:14; 32:30.
“before.” Common Aramaic.

“upon,” Common Aramaic.

“upon, over; against; concerning.” Common Aramaic.

“because of, concerning.” This is attested in JLA and the western dialects of JPA and SA. Examples: “because of the birthright” (2:15); “I inquired of them concerning the divine presence of the glory of the Lord” (3:3).

“according to.” This is attested in JLA and western dialects. Example: “according to [the guidance of] her shepherds” (1:8).

“with.” Common Aramaic.

“before;” “(from) before.” Common Aramaic.

“previously.” This is attested in BA (Dan 6:11; Ezra 5:1), QA, and one time in JLA (TgEzek 38:17). Examples: “previously he offered up sacrifices there” (2:17); “who had previously acknowledged the Lord of the World as king” (7:6).

“before.” This is only attested in Paris 110 as an occasional variant of קדם, always with suffixes. The shortened preposition occurs in a number of dialects, but the form

532. DJPA, 407; Cook, Glossary, 210; DSA, 649. It occurs 60+ times in the LJLA texts of TgPs, TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

533. DJPA, 407; Cook, Glossary, 222; DCPA, 333. In LJLA, it occurs 50+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, TgEsth I & II, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

534. It is archaic and dialectal in JBA (DJBA, 985). Note that the western dialects spell קדם.

with 1, is unique to JPA.\textsuperscript{536} Examples: "before them was the Sea of Suf" (1:9); "I prayed before him" (5:6).

2.5.2 Conjunctions

Several of the previously discussed prepositions can be used as conjunctions when followed by the particle –ד. They will not be discussed here.

אבל “but.” Though attested in JBA, this conjunction derives from Hebrew.\textsuperscript{537}

Example: אבל תחרי יואו יא תית מוקישא דערתיד לאיתבנהה “but exceedingly more beautiful shall be the temple which is going to be built” (1:17).

וא “or.” Common Aramaic.

אוף “also, even.” Paris 110 consistently spells all attestations as אוף, the form attested in the late western dialects and some Syriac texts.\textsuperscript{538} Several other TgSong manuscripts, including the Yemenite recension, spell the attestations as אוף, which is more consistent with JLA and the eastern dialects. LJLA has both forms, but אוף is more common.

For instance, there are 162 attestations of אוף and 16 attestations of אוף in TgPsJ.

\textsuperscript{536} DJA, 78 (קמי); DJPA, 481 (קומי); DJBA, 1024 (קמי); DSA, 758 (קמי); DCPA, 375–76 usually temporal (שָׁמַע; MD, 401 (qam). In LJLA, it occurs 50+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgQoh, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

\textsuperscript{537} DJBA, 75; HALOT, 7; Jastrow, Dictionary, 6. See also TgPsJ Gen 4:8; Deut 32:31.

\textsuperscript{538} DNWSI 92 (ךל); Vogt, Lexicon, 48 (ךל); DQA, 21 (ךל); DJPA, 41 (ךל); Cook, Glossary, 20 (ךל); DJBA, 152 (ךל); DSA, 55 (ךל); DCPA, 8 (ךל); SL, 81 (ךל); MD, 30 (ךל).
“if (real condition with perfect and participle).” This is attested in JBA. Examples: “I will see if he is able to withstand this temptation” (7:9); “let us ask the wise men if the merit of the righteous ones has been revealed before the Lord” (7:13).

“but; except.” Paris 110 attests a form indicating a JPA vocalization אִלָּהֵן. Several other manuscripts are defective, and this may indicate a JLA vocalization אֲלָהֵין, as is common in the Yemenite vocalization. Examples: “but which no man has permission to enter into its midst, except the righteous” (4:12).

“were it not; if.” This is attested one time in Onqelos (Exod 4:26). Otherwise, it is limited to the late western dialects. Examples: “were it not for Moses the scribe” (1:9); “unless a man gives all the wealth of his house” (8:7).

“were it not sealed by the great and holy name” (4:12).

“but, rather.” This first appears in MA dialects and is common throughout the late dialects.

539. *DJBA*, 108. It occurs 10+ times in TgQoh, TgLam, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.


541. Cook, *Glossary*, 14; *DJPA*, 49; *DSA*, 33; *DCPA*, 17 (עֲלָהִים). It occurs ten times in TgPs, TgQoh, and TgPsJ.


543. Note that the JLA form is אֲלָהִים. *DNWSI*, 57; *DQA*, 10; *DJPA*, 58, Cook, *Glossary*, 186.
“if” [likely < Hebrew]. This is attested in all the Jewish dialects.\textsuperscript{544} Example: אָם “if she stations herself like a foundation wall among the people” (8:9).

“if.” Older dialects, including BA, use the form אין. The given form is attested in western Aramaic and Syriac.\textsuperscript{545} It is common in LJLA, occurring 250+ times in the Writings alone. Example: אני “if all the kings of the earth are gathered” (8:7).

“even.” This is attested in JPA, JBA, three times in TgJon, and Rabbinic Hebrew.\textsuperscript{546} Example: אָפָל שֹׁאֵר בְּנֵי נַעַשְׁתָּא דִירְשָׁא “even the rest of the sons of the congregation of Israel” (4:1).

“for, because.” This is attested in Targumic JPA.\textsuperscript{547} It is a notably common LJLA term, occurring 2000+ times. Examples: אָפָל מְרַעֵת יִבְּרֵה יַאֲדָא “for I am sick from love” (2:5); אָפָל יוֹשֵׁב רוּשׁ אֵילָא מַמְעָטָר “for the hair of my head is full from your tears” (5:2).

\textsuperscript{544} Several manuscripts, including all of the Yemenite recension, use the more native Aramaic term אָם. Note that this is a quote from the angel Michael. Concerning the language of angelic speech, see Willem F. Smelik, \textit{Rabbis, Language and Translation in Late Antiquity} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 14, 34, 126–36.

\textsuperscript{545} \textit{DJP A}, 63; \textit{DSA}, 45; \textit{DCPA}, 20; \textit{SL}, 58.

\textsuperscript{546} \textit{DJP A}, 70; \textit{ChW} 1:53 (Isa 33:23; 40:24; Hos 8:10); \textit{DJB A}, 157 (אָפָל); Jastrow, \textit{Dictionary}, 103. The Yemenite recension usually spells אָפָל. In LJLA, it occurs 20+ times in TgPs, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgEsth, and TgPsJ.

\textsuperscript{547} \textit{DJP A}, 73. The attestations in SA indicate the adversative “but” (DSA, 60).
“for, because.” This is attested in JLA, Targumic JPA, and SA. 548 In TgSong, this is a variant of ארומ attested in only a few manuscripts at 1:13; 5:5. 549

“and, but, or.” Common Aramaic.

“as if.” This is attested in JLA (particularly TgJon) and JPA. 550 Example: כאלו וanh אוחרי ידיתן “as if they were holding in their hands” (4:4).

“when, as.” This is commonly attested in JLA and the late dialects; compare with כד in earlier dialects. 551

“when.” This is attested in JLA (TgJon), the western dialects, Syriac, and JBA. 552

In these other dialects, however, the particle means “now; enough.” Examples: כי התוקפת עליך “when the blow of the Lord’s might grew strong against me” (5:5); כי שםית “when they heard the praise” (6:1).

“as.” Common Aramaic.

548. Cook, Glossary, 22; Tal, Language, 31; DJPA, 74; DSA, 61.

549. It rarely occurs elsewhere in LJLA; ארומ is preferred.

550. DJPA, 249; Cook, Glossary, 121; Tal, Language, 172. It is defectively spelled in some TgSong manuscripts, כאלו. It occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

551. DJPA, 250; Cook, Glossary, 122; DJBA, 552; DSA, 377; DCPA, 171; SL, 599; MD, 225; in the form כי, see Vogt, Lexicon, 163; DQA, 110; DJA, 56.

552. Tal, Language, 51; DJPA, 251; DJBA, 553 (archaic and dialectal); DSA, 378; DCPA, 171; SL, 599.
3.5.3 Adverbials

באדין “then.” This is derived from BA.\(^{553}\) Example: "Then the Greeks arose" (6:8).

כן “therefore.” This is attested in JPA.\(^{554}\) It occurs 200+ times throughout LJLA.

Examples: “then, the righteous ones loved to go after the way of your goodness” (1:3); “therefore, they do not fear” (3:8).

בכין “then” [\(<\) בכינ]. This is common in the western dialects, JLA, and JBA.\(^{555}\)

Examples: “Behold, then Moses went down” (1:14); "the Hasmoneans and Matitiah, and all the people of Israel went forth” (6:9).

הכדין “thus; just as” [\(<\) הכדר]. This is attested in JPA, CPA, twice in TgJon (Judg 5:16; 2Sam 20:18), and JBA.\(^{556}\) It occurs 150+ times elsewhere in LJLA, but the copyists often confuse it with "how?" Examples: "thus I was pierced and torn” (2:2); "thus was the congregation of Israel shut up” (2:14).

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553. Vogt, Lexicon, 25. Note that most of the Yemenite manuscripts spell the word 바אדין. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, the Antiochus Scroll, and the Cairo Genizah Testament of Levi.

554. DJPA, 84.

555. DJPA, 103 (כבינ); Cook, Glossary, 35; Tal, Language, 54; DJBA, 587; DSA, 394; DCPA, 49 (כבינ).

556. DJPA, 164; DCPA, 101; Tal, Language, 55; DJBA, 332 (dialectal). Compare the more common בכינ elsewhere in JLA (Cook, Glossary, 122).

557. Several manuscripts have the JLA form בכינ.
“thus” [הכין]. This is attested in JBA. Examples: "thus it is written"
their scent is accordingly like fine spices” (4:13).

This is attested as early as IA. It also occurs in JPA, JLA (TgIsa 51:6
only), often in a shortened form in JBA (הכין), and with a different vowel pattern in Syriac
(כְּכָין). It is attested in certain manuscripts in the midrash on the ten songs. It is always in
the phrase "thus it is written” (1:1), but most manuscripts use
הכין. All of the 25+
ocurrences of this word elsewhere in LJLA are found in TgProv, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

"is not...?” Common Aramaic.

This occurs 100+ times in LJLA; the
TgPsJ attestations often correspond to
"who
surround it all around” (3:3); "oppressing round about the
city of Jerusalem” (5:7).

“already.” This is first attested in QA, and it occurs in all the late dialects.

"thus.” This is attested in JPA, JLA, CPA, and dialectal texts of JBA. In
TgSong, it is only attested in a few manuscripts in place of


558. See הכין. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgProv, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgEsth I & II, and TgPsJ.

559. Most manuscripts have either הכין or הכין.

560. DNWSI, 279; DJPA, 165; DJBA, 382; SL, 342.

561. DJPA, 193.

562. DQA, 109; DJPA, 249; Tal, Language, 43; DJBA, 550; DSA, 375 #2; DCPA, 171; SL, 597; MD, 202 #2.

563. DJPA, 251; Cook, Glossary, 122; DCPA, 172; DJBA, 332.
“together” [כ + חד]. This is attested as early as QA, and it continues into JLA, JPA, JBA, and SA. Examples: פתוחה פומח קהליך חודה כחדא כחדה כחדא כחדד “all of them opened their mouth together” (1:1); קפה חודה קמה חודה “they arose together” (3:5).

כמא “how much (declarative).” Common Aramaic.

כן “thus, so.” Common Aramaic.

כען “now.” This adverb is attested in IA, and it continues through BA, the Jewish dialects, and SA. Examples: קען קומ “Now, turn in repentance” (6:1); קומ כען “Now, arise” (7:14).

לא “no; not.” Common Aramaic.

לחודה “very.” This is attested throughout western Aramaic and JLA. Example:

דריחיה ביש חודה “whose scent is very bad” (1:12).

מאים “perhaps.” This word is attested in JLA. This is the standard LJLA spelling; Yemenite manuscripts typically spell מאים, as in JLA. The form מאים occurs 10+ times in TgJob and TgPsJ. Examples: מאים מאים אימים בורח “perhaps I will be healed by them” (2:5); מאים מאים משים על חובה כפר על חובה “perhaps he will make atonement for your sins” (3:3).

564. DQA, 112; DJPA, 255; Cook, Glossary, 125; Tal, Language, 44; DJBA, 431, DSA, 384. It is attested in an alternate form in Syriac (חֲחָדָה); SL, 40.

565. DNWSI, 526 #4; Vogt, Lexicon, 173; DQA, 117; DJA, 57; DJPA, 266; Cook, Glossary, 130; DJBA, 594; DSA, 402.

566. DQA, 127; DJPA, 280; Cook, Glossary, 138; Tal, Language, 45; DSA, 431; DCPA, 197. It occurs 70+ times in LJLA.

567. Cook, Glossary, 142; Tal, Language, 56.
“(from the) outside.” This is only attested in JLA. Examples: "a hawk oppressing her from the outside" (2:14).

“from here.” This is attested in JLA, the western dialects, and Syriac.

Example: “go from here” (2:13).

“immediately.” This is attested in Rabbinic Hebrew and the late dialects of JPA and JBA. Examples: “Immediately, the Lord of the world said to them” (2:13); “Immediately, she opened her mouth” (2:14).

“all around.” This is attested in QA and commonly occurs in JLA; it is rarely attested in JPA and JBA. It occurs in two TgSong manuscripts at 3:3, but given the strong preference for throughout the rest of TgSong and LJLA more broadly, this is probably a later scribal change. Example: “who surround it all around” (3:3)

“again.” Common Aramaic.

“little bit, small amount.” This is attested in JLA and western Aramaic. This is attested in TgJon in the form , the form used in the Yemenite recension. The late

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568. Cook, Glossary, 39; Tal, Language, 41. LJLA attestations are limited to Tg2Chr 32:3; 33:15; TgPsJ Num 9:13; 35:19.

569. Some manuscripts spell מֶכֶא.

570. DJPA, 251; Cook, Glossary, 121; Tal, Language, 43; DSA, 379; DCPA, 232. It occurs 10+ times in the LJLA texts of TgRuth, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

571. Jastrow, Dictionary, 563; DJPA, 314; DJBA, 524.

572. DQA, 165; Cook, Glossary, 191; DJPA, 372; DJBA, 797.

573. ChW, 2:311; DJPA, 462; DSA, 730; DCPA, 353. (ןוֹכָה).
dialects conjoin the two words. A common JPA corruption is to change the ד to a ר, and this becomes the standard form in LJLA.$^{574}$ Example: “when it had been just a little while” (3:4).

wał, "(from) long ago, previously.” The word קדס is used adverbially as early as IA, and its use is continued with the addition of prepositions in JLA and the late western dialects.$^{575}$ Examples: “I will set my Divine Presence among them, as was the case previously” (1:13); וארהו יד NYPD "my beloved, who is from long ago” (2:10).

שה in the form לש "equally.” The Yemenite recension has the form בושי, the form used in JLA, JPA, and JBA.$^{576}$ The western recension, however, has the given form, which is more like Syriac (ョ).$^{577}$ The form is also attested elsewhere in LJLA.$^{578}$ Example: פולו ידהו יד השוע "he divided them equally” (2:17).

טירא “continually.” This is attested in the Jewish Aramaic dialects and SA.$^{579}$ Examples: “His eyes were continually looking over Jerusalem”

574. See also TgRuth 2:7; Tg2Chr 24:24; TgPsJ Gen 19:20. The different manuscripts of TgJob 36:2 have forms with either ד or ר.


577. *SL*, 1517. Syriac also has a form ],$ which is more like the forms in Mandaic (MD, 440 šauia) and CPA (DCPA, 419).

578. TgJob 33:27; Tg2Chr 18:12; 35:25; TgPsJ Deut 18:8. There are a few other LJLA attestations which are declined as adjectives.

“the words of the Torah never cease [to] continually [issue] from his mouth” (7:3).

“again.” Common Aramaic.

“there.” This first appears in MA dialects and is common in the late dialects. It compares with תמה in IA and certain MA dialects.580

### 3.5.4 Predicators of Existence

“there is.” [ לעולם]. Common Aramaic.

“there is not” [ לא ∧ לעולם]. Common Aramaic.

### 3.5.5 Interjections

“ay!” This is common in the late dialects. It occurs as a transcriptional mistake in the Yemenite recension.581

“please.” The noun בקע “petition” is attested in QA, and the interjection with a prepositional ב is attested in late dialects, both east and west.582 Example: בקע מ威尼斯人 כל עולם “Please, O Lord of the whole world” (7:12).

“behold, here (presentative particle).” Common Aramaic.

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580. _DNWSI_, 1222; _DQA_, 255; _DJP A_, 584; Cook, _Glossary_, 303; _DJBA_, 1213 (archaic and dialectal); _DSA_, 955; _DCP A_, 458; _SL_, 1653; _MD_, 479. Compare תמה in _DNWSI_, 1219 #3; Vogt, _Lexicon_, 345.

581. _DJP A_, 47; _DJBA_, 109; _DSA_, 22; _SL_, 31; _MD_, 14.

582. _DQA_, 36; _DJP A_, 84; Cook, _Glossary_, 37; _DSA_, 108; _SL_, 169; _MD_, 57.
4.0 Syntax

4.1 Introduction

This particular chapter is somewhat different from the other chapters in two ways. First, since the vast majority of manuscript variants occur on the word level rather than the phrase or clause level, the syntactic description will focus almost exclusively on the base manuscript in Fontela’s edition, Paris 110 (Fontela uses a different manuscript as his base text in three verses: Ms. New York, Lutzki 478 [Adler 25] for TgSong 1:13 and 7:1; Ms. Nuremberg, Solger 1-7 2ª for TgSong 8:6). Second, the comparison with other Aramaic dialects will be minimal. There are some methodological issues related to the dialectal comparison of syntactic features, especially concerning syntactic reconstruction. The more crucial issue is that the syntax of several dialects has not been sufficiently described, though there are detailed studies of specific features in one or more dialects. As such, I do not interact with other Aramaic dialects as much as in other chapters.


2. Note, for instance, that grammars such as Müller-Kessler’s grammar of CPA and Dalman’s grammar of JPA do not include chapters specifically related to syntax, and Fassberg’s grammar of the Cairo Genizah targum fragments deals with only two syntactical features in about two pages. Notable for the purposes in this chapter is Kuty’s treatments of several syntactic features in TgJon to Samuel in Kuty, *Studies*. 
4.2 Noun and Noun Phrase Operations

4.2.1 Simple Noun Phrases

4.2.1.1 Apposition

Apposition is the juxtaposition of two or more noun phrases. Appositional phrases are frequently employed in TgSong as a means of qualifying a proper noun. Note the following examples: “Solomon, the prophet” (1:2, 17; 8:5, 13), “Moses, the scribe” (1:2; 2:4), “Moses, their leader” (1:5, 12; 3:4, 7), “Solomon, the king” (2:8; 3:9, 11; 6:4; 7:5, 7; 8:12), “Joshua, his servant” (2:16); אבר食べ “Abraham, their father” (3:8; 6:12), ירבעם “Jeroboam, the sinner” (5:4), בצלאלו “Bezalel, the craftsman” (7:2), אוהרמכ “Aaron, the priest” (7:2), and רהבעחמ “Reheboam, his son” (8:11).

It is possible for either of the appositional elements to be a genitive construction. The first element in the following phrase is a genitive construction: “the congregation of Israel, my beloved” (2:10). It is more common, however, for the second element to be a genitive construction, as in the following examples: “the people, the house of Israel” (20+ attestations); מше רבח יישרא “Moses, the leader of Israel” (2:7), דוד מלכה יישרא “David, king of Israel” (4:4), דוד משה בר דוד, “Messiah, son of David” (4:5; 7:4), משמיה בר אפרים, “Messiah, son of Ephraim” (4:5; 7:4), עמי בית ישרא “his people, the house of Israel” (5:1), צדיקיה מלכה ידוה “Zedekiah, the king of Judah” (5:7), רבני יישמה כנישתא רבע “your leaders, the sages of the great assembly” (6:5), and עלמא “my beloved, the Lord of the world” (8:14).
Some appositional phrases have a compound noun phrase as one of the elements. In such cases, the elements of the compound noun may or may not be conjoined by a simple ו. Note the following examples: “David and Solomon, shepherds of Israel” (1:8), “Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the beloved ones of the Lord” (1:9), “they, the rulers of the congregation and the sages” (4:1), “Moses and Aaron, sons of Jochebed” (4:5; 7:4), “our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” (5:14), and “Elijah and Elisha, the prophets” (7:10).

There are appositional phrases in TgSong which include up to three elements, as in “my daughter, my beloved, the congregation of Israel” (1:15) and “Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, the priest” (7:10).

4.2.1.2 Compound

Compound noun phrases include at least two simple nouns, and these simple nouns can be proper nouns, common nouns, common nouns with suffixes, or pronouns. They are often, though not always, conjoined by a simple ו. Examples in TgSong include the following: “Pharaoh and his camp” (1:9), “the wicked ones and mixed multitudes and foreigners” (1:9), “Moses and Aaron” (2:12), “aromatic plant and safflower and reed and spice and cinnamon” (4:14), “oppression or violence” (4:2; 6:6), “you and us” (7:10), “Daniel and his friends” (7:10), and “kings and rulers” (8:8).
4.2.2 Complex Noun Phrases

4.2.2.1 Genitive Constructions

There are three ways of representing genitive relationships in the Aramaic dialects. The first and oldest way is the construct phrase, where the first element (A-term) may be morphologically marked and is juxtaposed to the following word without an intervening morpheme. The second way of representing genitive relationships utilizes a proclitic –ד on the second element (the B-term) in the phrase; this will be called the “bare d-relation.” The third type is related to the “bare d-relation” and includes a proleptic suffix on the A-term; this will be called the “proleptic d-relation.”

The construct phrase is the most common way of representing genitive constructions in TgSong, and it is utilized roughly 68% of the time. Note the following examples:

- בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל “house of Israel” (20+ attestations),
- עֵמֶל תַּעֲוֹת נְעַם “idols of the people” (1:4),
- מֵר עַלְמָא “Lord of the world” (10 + attestations),
- עָמַּעְטֵוָה חִסִּים “words of the Torah” (10+ attestations),
- בֵּית אָפִירֵי “sons of Ephraim” (2:7),
- כְּלַל לֵב “crags of the rock” (2:14),
- חִינָא לְרוֹשׁ לְשׁוֹנָא “head of the school” (4:4),
- לְתַבֵּית מֵרֵי פָּקְוֹד “tablet of my heart” (4:9),
- לְתַבֵּית מִיָּרֵי פָּקְוֹד “lovers of my commandments” (5:1),
- לְתַבֵּית מִיָּרֵי פָּקְוֹד “doors of repentance” (5:5),
- אַלּוּפַנְיָא אֲוֵרֵי “instruction of my Torah” (6:5),
- לְתַבֵּית מִיָּרֵי פָּקְוֹד “time of the exile” (7:14), and
- בֵּית מָלוֹא נַעֲרוֹא “worshippers of the idol” (8:6).

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4. On noun states, see also Morphology 3.2.2.

5. The older dialects use the particle י > ד, which becomes a prefixed clitic –ד in later dialects. TgSong primarily uses the the clitic –ד; see Morphology 3.1.5.
The second most common way of representing genitive constructions in TgSong is
the bare $d$-relation. It is used roughly 26% of the time. In such constructions, the B-term is
almost always in the emphatic state, though there are a few examples of the construct or
absolute state. Note the following examples:

"pillar of fire" (1:4), "Divine Presence of the Lord" (1:5; 3:10; 6:1), "congregation of Israel" (30+
attestations), "land of Israel" (2:7; 4:15; 8:5), "glory of the Lord" (2:8, 9), "mountain of incense"
(3:6), "king of Israel" (3:7; 4:3; 8:11, 12), "good name of your righteous ones" (4:10), "Garden of Eden" (4:12, 13; 8:3), "tribe of Reub" (5:4), "ways of the righteous ones" (1:8), "tribe of Dan" (2:15), "hands of Solomon" (3:7), "flesh of Abraham" (3:8), "sins of Israel" (4:3), "the name of Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah" (7:9).

These different ways of representing genitive relationships can also be combined in
various ways. Note the following examples of construct clauses followed by a bare $d$-

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6. See the examples below.

7. Note the use of the construct state on the A-term. Alternatively, this may be an eastern
plural.

8. Note the use of the construct state on the A-term.
relation: "strength of the anger of the Lord" (1:6), "heat of the sun of noon-day" (1:7), "blood of the sacrifice of Passover" (2:9), "guardians of the service of the Word of the tent of meeting" (3:3), "roots of the tree of life" (4:12), "name of the Word of the Lord" (7:1). The opposite combination is also attested, a bare d-relation followed by a construct clause: "blood of the cutting of circumcision" (2:9), "merit of those sitting in the Sanhedrin" (5:12), and "kings of the house of David" (8:11). There is one attested combination of a proleptic d-relation followed by a construct clause: "way of the Lord of the world" (7:11); a construct clause followed by a proleptic d-relation is seen in "flocks of the sons of Esau and Ishmael" (1:7).

Looking to the other dialects of Aramaic,9 the distribution of genitive constructions in TgSong is quantitatively quite similar to the distribution in JLA.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construct</th>
<th>TgSong</th>
<th>TgJon Sam</th>
<th>TgOnq Exod</th>
<th>Neofiti Exod</th>
<th>Peshiṭa Exod</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bare d-relation</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proleptic d-relation</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of similarities between the use of the genitive constructions in TgSong and those in JLA (both TgOnq Exod and TgJon Sam), but TgSong is less consistent regarding parameters found in those targumim.11 For instance, Kuty points out that TgJon Sam prefers

9. For a survey of genitive constructions in other Aramaic dialects, see Kuty, Studies, 111–20.


11. Note that Kuty and Meyer analyze their respective texts using many of the same
to use the construct phrase with terms of kinship. Meyer is more specific regarding the different kinship terms and shows that certain terms prefer the construct and others prefer the bare $d$-relation. Regardless, one word that utilizes the construct in both Onqelos and Jonathan is בֵּן “son.” While most of the occurrences of בֵּן in TgSong use a construct phrase, it is notable that 10% of the attestations use the proleptic $d$-relation. There are other times when there seems to be free variation between the different types of genitive constructions in TgSong. For instance, the targumist speaks of the “merit of Abraham ... righteousness of Isaac ... piety of Jacob” in both 3:6 and 7:6, but whereas the former utilizes the proleptic $d$-relation, the latter utilizes the bare $d$-relation. Finally, the increased use of the proleptic $d$-relation is notable.

4.2.2.2 Modified Nouns

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses modify a head noun, and they consist of a relative particle and a restricting clause. The restricting clause follows the relative particle and provides the modifying information about the head noun. Relative clauses can provide basic adjectival or adverbial information about their head nouns, as in דַּ醬ִקַנְתַּל אָרָחָן “ways which are proper” (2:2; criteria, though some of their conclusions vary. Of note is that Kuty states that the unmarked way of expressing the genitive in TgJon Sam is the construct clause. The bare $d$-relation is conditioned by various factors which are mostly semantic in nature; see Kuty, “Genitive Constructions,” 114–16. Meyer, however, states that the bare $d$-relation is the unmarked way of expressing the genitive in TgOnq Exod. The high number of construct phrases can be attributed to frequent fixed phrases and a large number of plural A-terms (which are also always construct in TgJon); see Meyer, Genitive Constructions, 111–12.

“scorpions which were in the wilderness” (2:6). They can also include full clauses with a predicate and other constituents, as in the following examples:

ם"ה "the peoples who heard the report of your greatness” (1:3) and דבנ םו "a man who gathers roses from the plains” (6:2). It is possible for a relative clause to modify a compound head, as in רט"שב וטבכד ייבב ומיד "the wicked ones and mixed multitude and foreigners who were among them” (1:9). Additionally, a relative clause can modify either the A-term or the B-term of a construct clause. It is usually the case that the relative modifies the A-term, as in רדמ דבכד רדס דא וד יבכד "the crown of holiness which departed from them” (3:1), but occasionally one finds a relative clause which modifies the B-term, as in רדפ דבכד יבכד דיבב יבכד "love of the least who are among you” (4:9).

One of the characteristic features of TgSong’s syntax is its extensive use of relative clauses. In fact, some verses have very little content that is not part of a relative clause. At times the targumist uses multiple relative clauses to modify the same head noun, and he frequently embeds relative clauses within other relative clauses. In such cases, a new relative particle is used with each relative clause. In what follows, relative clauses are indented from the level of their head nouns. Note TgSong 1:8:

כומתא דירשא
דומיתא לזרב ל חשבון
ודבש ייבא רתיה ל

the congregation of Israel,
who is compared to a beautiful girl
and whom my soul loves

Here, the head noun, “the congregation of Israel,” is modified by two sequential relative clauses. One of the relative clauses describes her appearance, and the other indicates her relationship with God. Another example is TgSong 8:11:
Ahijah

who was from Shiloh,
who was a great man

The first relative clause describes the prophet Ahijah’s hometown, and the second describes what kind of prophet he was.

TgSong frequently embeds relative clauses within larger relative clauses. Note TgSong 2:15:

wicked Amalek
who held a grudge against them because of the birthright and blessing which Jacob had taken from Esau

The first head noun is the “wicked Amalek,” and the second is the compound “birthright and blessing,” which is in the first relative clause. In the same manner, note TgSong 5:4:

calf of cast metal
which Jeroboam the sinner placed in Lashem Dan which was called Pameas in the days of Pekah son of Remaliah

The first head noun is the “calf of cast metal,” and the second head noun is “Lashem Dan.” The first relative clause describes where the idol was placed, and the second relative clause provides historical information about that place.

As stated before, the targumist often combines multiple relative clauses into large, complex clauses. Note TgSong 3:6:
Who is this chosen people
who have come up from the wilderness perfumed from sweet incense
and sustained by the merit of Abraham
who worshipped and prayed before the Lord on Mount Moriah
and are cleansed with anointing oil by the righteousness of Isaac
who was bound in the site of the temple
which is called the mountain of incense
and for whom miracles are performed because of the piety of Jacob
with whom a man struggled until dawn and he prevailed over him and was delivered, he and the twelve tribes?

The entire clause modifies “this chosen people,” and each of the three patriarchs who are mentioned in the relative clause are modified by their own relative clauses, some of which have additional relative clauses embedded within them. Such complex relative clauses allow the targumist to comment on the underlying Hebrew text.

Attributive Adjectives

An attributive adjective matches its head noun in gender and number, and it usually matches in state as well. Note the following agreement errors concerning state: ריבא שפירתא “beautiful girl” (1:8),.other tablets” (1:14), and גינתה קיללא “little garden” (8:13). Concerning the order of the constituents, the adjective always follows the noun.15

Note the following examples: דב היב “fine gold” (1:11; 3:10; 5:11, 15), מלאכיא כדריא “holy

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15. This contrasts with attributive demonstrative pronouns.

It is possible to modify one head noun with two adjectives, as in “high and strong wall” (3:7) and “great and holy name” (4:12). It is also possible to have a pronominal suffix on the noun, as in “your good signs” (1:3) and “your holy name” (1:3).

**Prepositional Phrases**

When functioning within noun phrases, a prepositional phrase relates modifiers to a head noun, as in the following examples:17 “the strength of his might over the sea” (1:9), “the yoke on the neck of the bull” (1:10), “a plague of leprosy upon their flesh” (1:12), “henna along with aromatic plants” (4:13), and “my Divine Presence among you” (5:1).

**4.2.3 Determiners**

**4.2.3.1 Noun State and Determination**

A noun is considered to be determinate if it is known to a speaker and hearer or if it generically refers to a particular class.18 The older dialects of Aramaic use the absolute and emphatic states to distinguish between indefinite and definite nouns, respectively, and this

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16. Note that since עינא “eye” is feminine, one expects בישא.

17. For other types of prepositional phrases, see the discussion below.

continues into the Middle Aramaic dialects. The function of the emphatic state as a marker of determination is a notable difference between the eastern and western dialects of Late Aramaic, where the emphatic state becomes the unmarked form in the east, and the absolute form is relegated to a few specific functions. In TgSong, while the emphatic state has not subsumed the absolute as the unmarked form of the noun, the emphatic state is not a consistent means of indicating determination, and this seems to be the case for both singular and plural nouns. There are at least three ways in which this inconsistency can be seen: attributive adjectives, comparative clauses, and miscellaneous statements.

First, as stated before, there are quite a few attributive adjectives which do not agree with their head noun in state. Note the following examples: “beautiful girl” שפירתא ריבא (1:8), “other tablets” לוחיות אוחיות (1:14), “holy words” מלייא ק拜师学艺 (2:5), “chosen people” ניטתא קפללא (3:6), and “the little garden” קלילא גינתא (8:13).

Second, there are a number of comparative clauses which refer to unspecific entities, but the targumist does so using the emphatic state rather than the absolute state. Note the following examples: “they stank like nard” קנרדא סרייאו (1:12), “white as snow” כתלגא חיורין (5:11), “shines like fire” כנורא ז히ירין (5:10), “sweet as honey” כדובשא מתיקן (5:16), and “she stands as a wall” היא כאושא מעתדא (8:9). This compares with many examples of comparative clauses that use the absolute state: “as a man” כגבר (1:2), “like muzzles” כזממין (5:16).

21. This is in contrast to JLA, which seems to maintain the distinction between the emphatic and absolute states with regard to determination in the plural and in certain masculine nouns. See Kuty, “Determination,” 190–91.
22. Compare קתרג חיור “white as snow” (5:10).
“like gold” (1:11), “as young birds” (1:15), “as lions” (4:8), and “as milk” (4:11; 5:12).

Third, there are other phrases which mix the noun states in such a way as to show that the emphatic state is not a consistent indicator of determination. Note the following two examples: ‘a man throws the rock’ (8:5), “they went around in cities and in streets and in plazas” (3:2). In these examples, all of the nouns should be either emphatic or absolute; instead, there is a mixture. A special case is the phrase “(the) two tablets of stone,” which occurs in three different constructions: ‘the tablets of stone’ (TgSong 1:12; 3:10). The first and third constructions are “the tablets of stone,” and the second is “tablets of stone.” In all of these cases, however, the tablets are known to both the speaker and hearer, and emphatic forms of the B-terms are expected.

4.2.3.2 Demonstratives

As with attributive adjectives, demonstrative pronouns that function attributively agree with their head noun in gender and number. In contrast to attributive adjectives, however, the word order is flexible. At times, the demonstrative follows the head noun, as is normal with attributive adjectives. Note ‘that generation’ (1:4, 12; 2:15), ‘this temple’ (3:7), ‘these matters’ (5:2), and ‘this people’ (6:10; 8:5). At other times, the demonstrative precedes the head noun, as in ‘this song’ (1:1), ‘that blessing’ (3:7), and ‘that God’ (5:10). Demonstrative pronouns which occur with temporal indicators tend to precede the noun, as in “at that moment” (1:9; 2:3, 15, 16; 8:5, 12, 14; 23). On the form of this phrase, see Morphology 3.1.4.2.
(4:1; 6:3), and בֵּיתוֹת מִן כָּל הָעָלָה "at that time" (8:1). There are exceptions, however, as in התוּלָה "on that day" (8:6) and בֵּיתוֹת מִן כָּל הָעָלָה "at that time" (3:11; 6:9; 8:8).

4.2.3.3 Numerals

There are two primary matters to consider regarding the syntax of cardinal numbers. First, aside from the numeral "one," all of the cardinal numbers precede the head noun.  

Note the following examples:

24. נַחַמָּה שֵׁשָּׁה "thirty-six hours" (1:1), תֵּלָות כַּתָּלָה "three years" (2:6), שְׁכֵּחַ עָשָׂר "sixty letters" (3:7), אַלְמֹמָה עַלְמֹמָה "one thousand burnt offerings" (4:1), תֵּלָות יָמָה "three times" (7:2), עִשְׁרַה שָׁבָטִין "ten tribes" (8:11 [twice]).

Second, the noun and numeral are normally in the absolute state, except when the phrase is definite. In such cases, either the numeral is in the construct state or the noun is in the emphatic state, or both. Construct forms of the cardinal numbers used with emphatic nouns are attested in western dialects and occasionally in Syriac. Emphatic forms of the nouns with numerals in the absolute state are attested in JLA.  

Note the following examples of numerals in the construct state:

25. עָשָׁרָה שְׁבָטִין "the ten songs" (1:1), עַלְמֹמָה שְׁבָטִין "the seven nations" (3:5), אַלְמֹמָה עַלְמֹמָה "the four winds of the world" (2:6), עָשָׁרָה שְׁבָטִין "the seventy nations" (4:10), and עָשָׁרָה מֹלְדָּא "the twelve constellations" (5:14).

26. It is possible that from these examples, עָשָׁרָה שְׁבָטִין and עָשָׁרָה מֹלְדָּא are actually in the construct, but they are not morphologically marked as such.

24. Note יָמָה אֶשֶׁר מְאֹד "one lamb" (1:14) and עָשָׁרָה "one eye" (8:14 [twice]).


26. It is possible that from these examples, אַלְמֹמָה מַלְאָא and עָשָׁרָה מֹלְדָּא are actually in the construct, but they are not morphologically marked as such.
Ordinal numbers are inflected as adjectives. The word order is therefore like the attributive adjectives and contrasts with the cardinal numbers: ordinal numbers always follow their head nouns. Note the following examples: שעירתא קmitesא “first song” (1:1), השיעיתא “ninth song” (1:1), מקדש מוקדש קרנאא “first temple” (6:4), and מקדש תonomiesא “second temple” (6:11). As adjectives, agreement with the head noun in gender, number, and state is expected, but there are a number of agreement errors attested in TgSong, especially in the western recension. For instance, in the midrash on the ten songs in TgSong 1:1, a list of the “songs” (a feminine word) is provided. While the Yemenite recension usually lists the ordinal numbers with the expected feminine form (תאניא), western manuscripts often use the masculine ending (תאני), as in הבא מקדש קרנאא “fifth song” and הבא מקדש המישאה “eighth song” (1:1). Similarly, there are two ways of representing the emphatic feminine of “second” in TgSong 1:1, 14. The first is תאני, and the second is תאניינתא. The latter is morphologically similar to the emphatic masculine form as well as the feminine absolute form attested in BA Dan 7:5 (תאנים). If influenced by BA, the ordinal does not match the emphatic state of the noun ימינה “the time.”

27. These forms (ending in א–א) could also be parsed as absolute feminine forms, in which case there is not agreement in state. Note that there is a similar mixture of agreement in the list of kingdoms in TgEsth II 1:1.

28. The noun זמין “time” can be either masculine or feminine.
4.3 Predication and Verb Phrase Operations

4.3.1 Verbal Conjugations

4.3.1.1 Perfect

The perfect conjugation is used to indicate past tense in TgSong. Note the following examples:

- "all the peoples trembled" (1:3), "he caused his Divine Presence to settle" (1:13), "your people have sinned" (1:13), "he gave the Torah to his people" (2:3), "after they crossed the sea, they grumbled about the water" (2:15), "I worshipped the idols of the peoples" (5:3), "the Lord of the world shut the doors of repentance" (5:5), "he removed his Divine Presence" (5:6), "the Lord of the world received their prayer" (6:2), "the Greeks arose" (6:8), "Elijah and Elisha, the prophets, went" (7:10), and "they died in the exile" (8:5).

4.3.1.2 Imperfect

The imperfect has three primary uses in TgSong: a future tense, a modal verb, and a jussive. Note the following examples of the imperfect being used as a future tense:

- "your sons will enter and inherit it" (2:7), "they will be subjugated" (2:12), and "we will feed on the meal of Leviathan" (8:2).

The imperfect is commonly used as a modal verb. There are two primary varieties of modal verbs: epistemic and deontic.29 Epistemic modality refers to belief and indicates the

degree to which a speaker or writer believes that something will take place. Note the following examples: “everything that the Lord might command” (2:4), “it might not rule over them” (2:6), “you will enter the temple with me” (4:8). Deontic modality refers to permission, obligation, or responsibility. Note the following examples: “I will go up to the heavens above, and I will pray” (3:3), “you should not presume to go up” (3:5), “I will counsel with myself” (6:12), “I will redeem the people because of their merit” (7:9), and “be a brother to us” (8:1).

The imperfect is also used as a jussive in TgSong, as in “let us arise and go and surround the tent of meeting” (3:2), “let us seek instruction” (3:2), and “let us go up, you and us, and let us pray before him, and let us seek mercy with you” (6:1).

4.3.1.3 Active Participle

Active participles are used in many contexts in TgSong. Their most common use is as a present tense, though their aspectual function as indicators of progressive action allows them to be used in past and future contexts as well. Furthermore, while modal nuances are normally reserved for the imperfect, active participles are occasionally used in such contexts as well.

By far, the most common use of the active participle is as a present tense. Note the following examples: “he kisses his brother” (1:2), “the hawk oppresses it” (2:14), “seraph serpents, which bite and kill with their venom” (2:14), “they do not fear” (3:8), “they offer your offerings” (4:2), “he is not able to rouse himself” (5:2), etc.
“they go up to appear before the Lord” (7:2), “they intercalate years” (7:5), “I am praying before you” (7:12), and “the king Messiah is revealed” (8:1).

Active participles are used in both past and future contexts as well. When referring to past situations, the participles refer to progressive actions, as in “the Israelites were saying to each other” (3:1), “the herald was going out” (3:11), “the voice of the holy spirit was admonishing them” (5:2), “I was worshipping my Lord” (6:3). In future contexts, note the following examples: “the people by whom they will be subjugated, I will judge” (2:12), “I will also test Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah” (7:9), “they will go forth from below the mount of anointing” (8:5), and “I will return to him double” (8:7).

It is much more common, however, to indicate ongoing action in the past or future with periphrastic clauses. Periphrastic clauses are made up of a form of והיִ (whether it is in the perfect or imperfect indicates whether the situation is past or future. If a subject is provided, it can precede or follow the participle.

On rare occasions, the subject precedes והיִ.
leading them” (1:8), “the heads of the people will be bringing a gift to you” (4:8), “their scent will be wafting” (7:9), and “they will be guarding her” (8:11). It is also possible for multiple participles to be governed by the same form of והו, as in the following:31 “they were going to the vineyards of En Gedi and taking” (1:14), “[the river] would have been going forth and gushing and inundating the whole world” (4:12), and והו מקרבין הקורין עליה קפרת בוסמין “the priests were offering the sacrifice and sending up sweet incense on it” (4:16).

4.3.2 Simple Verb Clauses

4.3.2.1 Copular Clauses

Predicate Adjectives

Predicate adjectives are the most common form of copular clauses in TgSong. Predicate adjectives are almost always in the absolute state,32 and the word order of the predicate adjectives with reference to their head noun is somewhat complicated. For instance, one common feature in TgSong is the use of the particle כמא “how” followed by a declarative statement. In such cases, the adjective always precedes the noun, as in the following examples: כמא תקנין כמא עבדייך “O how upright are your deeds” (1:15), כמא יאינו בנני כמא שפינע עליה חיבתך “O how beautiful are the priests” (3:7), כמא יאינו בנני כמא הורתייה עליה דודריה “O how beautiful to me is your love” (4:10), and כמא יאינו בנני כמא זיוותנין כמא עובדייך “O how brilliant are the deeds of the people” (6:10), and כמא יאינו בנני כמא שפינע עליה חיבתך “O how brilliant are the deeds of the people” (6:10), and כמא יאינו בנני כמא חיבתך עליה קפרת בוסמין “the priests were offering the sacrifice and sending up sweet incense on it” (4:16).

31. Note that these are past habitual actions.

32. Exceptions include כמא קדירתא כמא אריא “I am darker than you” (1:6), כמא קדירתא כמא אריא “they are righteous” (4:4), and כמא אינון כמא קדריא “sick from the love of his mercy am I” (5:8).
O how beautiful are the feet of Israel” (7:2). When a predicate adjective does not appear in declarative statements like these, the noun precedes the adjective over 85% of the time. Note the following examples: “its foliage is beautiful” (1:16), “your voice is sweet” (2:14), and “the words of his palate are sweet” (5:16). It is possible to have two adjectives modifying the same noun, as in the following example, which also shows the variability of the word order: “beautiful and praised is the citron ... the Lord of the world is beautiful and praised” (2:3). It is also possible to have multiple nouns described by one predicate adjective: “the priests and Levites, those who eat your sacrifice and holy tithe and separated portion, are pure” (6:6).

Copular Clauses of other Varieties

There are other forms of copular clauses attested in TgSong, but their infrequency makes it difficult to determine syntactical patterns. There are four types: independent pronouns used as copulas, particles of (non)existence used as copulas, copular use of הוי, and predicate nominals. Examples of independent pronouns used as copulas include the following: “his righteous ones are the pillars of the world” (5:15) and “this is the praise of God” (5:16). There is only one example of the particle of existence אֵית attested in TgSong, and it is used to express possession: “we have one nation” (8:8). There are more examples of its negative counterpart, לָא. 34

33. It should be noted that some of the verses in the underlying Hebrew have similar predicate adjectives, but by no means is this always the case. Regardless, the word order in these declarative statements is uniform throughout TgSong.

34. There are two other ways to express possession in TgSong. The first utilizes the verb and the preposition – ל, as in “so that they may have the strength” (7:3). The second occurs with the particle – דיל, as in “the head of the...
Note the following: "there is no plague in you" (4:7), "the peoples, nations, and tongues, for whom there is no number (i.e. they are innumerable)" (6:8), "there is no permission for the imps to destroy me" (8:3), and "she does not have kings or rulers" (8:8).

The verb הוה is also rarely attested as a simple copula, as in "the king who was their head" (4:3) and "what is the merit?" (8:5). In both of these examples, however, some manuscripts have an independent pronoun serving as the copula instead. Predicate nominals are not frequent in TgSong, and nearly all of the clear examples include an independent pronoun standing at the beginning of a relative clause. Note the following examples: "Lord of the world, who is my God" (1:6), "the ark of the testimony, which is the pillar of the world" (3:10), "the head of the school, who is your leader" (4:4), and "Zion, which is their mother" (8:5).

4.3.2.2 Transitivity

A verb is intransitive if there is only one argument (a nominal element) in the sentence; that argument is the subject.36 Note the following examples of intransitive verbs: "all the peoples trembled" (1:3), "the people went forth" (1:4), "his time arrived" (1:7), "the horse does not turn aside" (1:10), "the whole generation of the men of war will perish" (2:7), "the people school, who is your leader" (4:4).

35. Given the feminine gender of זכונות, we expect the feminine היא.

36. Transitivity is a complex matter that includes both syntactic and semantic considerations. Generally, see Payne, Describing Morphosyntax, 169–86.
sinned” (5:2), and “I prayed” (5:6). A verb is transitive if there are two arguments in the sentence, the subject and an object. Note the following examples of transitive verbs:

- דיבר עני, "he loves us" (1:2), נגב הוא, “he dried up the water” (1:9), עבדו עני, “they made a calf” (1:12), "I heard his voice” (2:5), בנו הוא מגדת, “they sought the crown of holiness” (3:1), שקית ו 아니 מעלה, “they offer your offerings” (4:2), "I sent the fire” (5:1), כל רוחא מקדימה מודרה, "the voice of the holy spirit was admonishing them” (5:2), מרי עלה מעלה ו믈חוה, "the Lord of the world received their prayer” (6:2), ו湎יהו קדשא,...וירית, “your priests spread their hands” (7:8).

Certain verbs can undergo grammatical adjustments which change the number of arguments in a clause. The most common ways of adjusting the number of arguments in a clause are to change the verbal stem or the conjugation. For instance, the root יבת is intransitive in the G-stem, as in דרשא ביתי, "they sit in the house of study” (5:12). In the C-stem, however, it is transitive, as in בירושלם יתאוה, "he caused her to settle in Jerusalem” (8:11). Similarly, the root בני is transitive in the G-stem, as in דציון מצדתא בבני, "he built the stronghold of Zion” (7:5), but it is intransitive in the Gt-stem, as in עלמא Thế,...יתב, "the world was being built” (4:4). Another way to adjust the number of arguments in a clause is to change the verbal conjugation from active to passive. For instance, the verb נרש תור...ית,..., "I did not keep his commandments and his Torah” (1:6). When conjugated as a passive participle, however, it is intransitive, as in שר...יא,..., "the reward of his commandments is kept” (2:3).

37. It should be noted that verbal stems do not work systematically, and each verb should be considered in its own right.
4.4 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases functioning within noun phrases have been previously discussed. There are two other types of prepositional phrases: those that function within adjectival phrases and those that function within verbal phrases. In TgSong, the most common type of prepositional phrases functioning within adjectival phrases take place in comparative clauses. Note the following examples: "darker than you" (1:6), "stronger than leopards" (4:8), "sweet as milk" (4:11), "more beautiful than all the peoples" (5:9), "white as snow" (5:11), and "more beautiful in your deeds than all the nations" (6:1).

Prepositional phrases can have several adverbial functions as well. First, they can provide the manner by which an action takes place, as in "because of the sins of Israel, his hands became heavy" (1:14), "I will redeem—because of their merit—the people" (7:9), "he held a grudge because of the birthright and blessing" (2:15), "he is sealed by the great name" (4:12), and "flows with ease" (4:15). Second, they can indicate the location of the verbal event or state, as in "to appear before the Lord" (1:1), "he leapt over the time" (2:8), "go forth from the servitude of the Egyptians" (2:10), "I will pray before the Lord" (3:3), "dripping reasonings on every side" (5:13), and "unrolled upon the fringe" (5:14). Third, they commonly provide temporal information for a given event, as in the following examples: "At that time, the Lord said to Moses" (1:13), "At the time that I heard his voice, which speaks from within the flame of fire, I trembled" (2:5).
“At that moment, the people incurred guilt” (2:15),

הנני דעמא בט נִרְשָא עָבֶדֶם רַעְתוֹהוּ דָמוּיר.

“at the time that the people, the house of Israel, were doing the will of

Lelema haom Mekalela yeim.

the Lord of the world, he was extolling them” (4:7),

“On that day,

יתוֹנָה מַמְאָא אֲנָא פָּלוֹתָא לָמְרָי.

I worshipped my Lord” (6:3),

“בֵּעִידָה הָוַה יְרֶמוֹרֶל מְאַבָּר שֹׁמַיָּא.

“At that time, the angels of the

הַאָרָבָה הָאָמוֹרָה מְלָאָר שֹׁמַיָּא.

heavens will say” (8:8).

4.5 Clause Structure

4.5.1 Word Order

When a verb and object are present in a sentence, the word order is almost exclusively

V-O. Note the following examples:

ידוי הפרש “he spread his hands” (1:9),

העָבֶד עָנָי “they made a calf” (1:12),

עָבֶד יִת מַשְׁכָּנָא “he made the tabernacle” (1:14),

I heard his

אָפִיקו שָׁמַי “they sent forth a bad name” (2:7),

וקציצו יִת “they cut down

הָאָלְנָא וַיָּשָׁם בית “they offer your offerings” (4:2),

the trees” (3:5),

I worshipped the idols of the peoples” (5:3),

פֶּלֶךְ הַלֻּשָׁה עָמָא "they intercalate years” (7:5).

“but I did not dry up the mud” (1:9).

There are very few exceptions to the V-O word order, and they can be attributed to

contrast or poetic crafting. On two occasions Israel emphasizes that they have not worshipped

God (in contrast to the other gods that they had worshipped) or that they plan to worship God

(Israel) in such cases the word order is O-V:

לֶמֶר עָלָמא דֶהָא אָלְמָא הָא "the Lord of the world, who is my God, I did not worship” (1:6),

לֶמֶר הָאָלְמָא רַעְתוֹי "it is that God I desire to worship” (5:10). Another exception in which the O-V word

order occurs is this chiastic structure:

נִגֵּב לֶמֶר הָאָלְמָא לָא "he dried up the water, but he did not dry up the mud” (1:9).
When a subject and verb are present in a sentence, the predominant word order is V-S, unless the subject is an independent pronoun, in which case the order is almost exclusively S-V. Note examples of a V-S order: “all the peoples trembled” (1:3), “their faces became black” (1:5), “the anger of the Lord grew strong” (1:9), “your people have sinned” (1:13), “his hands became heavy” (1:14), “the messengers returned” (2:7), “the priests pray” (4:11), “the people sinned” (5:2), “the Greeks arose” (6:8), and “the words of the Torah are not lacking” (7:3).

It is likely that the exceptions to the V-S word order are largely the result of literary influence, whether that be the underlying Hebrew text or another text. For instance, the S-V word order in “the time of servitude, which is like the winter, has come to an end” mirrors the underlying Hebrew order (“for now the winter has passed”) in 2:11. Similarly, the O-V order in “the banner of his commandments I received upon me with love” is largely like the copular clause in the Hebrew (“his banner over me is love”) in 2:4. In TgSong 3:11, the targumist describes the dedication of Solomon’s temple, and he uses the S-V clause “the herald was going out with might.” This is quite similar to a phrase describing Nebuchadnezzar’s dedication of an image in Dan 3:4, where we read “the herald was calling out with might.”

While the V-S word order is the primary word order in TgSong, one prominent exception occurs when the subject is an independent pronoun. In such cases, the verb is

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38. Reading with the ketib.
usually a participle, and the word order is almost always S-V. Note the following examples:39 “they were residing in the wilderness” (1:14), “I am compared to the rose” (2:2), “I confirmed by my word” (3:5), “they were seizing in their hands” (4:4), “he makes new” (5:10), “they acknowledged me as king” (6:5), “you receive them” (7:7), “you are inciting” (8:4). Counterexamples include “I and you will be with their scribes” (8:9) and the fixed formula “The Holy One, blessed is he” (1:8, 9; 2:5; 3:5; 5:1).

When a verb, subject, and object are present in a sentence, if an independent pronoun is the subject, the situation is quite similar to sentences with just a verb and subject. As such, the verb is usually a participle, and the word order is usually S-V-O, as in “he removed his Divine Presence” (5:6), “he covered the heavens” (5:6), “I worshipped my Lord” (6:3), and “I tie the tefillin” (8:3).40

When the subject is not an independent pronoun, the order V-S-O is preferred to S-V-O in roughly a 2:1 ratio. Note the V-S-O structures in the following examples: “Moses, the master of Israel, opened his mouth” (2:7), “the Lord handed them over” (6:9), “your priests spread their hands” (7:8), “the Lord exiled them” (7:12), “a man throws a stone” (8:5), and “a man gives all the money of his house” (8:7). Note the S-V-O structures in

39. It is worth noting that many of these examples take place in relative clauses, where the pronoun is reiterating the head noun.

40. Compare the O-V-S structure of “the people by whom they will be subjugated, I will judge” (2:12) and the V-S-O structure of “a man also aokh and Azariah” (7:9).
“the voice of the holy spirit was admonishing them” (5:2), “the Lord of the world shut the doors of repentance” (5:5), “the Lord of the world received their prayer” (6:2), and “the tenant farmer guards his vineyard” (8:11).

In sum, the preferred word order in TgSong is verb first, whether that be V-O, V-S, or V-S-O. A regular adjustment of this ordering occurs when the subject is an independent pronoun. In such cases, the verb is usually a participle, and the preferred order is S-V and S-V-O.

4.5.2 Congruence

While agreement of gender and number is largely maintained in the Paris 110 manuscript of TgSong, there are a number of times when agreement between the subject and verb breaks down. Gender agreement is not maintained in the following examples:

“righteous ones of that generation who resemble” (2:15) and “I sent fire from the heavens, and it consumed the sacrifices” (5:1).

Number agreement is not maintained in the following example: “the prophets replied and thus said” (6:1). Neither gender nor number are maintained in

41. When there is a subject, object, and verb present, there are a few other word order options attested, such as V-O-S (TgSong 3:3; 5:7) and O-V-S (TgSong 2:12).

42. The majority of manuscripts have the expected.

43. Only two manuscripts have the expected; see Andrew W. Litke, “The Semantics of Fire in the Targumim,” *AS* 11 (2013): 152–53. One Yemenite manuscript has a 1cs form.

44. The majority of manuscripts have the expected.
“the congregation of Israel answered and said” (5:3). In the statement, “the reward of his commandments is kept for me” (2:3), the verb should agree with the masculine singular שכר; instead, it agrees with פקידוי in number. Also, Paris 110 and about half of the manuscripts appear to have a feminine form of the verb, though the noun is normally masculine, but several other manuscripts have the unambiguously masculine נטירין.

4.5.3 Clause Linkage

4.5.3.1 Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses provide the real or irreal condition by which the events in the main clause may occur. In TgSong, they are introduced by אם or או. All four of the conditional clauses are asyndetic, which is to say that there is no conjunction between the protasis and the apodosis. The verb in the apodosis is either in the imperfect or participial conjugations. Note the following example from TgSong 7:9:

אמרת ב nisi עליון למקים כהליון אי ישראל בית למאז זכותהון ב딜

“if they are able to withstand their temptations, then I will redeem the people, the house of Israel, because of their merit.” When indicating an irreal condition in which a negative result is expected, the particle אין is utilized, as in מתכנשין אין עלמאו מיזיכי למיי דניקו ד喤נעו דנהרא למיי דנטמאו דרואו כל מלכי כל

“even if all the kings of the land—who resemble the waters of the river, which flows with strength—are assembled, they will not be able to erase you from the world” (8:7).

45. The Yemenite recension and one western manuscript have the expected אמרת.

46. All of the manuscripts agree with פקידוי in number, and most of the manuscripts have corresponding masculine forms, either נטירין or נטירין.

47. The Hebrew conditional particleאם is only attested in a statement by the angel Michael (TgSong 8:9).
4.5.3.2 Temporal Clauses

TgSong is replete with temporal clauses. Nearly 40% of the verses begin with some kind of temporal indicator, and the majority of verses that do not begin with one, contain one elsewhere in the verse. The main clause is often introduced by a temporal particle, such as כד “when.” At other times, the main clause is not introduced by a particle; instead, it is introduced by a temporal noun with the prefixed prepositions – ב or ב to make them adverbial, as in הב (“at the time, when”) and הב (“at that moment, immediately.”)

The temporal clauses often indicate sequentiality by describing the events which lead to those in the next clause.48 Note the following examples:

“When the people, the house of Israel, made the calf, their faces became black” (1:5),

“When Israel went forth from Egypt, Pharaoh and his camp pursued after them” (1:9),

“When Solomon, king of Israel, built the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, the Lord said by his word” (3:7),

“After he finished it, he placed the ark of the testimony in its midst” (3:10), and

“I regretted my deeds” (5:5).

Temporal clauses can indicate simultaneous actions, as in

“The head of your school—who supports all the worlds by his head of your school—who supports all the worlds by his

The clause order is often reversed when there is a declarative statement of the type, “O how beautiful are the priests in the time that they spread their hands” (3:7). Another exception in the clause order concerns phrases with עד, as in “wait a little while until the peoples are destroyed” (8:4).
righteousness, just as a fetus is supported from its naval in its mother’s womb—is shining by the Torah like the disc of the moon when he comes to declare ritual purity or impurity” (7:3).

In this example, an infinitive with prefixed –כ introduces simultaneous action whereby the head of the school is shining as he administers justice. At times, the distinction between sequential and simultaneous actions is a blurred one, as in יחדווןית אישהת עתית ויתעתיה בחרא מ רתיה. “When I heard his voice, which speaks from within the flame of fire, I trembled and recoiled from trembling” (2:5). The trembling occurs concurrently with and as a consequence of the hearing.

A characteristic feature of TgSong is the way that events happen with a sense of urgency. Temporal markers are often employed to indicate immediacy, as in הנה ואתפדה בלשעבד יי משכנא ואורא מדאומ ויתMediaType שעבד יהו מניי יו ארונא. “Then he was commanded to make the tabernacle and ark. Immediately, Moses hurried and made the tabernacle and all its vessels and the ark” (1:14). Moses did not simply obey; he obeyed immediately. Punishment, repentance, and forgiveness are also described as occurring instantaneously, as in באיתו השעה והיה מתנהוואט At that very moment, they turned in repentance” (2:16).

The use of different temporal indicators is summarized in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequential</th>
<th>כד, כד, עד (ד)</th>
<th>בצר, בחר (כנ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td>Infinitive + ב; particles: חמצו, כלא, מומ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instantaneous</td>
<td>בך; מאת השעה, והיה תמצא, מומ, יד, בחרוא, יומ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.5.3.3 Comparative Clauses

There are two types of comparative clauses in TgSong. The first type of comparative clause utilizes a particle of comparison. The most common of these is the preposition –כ, as in the following: ית תכמסומ they will be like muzzles” (1:10), כלא媽媽 they stank like...
The second type of comparative clause utilizes a verb whose semantics entail comparison. There are two verbs of comparison frequently used in TgSong: דמי “to be like, resemble” and מתי “to compare.” The former is always active, and the latter is always passive (either in a passive participial form or the Gt-stem). Both verbs use the preposition –ל to mark the object of comparison, as in the following: אנה מחאה לותרדה “I am compared to the rose” (2:2) and דמי לرحلא “they are like young birds” (4:1). These verbs quite frequently take place within relative clauses, as in the following: Moses and Aaron, who are compared to palm branches” (2:12), כנישתא לדימין דרא אבוהון לאברהם עובדהון “righteous ones of the generation, who, in the beauty of their deeds, are like Abraham their father” (6:12).
5.0 Lexical Stock

5.1 Introduction

Beginning with Levita’s *Meturgeman: Lexicon Chaldaicum* in 1541, scholars have included the words of TgSong within broader lexical works on the targumim and rabbinic literature.\(^1\) More recent scholarship has sought to further classify the lexical makeup of specific dialects or corpora.\(^2\) During this more recent trend of Aramaic lexicography, Kaufman investigated TgPsJ’s dialectal status.\(^3\) By organizing a sample of the words into different groups, he shows the composite nature of TgPsJ’s lexicon.\(^4\) He expands the results to include other late Aramaic texts, especially the targumim to the Writings, coining the term Late Jewish Literary Aramaic. Kaufman particularly emphasizes the words that are unique to LJLA or show a close affinity with Syriac, and he has since written another article in which he subdivides the different LJLA texts based on their Syriac correspondences.\(^5\) As a result of such lexical and dialectal studies, we are better equipped to describe the lexical makeup of


\(^2\) In addition to the standard dictionaries, note the chapter on lexical continuity and discontinuity among the Aramaic dialects in Leonid Kogan, *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 377–432.

\(^3\) Working independently and at the same time as Kaufman, Cook came to similar conclusions in his grammatical analysis of TgPsJ; his treatment of its lexicon is found in “Rewriting the Bible,” 225–66.


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individual LJLA texts, and this will be the first study specifically concerned with TgSong’s lexicon.⁶

The following analysis shows that the various Jewish literary texts (rather than a specific dialect) provide the lexical material for TgSong, and the JLA targums of Onqelos and Jonathan are the chief contributors. Given that both Onqelos and Jonathan contain words that are more commonly associated with either the eastern or western dialects of Aramaic, it is not surprising to see such a lexical distribution attested in TgSong as well.⁷ In addition to JLA, the Babylonian Talmud contributes a number of words from the east while the Palestinian targum tradition is an important influence from the west. There are also a handful of words drawn specifically from BA. Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew loanwords are frequent. Finally, there are a number of words or forms that are unique to LJLA.⁸

5.2 Words Unique to Jewish Literary Aramaic

There are a number of words in TgSong which, aside from other occurrences in LJLA, are only attested in JLA.

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6. Fontela does include a list of most of the loanwords; see “El Targum,” 24–28.

7. For the lexical distribution of Onqelos, see Cook, Glossary, xi–xiv; for Jonathan, see Tal, Language, 89–186. Due to the influence of JLA on TgSong’s lexicon, the frequency with which a given word is attested in JLA is provided in the analysis.

8. References to other LJLA texts are also provided in the examples, and unless otherwise noted, the forms given for TgPsJ only refer to the attestations which are not likewise attested in Onqelos or the Palestinian targum tradition. In the analysis that follows, verbal glosses refer to the G-stem unless otherwise indicated.
“to spy” (D) (2:6, 7). This verb is attested 25+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it is attested in TgJob 39:8, 29; TgQoh 1:13; 2:3; 7:25; TgLam 1:2; Tg1Chr 19:3; all the TgPsJ attestations reflect the underlying Onqelos translation.

“to rejoice loudly” (5:2). This verb is attested 25+ times in TgJon. In LJLA, it occurs 20+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgLam, and Tg1Chr.

“(from the) outside” (2:14; 3:2). This is attested 35+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs in Tg2Chr 32:3; 33:15; TgPsJ Num 9:13; 35:19.

“stronghold” (7:5). This noun is attested nine times in TgJon. In LJLA, it is attested in TgJob 39:28.

“leprosy” (1:12). The majority of the 35+ JLA attestations of this word take place in Lev 13–14. In LJLA, it is attested in Tg2Chr 26:19, 21; all of the attestations in TgPsJ reflect the underlying Onqelos translation.

“apostasy” (7:1). This word is attested six times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs in Tg2Chr 32:16, 17; all of the attestations in TgPsJ reflect the underlying Onqelos translation.

“to befall” (Dt) (1:6). This verb is attested three times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 15+ times in TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgLam, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

9. Cook, *Glossary*, 14. Note that the lone JPA attestation is in Neofiti Deut 1:24, which is matched in Onqelos. Also note that a nominal form “lie; spy” is attested in SA; *DSA*, 36.
10. *ChW* 1:85. It is only elsewhere attested in QA; *DQA*, 32.
“irreal particle” (8:4). This word is attested 25+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it is also attested in TgJob 32:22; 34:36; TgRuth 2:7; TgPsJ Gen 26:29.

フレック “redeemer, savior” (4:5; 7:4). This form is attested in the ketib of TgHos 13:4, and it also occurs in the LJLA texts of TgEsth I 2:5; TgLam 5:8; Tg1Chr 19:12; TgPsJ Lev 25:25. It contrasts with the more commonフレック.

קטול “execution” (1:14). This is attested 50+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it is attested 25+ times in TgPs, TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgEsth II, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

ריקני “empty” (3:5). This adjective only appears in TgIsa 29:2; TgRuth 1:21; 3:17; TgPsJ Gen 1:2, and the form compares with the more commonريك. This word is missing in the Yemenite recension of TgSong due to parablepsis.

רשתך “chariot” (1:9; 6:12). This noun is attested 120+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgQoh, TgChr, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

شبזיז “sapphire” (5:14). This gemstone is attested three times in JLA, and these are the passages from which the Yemenite recension derives its list of gems earlier in TgSong 5:14. The beginning and end of this verse (which include this word) are the same in both recensions. In LJLA, it is also attested in TgJob 28:6, 16; TgLam 4:7; TgPsJ Num 2:10.

16. Cook, Glossary, 222. Note that SA uses a similar particle to translate the Hebrew פן “lest” (DSA, 688).

17. See DJPA, 445; DSA, 709; DCPA, 339; SL, 1233.

18. Cook, Glossary, 245. Compare the forms קטול in JPA and SA; DJPA 485; DSA, 770.

19. Cook, Glossary, 270. The same word in SA is derived form Onqelos (DSA, 856). Compare the form רותך with prothetic א in JPA (DJPA, 78).

20. The Yemenite recension uses the gemstones from the Hebrew of these verses rather than the Aramaic.

“to struggle” (Dt) (3:6). This verb is attested 20+ times in JLA, notably in Gen 32:24–25, which contains the underlying story told in TgSong. In LJLA, it occurs in TgProv 1:10; TgRuth 2:19; TgQoh 1:17; 5:11; Tg2Chr 18:2.

“nurse” (2:6). This is attested six times in JLA, notably in Num 11:12, which is the underlying reference in TgSong. In LJLA, it occurs in TgEsth I 2:7; 6:9.

“commandment” (1:12). This is attested 30 times in JLA, notably Exod 24:12, which is the underlying reference in TgSong. In LJLA, it occurs 20+ times in TgPs, TgQoh, TgEsth I, and TgChr; all of the TgPsJ attestations reflect the underlying Onqelos translation.

“offering, tribute” (2:17; 4:8). This is attested 25+ times in JLA. In LJLA, this word occurs in TgPs 45:13; 72:10; 96:8; TgQoh 10:16; Tg1Chr 16:29; Tg2Chr 17:11; 26:8; TgPsJ Gen 15:9; Lev 21:6.

5.3 Eastern Words

The words that are more characteristic of the eastern dialects of Aramaic can be subdivided into two groups. The first group includes words known from JBA, and more specifically, from the Babylonian Talmud. Some of these are also attested in JLA. The second group of eastern words do not occur in the Talmud, but it is important to note that, with the exception of מטול “on account of,” they are all attested in JLA.

from Onqelos (DSA, 862).


5.3.1 Eastern Words Attested in the Babylonian Talmud

איהו “he” (1:1, 9; 2:2; 5:6; 5:15). This is a JBA innovation of the third person masculine singular independent pronoun. In LJLA, it occurs 20+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgProv, TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

اورזיל “young gazelle” (2:9, 17; 4:5; 7:4; 8:14). The particular spelling of this word is only attested in JBA and TgSong.

אי “if (real condition with pf. and ptc.)” (1:8; 7:9, 13). This word is attested in JBA; its negative counterpart אִילָא occurs in TgJer 15:11. In LJLA, it is attested ten times in TgQoh, TgLam, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

אתכל “cluster” (1:14; 7:8–9). This noun is attested in JBA and ten times in JLA. Note that all of the TgSong attestations have the cognate אֶשְׁכֹּל in the underlying Hebrew. In LJLA, it is attested in Tg1Chr 12:41.

בדח “to be cheerful” (1:14). This verb is attested in JBA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 5:12; 9:3; TgQoh 2:10; 5:18; TgEsth I 5:9; 8:15; TgPsJ Exod 18:9.

בי “in, at” (10+ times). This preposition is attested in JBA and derives from בֵּין “between.” In LJLA, it often has the same semantic range as an inseparable – ב “in, at, with”

25. See the discussion in Morphology 3.1.1.
26. DJBA, 93. Compare the forms ל(י)עוז and ‘ר in JPA and Syriac (DJP A, 398; SL, 1078), which are more like the Akkadian uzālu (CAD U-W, 360).
27. DJBA, 108.
28. DJBA, 178; Cook, Glossary, 25; Tal, Language, 104. The attestations in SA derive from Onqelos; DSA, 73.
29. DJBA, 185; note that a noun אֶפֶלָה “pleasure” occurs in Syriac (SL, 124).
30. DJBA, 199.
and occurs in TgJob 2:11; 12:20; TgRuth 2:12; TgEsth I 1:4; 25+ times in TgPsJ.\textsuperscript{31} Given the relatively small size of TgSong, this word is notable for its frequency.

גדף “wing” (2:15–16). This word is attested in JBA, Mandaic, and 10+ times in JLA.\textsuperscript{32} In LJLA, it occurs 20+ times in TgPs; TgJob; TgProv; TgChr; TgEsth II; TgPsJ.

גומיש “type of tree” (1:17; 5:15). Though the etymology of this particular word is unclear, it is attested in the Babylonian Talmud to explain עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר “gopher wood” in BH Gen 6:14.\textsuperscript{33} It is also used in TgPsJ Num 19:6 to translate אֶרֶז “cedar.”

גירסא “recitation” (1:2). This is a common JBA word which is only attested here in the LJLA corpus.\textsuperscript{34}

גנוני “garden” (2:1; 5:13). This word is attested in JBA and 15+ times in TgJob and TgPsJ.\textsuperscript{35}

הדר “to return, turn” (2:16; 5:2–3; 6:1; 7:5; 8:7). This verb is attested in JBA and Mandaic; according to Sokoloff, the non-Targumic attestations in JPA derive from JBA.\textsuperscript{36} In LJLA, it occurs 50+ times in TgJob, TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgLam, TgChr, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

\textsuperscript{31} Yemenite manuscripts of TgSong change this to the more common –ב.

\textsuperscript{32} Cook, Glossary, 45; DJBA, 262; MD, 74. The lone JPA attestation reflects the underlying Onqelos translation at Exod 19:4; this is in the Fragment Targum P (V uses the word בֶּן instead).

\textsuperscript{33} DJBA, 268.

\textsuperscript{34} DJBA 283. SA has a noun which refers to that which is crushed; DSA, 159.

\textsuperscript{35} DJBA, 295.

\textsuperscript{36} DJBA, 363; MD, 131; DJPA, 159.
“thus” (1:1; 4:13). This word, derived from כִּין, only occurs in JBA and LJLA. In LJLA, it occurs 15+ times in TgPs, TgProv, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgEsth I & II, and TgPsJ.

“insignificant” (4:9). This adjective is attested in JBA. In LJLA, it also occurs in TgPs 119:14; TgJob 32:6; Tg1Chr 12:15; Tg2Chr 21:17.

“to drip” (4:11; 5:13). This verb is attested in JBA, Syriac, Mandaic, and TgIsa 7:14. The Yemenite recension of TgSong misreads it as לָיוֹת “to them.” Elsewhere in LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 29:9; 42:8; 147:18; TgJob 28:4, 11; 29:6; 36:28.

“to repent” (5:4). This verb is attested in JBA and here. Notably, the verb only occurs in the Gt-stem in JBA, but it is found in the G-stem in TgSong.

“drum” (1:1). This word is attested in JBA, Syriac, and Mandaic. In LJLA, it also occurs in TgQoh 7:5.

“lowered (of head)” (7:6). Though attested in QA, this adjective is primarily known from the eastern dialects of JBA, Syriac, and Mandaic. It is not otherwise attested in LJLA. One Yemenite manuscript of TgSong has an Aramaized hypercorrection of the RH adjective נֶמֶך.

“sick” (5:8). This is attested in one Yemenite manuscript. Most manuscripts have the nominal מַרְעָה “sickness,” but this is less likely in context. The word מָרָעִית is attested in

37. Several manuscripts have תְבֵּרָם or תָּבֵרָם instead.
38. DJBA, 382.
39. DJBA, 403; also note the Mandaic word 'ṣartia (MD, 355).
40. DJBA, 482.
41. DJBA, 494; SL, 510; MD, 173.
42. DQA, 138; DJBA, 675; SL, 756; MD, 242.
JBA and three times in TgJon (Ezek 34:4, 16; Mal. 1:8). In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 69:21; TgPsJ Gen 18:1; 30:36; Exod 18:20; Deut 34:6.

נקט “to attach” (7:2). This verb is attested in JBA and Syriac. It occurs in two western manuscripts of TgSong; the majority of other manuscripts have the more common word קבש “to affix, establish.” Elsewhere in LJLA, נקט is attested in TgJob 33:20; TgEsth I 5:2; Tg2Chr 4:5; TgEsth II 4:16; 6:1; 8:15; TgPsJ Gen 40:14; 43:33.

סילוא “thorn” (2:2). This noun is attested in JBA, Mandaic, and Syriac. In LJLA, it occurs in TgJob 31:40; 40:26; Tg2Chr 25:18.

רשק “sweet-smelling plant” (4:13–14). This is attested in JBA and Syriac. These are the only LJLA attestations, and they translate נרדר “spikenard.”

שאג “teak” (1:17; 3:9). This word is attested in JBA, Syriac, Mandaic, and these are the only LJLA attestations. The Yemenite copyists were unaware of the word and assumed that the י was actually a ש; consequently, they spell the word as סאג.
“legal tradition” (5:10). This word is attested in JBA. The Yemenite recension of TgSong has this word; the western recension has the more commonly attested synonym שמעה. Elsewhere in LJLA, it is also in Tg1Chr 2:55.

“one-third” (8:3). This word is attested in JBA and Syriac. There are several variants among the manuscripts, but the fact that this word occurs in a passage mirroring TgPsJ Deut 6:9; 11:20 assures the reading.

5.3.2 Eastern Words Not Attested in the Babylonian Talmud

“to hide” (7:14). This Syriac verb only occurs in two Yemenite manuscripts, but due to the odd morphology (גנאת for the expected גניתי, it is likely a scribal error for the more common synonym גנז.

“heap” (5:11). This word is attested in Mandaic and eleven times in JLA. The Yemenite recension of TgSong misreads it as being from the verb גזר “to cut.” In LJLA, it occurs in TgJob 15:28 and TgQoh 3:5.

50. DJBA, 1161.

51. For שמעה, see DIPA, 556; DJBA, 1156. With the meaning “report, news”: DQA, 238; TgJon ChW 2:495; DSA, 911; SL, 1571.

52. DJBA, 1187 #1; SL, 1630 #2.

53. Concerning the variant forms, see the discussion in Morphology 3.3.5.

54. SL, 247 #2; See Morphology 3.4.7.6. For גנז, see DIPA, 133; Cook, Glossary, 53; DJBA, 295; DSA, 152; DCPA, 74; SL, 246.

55. MD, 102; Cook, Glossary, 47.
“cloak” (5:7). This word is attested in Syriac, twice in TgJon, and here.\(^{56}\) It is attested in a minority of TgSong manuscripts, including Paris 110; most manuscripts have the Persian loan תגנה “crown.”\(^{57}\)

“on account of” (4:13). This word is attested in Palmyrene, Neofiti margin, koine JBA bowls, and Syriac.\(^{58}\) It is very common in LJLA, occurring 600+ times. It does not, however, occur in TgRuth, TgLam, or TgEsth I.

“smooth” (5:12). This adjective is attested in Syriac and twice in JLA.\(^{59}\) In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 12:3, 4; TgJob 24:18; TgProv 5:3; 7:5; TgPsJ Lev 19:17.

### 5.4 Western Words

There are quite a few words in TgSong that are more characteristic of the western dialects of Aramaic.\(^{60}\) It is possible to subdivide them into two groups. The first group includes words that are also attested in JLA; this is the larger group. The second group includes words that are not attested in JLA. It is important to note that nearly all of the words in the latter group occur in TgPsJ and the Palestinian targum tradition.\(^{61}\)

\(^{56}\) SL, 596; Isa 3:23; Ezek 27:18.

\(^{57}\) For תגנה, see Lexical Stock 5.7.5.1.

\(^{58}\) DNWSI, 618; DJP A, 301; DJBA, 665; SL, 747. The Talmudic form of this word is אמתול; see DJBA, 140.

\(^{59}\) Cook, Glossary, 289; Gen 27:11; 1 Sam 17:40.

\(^{60}\) Though Syriac is usually classified as eastern, there are times when a particular word is attested in western dialects and Syriac. These have been included in the following examples.

\(^{61}\) There are two exceptions. The first is the nuance of closing the eye with the verb קמח, a verb attested more broadly with the meaning, “take a handful, close the hand.” The second exception is the form of גלוף “engraving” (8:6), which only occurs with this spelling (note the ו) in SA (DSA, 149).
5.4.1 Western Words Attested in Jewish Literary Aramaic

אילולי “were it not; if” (1:9; 2:15, 17; 6:11; 8:7). This is attested in JPA, SA, CPA, and one time in Onqelos (Exod 4:26). In LJLA, it occurs ten times in TgPs, TgQoh, and TgPsJ.

ארור “for, because” (1:13; 5:5). In TgSong, this only occurs in two manuscripts in the first instance and three manuscripts in the second; all other manuscripts have ארון, which is preferred given the strong preference for ארון in LJLA more broadly. It is attested in Targumic JPA, SA, and nearly 3000 times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgRuth, TgEsth I & II, TgLam, and TgPsJ. The attestations in Onqelos are mostly paralleled by ארון in TgPsJ.

ארי in various constructions: ארי “because of”; – דarchivo “so that”; – כי archivo “therefore” (10+ times). This is attested in JPA and TgIsa 28:15. In LJLA, it occurs 250+ times. It is not, however, attested in TgProv.

דחיל “because of” (1:3; 7:9). This word primarily occurs in MA and the late western dialects. In LJLA, it occurs 250+ times, though not in TgProv.

גגב “to gather” (D) (6:2). This verb is attested in JPA, SA, CPA, and six times in JLA. The Yemenite manuscripts of TgSong have the verb גבי “to collect” (D), but this word is less likely since it usually indicates the collection of money, and the context refers to the

62. *DJP A*, 49; Cook, *Glossary*, 14; *DSA*, 33; *DCPA* 17 (אילולי).
63. See Lexical Stock 5.4.2.
64. *DJP A*, 84; the TgIsa 28:15 has Embedded “because.”
65. *DQA*, 31; *DJA*, 40; *DJP A*, 85; Cook, *Glossary*, 28; *DSA*, 81; *DCPA*, 192; there are attestations of this word in archaic contexts in JBA (*DJBA*, 186).
66. *DJP A*, 118; *DSA*, 124; *DCPA*, 66; Cook, *Glossary*, Exod 5:7, 12; Num 15:32, 33; 1 Kgs 17:10, 12. Note that JBA and Mandaic have the meaning “to bend” with this root: *DJBA*, 256; *MD*, 82.
collection of roses. Elsewhere in LJLA, it is attested in TgPs 109:11. The attestations in TgPsJ reflect the Onqelos translation.

חזר “to go around” (D) (3:2). This verb is attested in JPA, SA, and 30 times in JLA. It occurs 70+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgProv, TgQoh, TgChr, TgEsth II, TgPsJ.

חמי “to see.” This verb is attested in Palmyrene, JPA, SA, occasionally in Syriac, and Tg2Sam 2:22. In TgSong, Paris 110 and a number of western manuscripts prefer this root over the synonym חמז; the Yemenite recension is the opposite. The verb חמי is preferred in a nearly 8:1 ratio in the LJLA texts.

חרך “window” (2:9). This word is attested in JPA, SA, and 10+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgJob, TgQoh, TgChr, and TgPsJ. Notably, the lone BH occurrence is in this verse.

טפי “to extinguish” (8:7). This verb is attested in QA, JPA, SA, CPA, and twelve times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

לחדא “very” (1:12). This adverb is attested in QA, Targumic JPA, SA, CPA, and 200+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 70+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgEsth I & II, TgLam, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

67. DJPA, 195; DSA, 261; Cook, Glossary, 86. According to Sokoloff, the JBA attestations are likely corrupt (DJBA, 448).

68. DNWSI, 381; DJPA, 205; DSA, 278; SL, 463 #2; according to Sokoloff, the JBA attestations are dialectal (DJBA, 468).

69. DJPA, 215; DSA, 294; Cook, Glossary, 99.

70. DQA, 97; DJPA, 229, DSA, 321; DCPA, 153; Cook, Glossary, 108.

71. DQA, 127; DJPA, 280; DSA, 431; DCPA, 197; Cook, Glossary, 138; Tal, Language, 45.
“cheek” (1:10). This noun is attested once in QA, eight times in TgJon, and in RH. In LJLA, it is attested 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgQoh, TgLam, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“from here” (2:13). This is attested in JPA, SA, CPA, Syriac, and 180+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgRuth, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

“plain, valley” (2:1, 6; 6:2). This word is attested in QA, JPA, SA, CPA, and 150+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgEsth I, TgEsth II, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“plague” (1:12). This word is attested in QA, JPA, SA, Syriac, and 50+ times in JLA (almost all of them in Lev 13–14). In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgProv, TgQoh, TgLam, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“from below” (TgSong 2:6; 8:5). This adverb is attested in JPA, SA, one JBA bowl, and 40+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 50:4; 120:4; TgJob 18:16; 26:5; Tg2Ch 4:3; 6:14; 32:30.

“rebellion” (6:1). The word is attested in SA and 15+ times in JLA; a minority of TgSong manuscripts have the more common synonym מָרָד. Its use likely


73. *DJP A*, 251; Cook, *Glossary*, 121; DSA, 379; DCPA, 232 (מֶלֶשׁ); SL, 756.


76. *DJP A*, 315; Cook, *Glossary*, 155; *DSA*, 66; *DJBA*, 668 (Bowl 56).


78. For מָרָד, see Vogt, *Lexicon*, 219; *DJP A*, 328 (targumic); Cook, *Glossary*, 163; *DSA*, 484; SL, 827; MD, 270.
reflects the similar phrase in Ezra 4:19. The targum reads אשתדור, whereas the biblical text reads אשדורי "rebellion(s) and sedition." Notably, the word אשתדור is only attested in QA and BA. In LJLA, מרד is attested 25+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgProv, TgEsth I, TgLam, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

**ניסוך** "libation" (4:15; 5:1). This word is attested in JPA, SA, and JLA (the particular form with a י between the second and third root consonants only occurs in Lev 23:7; Num 4:7; 28:7). In LJLA, it is attested in TgPs 16:4; Tg1Chr 9:29; 29:21; Tg2Chr 29:35; TgEsth II 7:10; 30+ times in TgPsJ.

**נצחן** "victory" (5:15). This word is attested in Targumic JPA, SA, CPA, Syriac, and 10+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 35:23; TgJob 22:8; Tg1Chr 29:11; TgEsth II 1:2; TgPsJ Exod 14:14; 17:9; 28:15; Deut 4:34; 34:1.

**סגלגל** "round" (7:3). This word is attested in QA and nine times in TgJon. In LJLA, it occurs in TgEsth I & II 1:6. All three of the occurrences in TgChr (Tg2Chr 4:2, 5; 9:18) are likewise attested in TgJon.

**סואבה** "defilement" (5:3). This word is attested in JPA, SA, CPA, and fifteen times in JLA. The different manuscripts of TgSong have alternate endings at 5:3, and this word is attested in roughly half of them. Elsewhere in LJLA, it occurs in TgPsJ Lev 11:1; 15:33; 22:4.

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79. DJPA, 349; DSA, 534; Cook, Glossary, 180. The form נסך is much more common in JLA and is also attested in BA (Vogt, Lexicon, 228).
80. DJPA, 359; DSA, 543; DCPA, 271; SL, 940; Cook, Glossary, 182.
81. DQA, 163; 1 Kgs 6:34 (twice); 7:23, 26, 31 (twice), 35; 10:19; Ezek 1:7.
82. DJPA, 364, 369; DSA, 558; DCPA, 275; Cook, Glossary, 185.
“to fence in” (D) (7:3). This verb is attested in QA, JPA, SA, CPA, Syriac, and TgHos 2:8. Three TgSong manuscripts read from the root סגי, “to be much, many,” though that is less likely. The majority of manuscripts read from the more likely סעג. Note, also, that the noun סעג “fence” occurs in RH.

“total amount” (1:11). This word is attested in JPA, SA, and three times in JLA. It occurs 50+ times in the LJLA texts of TgPs, TgJob, TgEsth I, TgEsth II, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“because of, concerning” (2:13). This preposition is attested in JPA, SA, and 40+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 60+ times in TgPs, TgQoh, TgEsth I, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“according to” (1:8). This preposition is attested in JPA and 40+ times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs 50+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, TgEsth I & II, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“commandment” (10+ attestations). This noun is attested in JPA, SA, CPA, and seventy times in JLA. In LJLA, it is attested 100+ times in TgPs, TgProv, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgLam, TgChr, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

“anointing” (1:3; 3:6). This word is attested in QA, JPA, SA, and 25+ times in Onqelos. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgQoh, TgEsth I, and TgPsJ.

83. DQA, 164; DJPA, 369; ChW 2:157; DSA, 572; DCPA, 281; SL, 975.
84. JBA also has a tertiary meaning of סגי meaning to “to shut” (DJBA, 787). The use of סגי in TgSong manuscripts, however, could simply be a scribal error.
85. Jastrow, Dictionary, 978. See also Alexander, The Targum of Canticles, 178 note m.
86. DJPA, 377; DSA, 588; Cook, Glossary, 194: Exod 5:8, 18; Ezek 45:11.
87. DJPA, 407; DCPA, 333; Cook, Glossary, 222.
88. DQA, 217; DJPA, 513, DSA, 811 #3; Cook, Glossary, 257 #2.
“to be anointed” (Dt) (1:3). This word is attested in Targumic JPA, SA, and 40+ times in JLA.\(^{89}\) In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgQoh, and TgChr. All of the TgPsJ attestations likewise occur in either Onqelos or the Palestinian targum tradition.

“row, line” (1:11; 5:13). This word occurs in non-Targumic JPA, TgIsa 30:18, and RH.\(^{90}\)

“delicacies” (6:2–3; 7:7). This term is attested in JPA, 10+ times in JLA, and RH.\(^{91}\) In LJLA, it also occurs in TgProv 29:17; TgRuth 4:15; TgQoh 2:8; TgEsth I 2:12; TgLam 2:22; 4:5; TgPsJ Gen 40:17; Exod 31:16; Num 5:15.

### 5.4.2 Western Words Not Attested in Jewish Literary Aramaic

“also, even” (1:14; 2:6, 12–13; 5:3; 6:12; 7:9; 8:1). The TgSong manuscripts are divided on the spelling of this word. Paris 110 and a number of the western manuscripts spell אוף, while the Yemenite recension and some western manuscripts spell it אף. The form אוף is more like the late western dialects and Syriac, and the form אף is more like JLA and the eastern dialects.\(^{92}\) While both forms occur in LJLA, the form אוף is more common.\(^{93}\)

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89. *DJPA*, 514 #2; *DSA*, 810 #5; Cook, *Glossary*, 25 #2.

90. *DJPA*, 547 #2; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1560 #3. This form is attested in JBA and Mandaic with the meaning “branch, opinion”: *DJBA*, 1134; *MD*, 459.


92. *DNWSI*, 92; Vogt, *Lexicon*, 48; *DQA*, 21; *DJPA*, 41; Cook, *Glossary*, 20; *DJBA*, 152; *DSA*, 55; *DCPA*, 8; *SL*, 81; *MD*, 30.

93. For a full discussion, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.1.2.
“for, because” (1:13; 2:5, 11, 14; 5:2, 5; 8:6). This conjunction is attested in Targumic JPA and is related to the older אָרֶם, which is attested in inscriptive JPA, BA, and QA.\(^{94}\) ארום is very common in LJLA, being attested 2000+ times.

גלוף “engraving” (8:6). This word only occurs with this spelling in SA. In LJLA, it is attested in TgPsJ Gen 49:24; Exod 28:11, 21; 39:14. Note the different forms in Onqelos (תְּלֵךְ) and CPA (כֹּלֶב).\(^{95}\)

גלמה “hill” (2:8). This noun is attested in JPA, SA, and CPA; it is also attested in the Jewish magical text, “The Sword of Moses.”\(^{96}\) In LJLA, this word is attested 20+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgChr, and TgPsJ. Several of the TgSong manuscripts use the Hebrew term גבעה.

– כּוּי “like” (4:13; 6:11). This preposition is attested in the form רֳדֶך in IA, Palmyrene, JPA, CPA, and one magic bowl.\(^{97}\) It is common in LJLA, occurring 800+ times.

– כּוּ מְאָמ “as, just as” (15+ attestations). This word occurs in various spellings in JPA, SA, and CPA;\(^{98}\) the TgSong manuscripts likewise attest to a number of different spellings. In LJLA, it occurs 80+ times in the targumim to the Writings. Most of the TgPsJ occurrences are likewise attested in the Palestinian targum tradition, but the spelling is different. TgPsJ prefers כּוּ מְא, whereas Neofiti, for instance, prefers רֳדֶך מֵא.

\(^{94}\) DJPA, 73; DNWSI 104 #2; Vogt, *Lexicon*, 36; DQA, 22.

\(^{95}\) DSA, 149; DCPA 74; Cook, *Glossary*, 51; note that Syriac has the form אָרֶם (SL, 239).

\(^{96}\) DNWSI, 224; DJPA, 130; DJBA, 288; DSA, 148; DCPA, 74.

\(^{97}\) DNWSI, 278; DJPA, 264; DCPA, 99; DJBA 376 (Bowl 69). Note that there are variant spellings in the TgSong manuscripts, such as כּוּ מְא and כּוּ מְא.

\(^{98}\) DJPA, 164; DSA, 206; DCPA, 100.
This adverb is attested in JPA and 100+ times in the LJLA texts of TgPs, TgJob, TgEsth I, TgLam, TgChr, and TgPsJ.\textsuperscript{99} The TgPsJ attestations are often in place of the Onqelos adverb סחורה, as is the case more broadly in the Palestinian targum tradition.

“tower” (7:5). The spelling with a ש appears to be a western innovation, as it is occasionally attested in JPA.\textsuperscript{100} It is evidenced more frequently (though not without exception)\textsuperscript{101} in LJLA.\textsuperscript{102} Of the four occurrences of this word in TgSong, only Paris 110 spells it with a ש, and this manuscript does so on only one occasion.\textsuperscript{103}

“mixture (of people”) (1:12). This particular word usually refers to a "commotion" or “uproar” in the western dialects of JPA, CPA, and SA, but it is expanded to include a number of different nuances in LJLA (often in the form עירוב).\textsuperscript{104} This includes “swarm” and “(banned) mixture.” The former is equivalent to the Hebrew loan (also used in Onqelos) ערב, and the latter is equivalent to Onqelos’ עירו, known also from RH and JBA.\textsuperscript{105} In LJLA, the word עירוב is attested fifteen times in TgPs and TgPsJ.

\textsuperscript{99} DJPA, 193.

\textsuperscript{100} DJPA, 289.

\textsuperscript{101} TgPs 48:13; TgProv 18:10; TgPsJ Gen 36:43.

\textsuperscript{102} TgQoh 7:28; Tg1Chr 27:25; Tg2Chr 14:6; 26:9–10, 15; 27:4; 32:5; TgPsJ Gen 11:4–5; 35:21.

\textsuperscript{103} All other occurrences are defectively written. See 7:5 (twice); 8:10.

\textsuperscript{104} DJPA, 418; DSA, 661; DCPA, 319; the form ערב, which is more akin to “mixture,” is attested in QA (DQA, 187) and SA (DSA, 662).

\textsuperscript{105} Cook, Glossary, 211, 218; DJBA, 860 #1; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1075.
“little bit, small amount” (3:4). The phrase ציבחר is attested six times in TgJon, and this is the form in the Yemenite recension of TgSong.\(^\text{106}\) The late western dialects of JPA, SA, and CPA have the form ציבחד.\(^\text{107}\) A corrupt form ציבחר is attested in JPA, and this is the more common form in LJLA, being attested in TgRuth 2:7; Tg2Chr 24:24; TgPsJ Gen 19:20. The manuscripts attest both forms at TgJob 36:2.

قبل “before” (10+ times). This preposition only occurs in Paris 110 where the other manuscripts have קדם; it always has a suffix. While this preposition occurs in a number of dialects, the form with ק is unique to JPA.\(^\text{108}\) In LJLA, it occurs 50+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgQoh, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

כ配套设施 “close (eye)” (8:14). While this verb is attested in other dialects with the meaning “take a handful, close the hand,”\(^\text{109}\) the particular nuance of closing the eye is unique to non-Targumic JPA and is only attested here in LJLA.\(^\text{110}\)

קריצה “dawn” (3:6; 6:10). This word is attested in non-Targumic JPA, SA, and CPA.\(^\text{111}\) In LJLA, it occurs 15+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, and TgPsJ, often as a translation of the Hebrew שחר.

\(^\text{107}\) DJPA, 462; , DSA, 730; DCPA, 353.
\(^\text{108}\) DJPA, 481. Compare קמי in DJA, 78; DJBA, 1024; DSA, 758, DCPA, 375; Mandaic has qam (MD, 401).
\(^\text{109}\) See DJPA, 496; Cook, Glossary, 250; DJBA, 1026; SA, 783.
\(^\text{110}\) DJPA, 496.
\(^\text{111}\) DJPA, 506; DSA, 801; DCPA, 383.
5.5 Biblical Aramaic Words

The targumist utilized BA terminology in crafting TgSong, and this is especially the case in passages that are concerned with the events of Daniel or his three companions. Several of the words, however, are attested more broadly across the Aramaic dialects and are not dialectally significant. It is likely that the following words—though not wholly unique to BA—would not have been known from another source.

אשתדור “sedition” (6:1). Other than QA and BA, this word only occurs in TgLam 1:1 and the Antiochus Scroll.\(^\text{113}\)

באדין “then” (6:8). This word is attested in IA, Hatran, BA, QA, and SA.\(^\text{114}\) In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs,\(^\text{115}\) the Antiochus Scroll, and the Cairo Genizah Testament of Levi (Bodleian and Manchester texts).

כהל “to be able” (7:9). This verb is only used when referencing Daniel and the three youths. Otherwise, the verb יכלה is used. The verb כהל is attested in OA, IA, BA, and QA.\(^\text{116}\) In LJLA, it also occurs in TgPsJ Gen 36:7, TgEsth II 1:2, and the Antiochus Scroll.\(^\text{117}\)

\(^{112}\) See, for example, TgSong 7:6, 9, 10.


\(^{114}\) *DNWSI*, 13; Vogt, *Lexicon*, 25; *DQA*, 3; *DSA*, 8.

\(^{115}\) The TgPs attestations (96:12; 119:6, 92) all have variants with other similar adverbs: רדום, בן, ורב.

\(^{116}\) *DNWSI*, 489; Vogt, *Lexicon*, 166; *DQA*. 111.

5.6 Late Jewish Literary Aramaic

There are two types of LJLA words. The first type includes words which have a form unique to LJLA, though the words are known from other dialects in another form. These LJLA forms can have a different consonant, as in the form אדבע for the more common אצבע “finger.” They can have a different vocalic pattern, as is the case with מיר for the more common מיר “myrrh.” The LJLA form can also be the result of a grammatical process like reanalysis or backformation, as is the case with דבבו from the original דבבו “resentment.” The second type of LJLA words are those which are not attested in any other Aramaic dialect.

5.6.1 Late Jewish Literary Aramaic Forms

 актуальн “finger” (7:8) This form is attested in Paris 110 and 10+ times in TgPsJ. The other TgSong manuscripts have the more common form אצבע.118

אגון “disk (of the moon)” (7:3). The emphatic form אוגנא is only attested here. A few manuscripts have the more common אוגנה, which presumably has an /a/ vowel after the א.119

אין “which” (5:9; 6:1). The form with a space between the two elements is attested in two TgSong manuscripts, including Paris 110. It also occurs in the Paris 110 manuscript of TgQoh 2:3, 6. The other manuscripts of TgSong have the form אידן, which is known from TgJon (1 Sam 6:20; 9:18; Isa 66:1) and dialectal portions of JBA.120

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118.  Fontela places a dot above the י, indicating that he deems it doubtful. For the more common spelling, see DNWSI, 98; Vogt, Lexicon, 49; DQA, 21; DJPA, 72; Cook, Glossary, 21; DJBA, 159; DSA, 720; DCPA, 26; SL, 1272; MD, 355.

119.  See DNWSI, 9; DJPA, 34; TgJon ChW 1:8; DJBA, 79; DSA, 6; DCPA, 4; SL, 7; MD, 5.

120.  ChW 1:24; DJBA, 111. Note also אידן in SA (DSA, 23), אידן in JPA (DJPA, 162), and אידן in CPA (DCPA, 98).
“chastisement” (7:7) Two Yemenite manuscripts have this LJLA variant of the more common יסורין. It occurs in TgQoh 3:10 as well.

בבו “resentment.” (2:15; 8:6). This is a backformation of רבע, a word attested in SA and JLA; many of the TgSong manuscripts have this “proper” form. The LJLA form is attested ten times in TgJob and TgPsJ.

בפתגם “by the edge of” (2:16). The standard targumic (JLA and JPA) idiom for the Hebrew phrase לְפִי is – but לְפִי is also attested in TgPsJ Num 21:24.

גלשושי “monument (of stones)” (4:1; 6:5). This particular form is only attested here. The JPA form גבשושי occurs in TgQoh 12:5.

גמר “to be perfumed” (Dt) (3:6). The Dt-stem and this particular meaning are only attested here and TgPs 45:9. It is possible that the meaning is derived from the nominal “coals,” which is attested from an early point in Aramaic. The use of this verb in the D and C-stems to refer to the burning of coals and incense is attested in CPA and Syriac.

121. DQA, 104; DJPA, 239; TgJon ChW 1:340; DJBA, 534; for RH, see Jastrow, Dictionary, 582.
122. Cook, Glossary, 55; DSA, 164.
123. TgJob 9:26; TgPsJ Gen 32:6; 37:4–5, 8; 50:20; Ex 17:8; Num 35:21–22; Deut 28:65.
125. DJPA, 120.
126. DNWSI, 227 #3.
127. DCPA 74 #1; SL 243.
דרגי (דרגיתא) is unique to the western recension of TgSong; the Yemenite recension has the form דרגתא. The word may be related to the common Aramaic noun דרג "step, ladder." 129

היכדין, "how?" (3:5; 5:3). There are a number of variants with this particular interrogative pronoun. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 66:13; 137:4; TgEsth I 1:13, 8:6; TgEsth II 6:11; TgPsJ Gen 26:9; 44:34; Deut 7:17; 18:21; 32:30. The attestations of והיכדר and והיכד בֵּין in Neofiti Gen 39:9; 44:8, 34; Exod 6:12 may be later additions.

מאים, "perhaps" (2:5; 3:3; 5:8). This form occurs 10+ times in TgJob and TgPsJ. It contrasts with the standard JLA spelling אם found in the Yemenite manuscripts. 132 This same western–Yemenite distinction in spelling also occurs in TgLam 3:29.

מיר, "myrrh" (4:14; 5:13, western). The spelling with י is unique to these passages, TgPs 45:9, and TgEsth II 2:5, 12. It is spelled מיר in all of the other Aramaic dialects in which it is attested, 133 as is the case in the Yemenite recension and one western manuscript.

פּּוּקַנָה, "spring" (of water) (5:12). The word with this meaning is restricted to LJLA. In Neofiti it refers to the exodus, and in Syriac it refers to speech. There is manuscript evidence for its use in TgOnq Exod 21:7 (appearing as מַפּוּקַנָה) to refer to a person’s “going out,” and in

128. The underlying Hebrew has חֲדַרְדֵּגָה "foothold in the rock" (HALOT, 550).
129. *DNWSI*, 359 #2; *DQA*, 58; *DJPA*, 155; Cook, *Glossary*, 65; *DJBA*, 350; *DSA*, 193; *DCPA*, 93; *SL*, 320; *MD*, 109.
130. Note, especially, המדא (from JLA; Cook, *Glossary*, 10) and המדר (from JPA; *DJPA* 164 #2).
131. In the form היכדר.
133. *DNWSI*, 682 #1; *DJPA*, 296; Cook, *Glossary*, 147; *DJBA*, 649; *DCPA*, 221; *SL*, 729; *MD*, 262.
such instances, TgPsJ uses the construct form מָסְגָּתֻן.134 The reference to a spring of water is also attested in TgPs 107:33, 35; TgJob 6:15; Tg2Chr 32:30.

“abundance” (1:2; 5:10). In TgSong, this form is only attested in Paris 110; note that the same form occurs in the same Paris manuscript of the Fragment Targum at Exod 15:7; 20:12. All of the other manuscripts have the more common סָגִי or סָא. The form with י also occurs in TgPs 22:26; 37:11; 51:3; 69:17; TgProv 13:23.135

פָּתי “plaza” (3:2). The feminine form מָתָא is attested in the western recension of TgSong and is unique to LJLA. It also occurs in TgLam 2:11, 12; TgPs 118:5; Tg2Chr 29:4; 32:6.136 The Yemenite recension has the form סַתי, which is either a transcriptional error for the western form or a misspelling of סַתי “mosaic pavement” attested in TgPsJ Lev 26:1.137

זַדְקו “righteousness, merit” (2:8; 3:6). Most Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript use this word, which is also attested 10+ times in TgPs, TgProv, TgRuth, and TgQoh. The rest of the western manuscripts of TgSong use the common Aramaic צַדְקָה.138

רחִימה “love” (4:9). The form with י between the second and third radicals is unique to LJLA and also occurs in TgQoh 9:1 and the medieval Tobit 11:8.139

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135. See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.5.2. Note the same use of י with the adjective סַגי in TgSong 8:7.

136. The masculine פָּתי “width, breadth” is more common: *DQA*, 231; Cook, *Glossary*, 231; *DJBA*, 947; *SL*, 1266.

137. This may derive from the Greek στοά “roofed colonnade, piazza, cloister,” Liddell and Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon*, 747; Edward M. Cook, p.c. fall 2015.

138. One Yemenite manuscript has the Hebrew term צְדָקָה at 3:6. For צְדָקָה, see *DNWSI*, 964; Vogt, *Lexicon*, 281; *DQA*, 199; 458; Cook, *Glossary*, 233; *DJBA*, 952; *DSA*, 724; *DCPA*, 348; *SL*, 367; *MD*, 165.

139. Compare the forms רָחִימה and רָחִימָה in *DNWSI* 1070 #1; *DJPA*, 521; TgJon *ChW*
“doorpost” (8:3). Though this word is missing in Paris 110, the reading is assured given the shared terminology in TgPsJ Deut 6:9 and 11:20.140

5.6.2 Late Jewish Literary Aramaic Words

אלה “sling” (8:5). This word is only attested with this meaning here. Two manuscripts have the more common word (and Hebrew cognate) קֶלַע “sling,” which may ultimately be the correct reading.141 There are two Hebrew nouns with the form קֶלַע: “hanging curtain” and “sling.”142 On three occasions, Neofiti translates the former with the constructحرفא (Exod 35:17; Num 3:26; 4:26), which may, in these instances, refer to the curtain rods. It is possible that the author of TgSong was aware of this translation and assumed that the nounحرفא was a rare, Aramaic equivalent of Hebrew קֶלַע (though קֶלַע is used with both nuances in several Aramaic dialects).

אניסו “oppression” (4:2; 6:6). This LJLA term is also attested in TgQoh 5:7, and it always occurs together with גנוד “robbery.”

אנפלין “money-box” or “gate house” (4:12). This particular word only occurs here in Aramaic. Its meaning and etymology are uncertain.143


140. Compare this with the JLA form כייר “parapet,” which has a consonantal כ; Cook, Glossary, 300.

141. Alexander posits that the targumist is thinking of the RH כייר “pole, lance” (Jastrow, Dictionary, 66), which clearly would not fit the context. Instead, he states that the text should simply readכייר; The Targum of Canticles, 195 note u.

142. HALOT, 1106 #1 and #2.

143. For a discussion of the various proposals, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.2.2.
“aloe” (4:14). This word is also attested in TgPs 45:9, and it may derive from the Greek ξυλαλόη; notably, ξύλον “wood” is attested in the LXX of this verse in Song of Songs.¹⁴⁴

“clear, shining” (1:11; 5:14; 7:3). This adjective is only attested here. A verb of this root meaning “to shine, make shine” is attested in TgJon, CPA, and Syriac,¹⁴⁵ and a nominal form used to refer to a light spot on the skin is attested in Targumic JPA, JLA, SA, Syriac, and BH.¹⁴⁶

“clear, shining” (5:14, west). This word is attested in most western manuscripts of TgSong. Some of the western manuscripts have the more common synonym נַחֲיר, and the Yemenite manuscripts have the word בחיר “chosen.” Elsewhere in LJLA, בחיר may be attested in TgPsJ Exod 30:23 and TgJob 37:21, though it is possible that the former should read בחיר, and the latter has several variant forms. A verb of this root meaning “to shine” is attested in Syriac, Mandaic, and Hebrew.¹⁴⁷

“jewel” (7:2). This term is also attested in TgEsth I 1:4. There may be two more attestations in TgPsJ Gen 6:16; Deut 34:6, though these are emendations for בורדו and בוורדין, respectively. The Yemenite recension and a few western manuscripts of TgSong have the Hebrew חרוד instead. Lagarde’s presentation of the textus receptus has the form גיהאר instead. Lagarde’s presentation of the textus receptus has the form גיהאר instead. Lagarde’s presentation of the textus receptus has the form גיהאר instead. Lagarde’s presentation of the textus receptus has the form גיהאר instead.

¹⁴⁵ ChW, 1:84; DCPA, 41; SL, 122.
¹⁴⁶ DJPA, 86; Cook, Glossary, 29; DSA, 84; SL, 122; HALOT, 112.
¹⁴⁷ SL, 123; MD, 54 #2; HALOT, 112.
“refined” (1:11). This adjective also occurs in TgPs 68:14, 31. While the adjective is only attested in LJLA, the verb קקק “to refine” (D) is known from Hebrew.\(^{148}\)

“midday demon” (4:6). This word is also attested in TgPsJ Num 6:24; Deut 32:24.

“to leap” (D) (2:8). This verb is attested 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgQoh, TgChr, and TgPsJ. The TgSong manuscripts have several variant forms, though most can be attributed to graphic error. The Yemenite recension erroneously has טפז “to arrive” and טפי “to extinguish.”\(^{149}\)

“blossom” (6:11). The word לבלוב is attested in the margin to Neofiti Num 17:23. Otherwise, the noun is only attested in LJLA, though the form is not consistent.\(^{150}\) TgJob 15:33 and 31:8 have the form לבלוב; TgPsJ Gen 40:10; Exod 34:26; Num 17:23 have the form לבלוב; TgPs 1:3 has the form לבלוב. These should be compared with the form לבלב in JLA.\(^{151}\) In TgSong, the placement of the י varies among the manuscripts, and the Yemenite recension mistakenly reads לבלוב “heart.”

“palate” (2:3, 5; 5:16). This noun is attested 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgProv, and TgPsJ.

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149. Alexander’s emendation to קפז “to jump” is unnecessary; *The Targum of Canticles*, 104, jj.

150. DJPA, 281. Note that SA has a form לפלוף (DSA, 423); there is also a verb attested in RH and JBA (Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 689; *DJBA*, 617).

“sickness” (5:8). This noun is attested in a majority of TgSong manuscripts, but context indicates that the adjective מַרְיעַת “sick,” known from JBA and JLA, is more likely.\(^{152}\)

This LJLA term also occurs in TgPs 124:4; TgProv 18:14; TgQoh 5:12, 15; TgLam 2:13 (west); Tg2Chr 21:15. One should also compare it with the Syriac "K87E, which is attested in TgPs 35:13; 77:11; Tg2Chr 21:15.\(^{153}\)

“desire” (7:11). This noun is also attested in TgPsJ Gen 3:16; 4:7.

“enclosure” (2:14). This noun is also attested in TgJob 38:16. According to CAL, the variant סֵכְרָת “bolt,” is preferred over the form סָכָרַת in TgProv 18:19.\(^{154}\)

“to increase” (1:16; 6:11). This verb is only attested here. It occurs with "increase and multiply" and derives from the imperatival forms of פִּשַׁע in TgOnq 1:22, 28; 9:1, 7.

“pool, stream works” (7:5). This noun is also attested in TgQoh 2:6; TgPsJ Gen 14:3; Num 21:34; 24:6.\(^{155}\)

“navel” (7:3). This noun is also attested in TgJob 3:10; 40:16; TgPsJ Num 11:31. Additionally, this is listed as a variant of שֶׁר "umbilical cord" in Sperber’s apparatus to TgEzek 16:4.

“morning demons” (4:6). This is attested in the majority of western manuscripts, against Paris 110’s נַפֵּר(ד) יָד and Yemenite עַפְרִי ת. The same word refers to

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152. See discussion above, Lexical Stock, 5.3.1.
153. SL, 837.
155. According to CAL, these forms are errors or related to the Syriac "K87E, though that word is not itself entirely clear (accessed 9 September 2015).
morning in TgPs 73:14; 121:6 and morning demons in TgPsJ Num 6:24. Given the strong lexical correspondences between TgSong 4:6 and the Aaronic blessing in TgPsJ, the reading צפרירי is preferred.

This is the only Aramaic attestation, as opposed to the feminine form רחים. Note that Syriac has a plural 'RHW which can mean “love,” and QA has a form הרומ, which, in a fragmentary context, may mean “love.”

5.7 Words of Foreign Origin

5.7.1 Akkadian

Akkadian had an early influence on Aramaic, and several Akkadian words were incorporated into the Aramaic lexicon. Of the Akkadian loanwords that are not common throughout Aramaic, several occur in multiple Jewish dialects (including Hebrew dialects). This includes the following: דוכן “priestly platform,” כוך “burial cavern,” and פלך “region, district.”

5.7.1.1 Akkadian Words Common throughout Aramaic

אומן ummānu159 “artisan” (4:6; 7:2)

אנב inbu160 “fruit” (1:16)

156. See discussion of this feminine word above, Lexical Stock 5.6.1.
157. SL, 1456 #5; DQA, 221 #1.
158. For loanwords which only occur in the list of gemstones in TgSong 5:14, see the discussion below in Lexical Stock 5.9.
160. Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 58. On the form, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.2.2.
argoñu \(^{161}\) “purple fabric” (3:10; 7:6)

businnu \(^{162}\) “lamp” (4:16)

dalsi \(^{163}\) “door” (5:5; 8:3)

ekallu \(^{164}\) < Sumerian “temple” (3:9)

zimmu \(^{165}\) “splendor” (1:5; 5:10; 6:10)

simannu \(^{166}\) “time, moment, assembly” (30+ attestations)

manzaltu \(^{167}\) “constellation” (5:14)

muskenu \(^{168}\) “poor” (7:6)

qistsi \(^{169}\) “wood, tree” (1:17; 4:14)

sazuubi \(^{170}\) “to be delivered” (QuadT) (3:6)

\(^{161}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 35-36.

\(^{162}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 45.

\(^{163}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 45.

\(^{164}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 27.

\(^{165}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 113.

\(^{166}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 91-92.

\(^{167}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 69.

\(^{168}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 74.

\(^{169}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 86.

\(^{170}\) Kaufman, Akkadian Influences, 105.
5.7.1.2 Akkadian Words Not Common throughout Aramaic

אוש ššu < Sumerian “foundation (wall?)” (8:9). This word occurs in IA, BA, QA, CPA, and seven times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgLam 4:1; TgPsJ Exod 9:18.

אריס errēšu “tenant farmer” (2:7). This word is common to the late western dialects of Aramaic and JBA. It also occurs in TgJob 29:23.

איש išitu, išdu “wall” (2:9). This word is common to the late eastern dialects, and it occurs in TgJer 50:15. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 11:3; 18:8; Job 24:11.

דוכן dai/ukkānu < Sumerian “priestly platform” (3:7). This word is attested in the Jewish dialects of Aramaic as well as RH. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 134:2; Tg2Chr 7:6; 35:10; TgPsJ Num 6:23.

כוך kimahhu “burial cavern” (8:5). This word is attested in Jewish dialects and RH. In LJLA, it occurs in TgJob 5:26; 30:2.

174. *DJPA*, 74; *DSA*, 64; *DCPA*, 28; *DJBA*, 167 (אורישא).
175. It is not clear whether the Aramaic derives from the Akkadian or whether the word is native to both languages. For the Akkadian, see *CAD I/J*, 235. There may be confusion among the TgSong manuscripts between this and אוש “foundation, wall.”
176. *DNWSI*, 1198; *DJBA*, 172; *SL*, 108; *MD*, 358.
177. So CAL (10 September 2015). For the Akkadian, see *CAD T*, 74 (*takkanna*).
178. *DQA*, 51; *DJPA*, 141; *DJBA*, 317; *ChW* 1:164 (TgEzek 42:12); Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 285.
179. Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 64. The Yemenite recension has the word יִצְח “ease” instead.
רומא

kuzallu\textsuperscript{181} “shepherd” (1:8). This word occurs in JBA and Syriac; in LJLA, it occurs in TgQoh 10:10.\textsuperscript{182}

gušurru\textsuperscript{183} “beam” (1:17). This word occurs in IA, JPA, JBA, and Syriac.\textsuperscript{184} In LJLA, it also occurs in TgPs 104:3; TgEsth I 1:6; Tg2Chr 34:11; TgPsJ Gen 19:8; Deut 1:19.

natbāku\textsuperscript{185} “course, row” (8:9). This word is attested in BA and three times in TgJon.\textsuperscript{186} It does not occur elsewhere in LJLA.

phil pilku\textsuperscript{187} “region, district” (2:2; 3:11; 6:9; 7:12). This word is limited to JLA, and it occurs in the biblical book of Nehemiah as well. In LJLA, it is quite common in TgEsth I (36 attestations); it also occurs in TgPs 45:10, 14; TgQoh 1:12; 2:8; TgLam 3:51; the occurrences in TgPsJ mirror those in TgOnq.

רַעְת rāṭu\textsuperscript{188} “drinking trough” (7:6). This word is attested in JLA, Syriac, and Mandaic. It also occurs in the underlying Hebrew, though the meaning in that context is debated. The plural form רַעִית is unique to TgOnq Gen 30:38, 41 (the story being referred to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{181} So CAL (10 September 2015). For the Akkadian, see \textit{CAD} K, 613.
\item \textsuperscript{182} \textit{DJBA}, 600; \textit{SL}, 650.
\item \textsuperscript{183} Kaufman, \textit{Akkadian Influences}, 53.
\item \textsuperscript{184} \textit{DNWSI}, 236; \textit{DJPA}, 270; \textit{DJBA}, 306, 605; \textit{SL}, 264, 657. It also occurs as a variant in Tg 2Kgs 6:2.
\item \textsuperscript{185} Kaufman, \textit{Akkadian Influences}, 76.
\item \textsuperscript{186} Vogt, \textit{Lexicon}, 222; Ezek 46:23; Hag 2:15; Zech 4:10.
\item \textsuperscript{187} Kaufman, \textit{Akkadian Influences}, 83.
\item \textsuperscript{188} Kaufman, \textit{Akkadian Influences}, 89. A second hand spells the word as רַעִית in Paris 110; several manuscripts have the unique form attested in Onqelos, רַעִית (Cook, \textit{Glossary}, 264). For BH, see \textit{HALOT}, 1194 #2.
\end{itemize}
in TgSong), and several manuscripts have this form. A second hand in Paris 110 adds the form רָעָתי. שורבין šūrmēnu\(^{189}\) “cypress” (1:17; 3:9). This word is common to the late eastern dialects.\(^{190}\)

### 5.7.2 Arabic

The Arabic terms in TgSong are largely concentrated in the list of gemstones in TgSong 5:14.\(^{191}\) Additionally, Alexander argues that the preposition מַן in 4:3 is used in a way that is more like the Arabic ba ʿda “beside, aside from” than its normal Aramaic use, “aside from.”\(^{192}\)

### 5.7.3 Greek

Greek loanwords attested in TgSong are harder to classify than Akkadian or Persian words.\(^{193}\) Special mention should be made of νυμφή “bride,” which occurs seven times in the form נינפת in TgSong and translates the Hebrew כַּלָּה “bride.” This word does not occur elsewhere in Aramaic, but it does occur in RH.

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189. So CAL (10 September 2015). For the Akkadian, see CAD Š/3, 349.

190. DJBA, 1124; SL, 1535; MD, 457.

191. See the discussion below, Lexical Stock 5.9.


193. For Persian words, see below Lexical Stock 5.7.5.
5.7.3.1 Greek Words Attested in Jewish Literary Aramaic

אֶתְנָלָה στολָה

“garment” (5:10). This is attested in JLA and the late dialects of Aramaic. The dialects exhibit two main ways of spelling this word, אֶתְנָלָה and סְטָלוֹת, and in fact, there is a mix of spellings with ס and צ in the Palestinian targumim tradition and LJLA.

גֶּלֶפֶנָה γλύφω

“to engrave” (1:11; 5:14). This is attested in JLA and the late dialects of Aramaic; the lone JBA attestation occurs in Bowl 12.

טִיקָס תָּחִיס

“banner, battle division” (2:4; 5:10; 6:4, 10). This word is attested in western dialects, JLA, and Syriac. In LJLA, it also occurs in Tg1Chr 11:11; the attestations in TgPsJ likewise occur in Onqelos.

194. Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:80. On the prothesis, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.5.1.
195. DJPA, 51; Cook, Glossary, 18; DJBA, 125; DSA, 58; DCPA, 22; SL, 69; MD, 356.
196. Neofiti has forms with ס at Gen 9:23; 45:22 (twice) and forms with פ at Deut 10:18. Fragment Targum P has a form with פ at Gen 3:7 while Fragment Targum V has forms with ס at Gen 3:7; Deut 22:3; 24:13. Forms with פ are attested in the Cairo Geniza fragments at Gen 9:23; Exod 22:8, 26.
197. LJLA has forms with ס at TgEsth I 7:6; TgPsJ Gen 45:22 (twice); 9:23; Deut 10:18. LJLA has forms with פ at TgPs 102:27; TgEsth II 1:3; TgPsJ Deut 22:12; 34:6.
199. DJPA, 131; Cook, Glossary, 51; DJBA, 288; DSA, 148; DCPA, 74; SL, 239; MD, 94.
200. Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:267. Of the Aramaic dialects in which this word is attested, only JLA spells it with a פ; all others use a פ.
201. DNWSI, 422 (Palmyrene); DJPA, 224; Cook, Glossary, 105; DSA, 311 #1; DCPA, 148; SL, 529.
μαργαρίτης < Pers. mwrg ‘ryd’ 202 “pearl” (5:14). There is an east—west spelling difference among the Aramaic dialects in which this word is attested. 203 The western dialects (and JLA and RH) spell it as listed above; the eastern dialects spell it with a נ in place of the ל. In LJLA, it occurs 40+ times in TgJob, TgLam, TgChr, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

νόμος 204 “law” (1:6). This is common in Middle and Late Aramaic. 205

סנדל 206 “sandal” (7:2). This is attested in JLA and the late dialects. 207

καλῶς 208 “to praise, extol” (D) (4:7; 6:9). This is attested in most late dialects of Aramaic as well as RH. 209

202. This is used generically to refer to gems. Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:350. Concerning the possible Persian origin of this word, see ILS, 207. Also note that TgPsJ introduces its list of the twelve tribes and corresponding jewels in Exod 28:17–20 and 39:10–13 with this word used in a generic sense; the actual gemstones and ordering of the tribes are different, however. Onqelos and the Palestinian targum tradition use the term יֵד “stone” in these passages.

203. DJPA, 327; TgJon, ChW 2:66; DCPA, 246; DJBA, 704; SL, 826; MD, 252; Jastrow, Dictionary, 836.


205. DNWSI, 733; DJA, 65; DJPA, 349; Cook, Glossary, 179; DSA, 523; DCPA, 263; SL, 921.


207. DJPA, 383; ChW 2:175; DJBA, 821; DSA, 598; SL, 1022; MD, 313.

208. So CAL (9 April 2015). Note that several Yemenite manuscripts mistakenly have כּוֹס “to kill.”

209. DJPA, 494; DJBA, 1021; DSA, 780; DCPA, 375; SL, 1373; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1379.
5.7.3.2 Greek Words Not Attested in Jewish Literary Aramaic

ארכון ἀρχων210 “political ruler” (4:3). Though not attested in JLA, this word is common in many Aramaic dialects.211

בסס βάσις212 “to base (G); be founded (Dt)” (2:5; 5:15). This verb is only attested in Mandaic and LJLA (also in Tg2Chr 3:3), but nominal forms occur in a number of other dialects.213

δῶρον δῶρον214 “gift” (4:8). This word is primarily attested in western dialects and RH, but it does occur in JBA as well.215 In LJLA, it occurs 15+ times in TgPs, TgEsth I, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

נינפי νυνίς216 “bride” (4:8–12; 5:1). This word is not attested in other Aramaic dialects (including other LJLA texts), but it does occur in RH.217 It is notable for its frequency in TgSong.

211. DNWSI, 109; DJPA, 75; DJBA, 881; DSA, 63; DCPA, 29; SL, 100; MD, 37.
212. Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:161. Several manuscripts, including Paris 110, mistakenly have בסס in the Dt-stem “to be made sweet” at 2:5.
213. MD, 68; DNWSI, 179; DJPA, 106; Cook, Glossary, 36; DSA, 105; SL, 166.
215. Jastrow, Dictionary, 289; DJPA, 142; DCPA, 83; DJBA, 351; Thomas Audo, Dictionnaire de la langue chaldéenne (Mossoul Imprimerie des Peres Dominicains, 1897), 1:186.
“narcissus” (2:1). This word is common to the late eastern dialects. It does not occur elsewhere in LJLA.

“Sanhedrin” (4:1, 9; 5:12; 6:2; 7:5; 8:13). Though not attested in JLA, this word is common to Jewish dialects.

“bridal litter” (1:16). This word occurs in JPA, JBA, Syriac, and Mandaic. One should also note the word אַפִּרְיוֹן in the biblical text of Song 3:9 as well as אַפִּירֵיָן in RH. In LJLA, it also occurs in TgJob 8:16.

“open place, wide street” (3:2). This word occurs in Palmyrene, JPA, and Syriac. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgChr, and TgPsJ. Notably, the LXX to this particular verse has πλατείαις.

“inner chamber” (3:4). This word occurs in JPA, JBA, RH, CPA, and Syriac. In LJLA, it occurs TgPs 105:30; TgProv 7:27; 24:4; TgEsth I 1:9; 2:17; TgEsth II 2:8; Tg1Chr 28:11; all of the TgPsJ attestations likewise occur in the Palestinian targum tradition.

219. *DNWSI*, 760 (Palmyrene); *DJBA*, 778; *SL*, 951; *MD*, 286.
221. This is usually thought to be from Greek (Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 2:434), though this is not certain.
223. *DNWSI*, 915 #1; *DJPA*, 435; *SL*, 1199.
225. *DJPA*, 489; *DJBA*, 1011; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1357; *DCPA*, 370; *SL*, 1361.
5.7.4 Latin

ןָּלִיבָּןָן (ולא ליבנן) "frankincense" (4:11). This word is not attested in any other Aramaic dialect. It occurs in the western recension of TgSong and as a marginal insertion in one Yemenite manuscript, where it is vocalized נָלִיבָּן.226 The remainder of the Yemenite manuscripts reflect the underlying word in the Hebrew, לַבּון “Lebanon,” or use a different word altogether.227 Given that the word occurs in both recensions, it is arguably original to the targum, and the vocalization suggests that it may represent the Latin term olibanum.

Olibanum is a late addition to the Latin lexicon, and it is first attested in the tenth century CE.228 It ultimately derives from Semitic through Greek, though the origin of the initial /o/ is disputed.229 The form with a final ⱡ in the targum indicates that the word likely came through Greek rather than entering directly from Latin.230 If this word is indeed original to the targum, it suggests a date for the targum that is several centuries later than is usually argued, but caution is in order since this is but one word.231

226. Variants in the western manuscripts include לַבּון and לַבּון ריחוּת. Variations include ריחוּת לַבּון "scent of Lebanon" and קָטֹורָת לַבּון "incense of Lebanon."

227. Note that the Hebrew form of the word is לַבּון. Variations include ריחוּת לַבּון "scent of Lebanon” and קָטֹורָת לַבּון “incense of Lebanon.”


229. There are three main arguments for the initial /o/: it is the Greek article ὁ, an abbreviation of oleum libani, or the Arabic article al. See Walter W. Müller, “Zur Herkunft von λίβανος und λιβανώτις,” Glotta 52 (1974), 59.


231. Note, for instance, that Alexander posits a date of composition in the seventh or eighth centuries; Targum of Canticles, 55.
duc^{232} “leader” (6:8). This word is attested in JPA, JBA, and Syriac; in LJLA, it occurs in TgEsth I 5:11.\(^{233}\)

matrona^{234} “lady, matron” (2:3). This word is attested in most Yemenite manuscripts. While it may be a miscopying of אריה “citron,” the word attested in the western recension, Alexander suggests that it may rather be a reference to the Divine Presence.\(^{235}\) This Latin term is also attested in non-Targumic JPA, RH, and Syriac.\(^{236}\) A form that is likely related, מַטרוני, is attested in JBA as well as TgEsth I 2:14; Tg2Chr 35:25.\(^{237}\)

familia^{238} “household (of angels)” (1:15). This word is attested in Syriac and RH.\(^{239}\) It does not occur elsewhere in LJLA.

5.7.5 Persian

Persian had an early influence on Aramaic, and several Persian words were incorporated into the Aramaic lexicon. Other Persian words were limited to eastern dialects. Of the Persian words attested in TgSong, only two do not occur in JLA, and one of these two words, ורדא “rose,” is commonly attested throughout Aramaic. The remaining word זנגביל “ginger,” is limited to the eastern dialects of Aramaic.

\(^{232}\) Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:188. The Yemenite manuscripts mistakenly have the verb רכב “to mount, ride.”

\(^{233}\) DJPA, 140; DJBA, 317; SL, 281.

\(^{234}\) Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:332.

\(^{235}\) Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 98 note h.

\(^{236}\) DJPA, 303; SL, 749, Jastrow, Dictionary, 769.

\(^{237}\) DJBA, 661.

\(^{238}\) Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:463.

\(^{239}\) SL, 1204; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1185.
5.7.5.1 Persian Words Attested in Jewish Literary Aramaic

andarōn אנדראון 240 “inner chamber” (3:4). This word is primarily attested in JLA and the late eastern dialects.241 In LJLA, it also occurs in TgJob 9:9; 37:9; TgQoh 2:4; 10:20; TgEsth I 2:16.

ižgaddā < ižgand 242 “messenger” (2:7). Aside from one attestation in Neofiti (Gen 49:21), this word is limited to JLA and the late eastern dialects.243 In LJLA, it occurs 20+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgProv, TgLam, TgChr, TgEsth II, and TgPsJ.

hamarakar < hmārakara 244 “official” (4:3). This word occurs in this form twelve times in JLA. Other variations of this word occur in IA (המרקר), QA (המרקר), Syriac (מַרְכָּר), and m. Šeqal.245 In LJLA, it occurs 45 times in TgPsJ and TgChr.

aṭrugga אטרוג 246 “citron” (2:3). This word is attested in Jewish dialects (including RH) and Mandaic.247 In LJLA, it also occurs in TgEsth 3:8; 7:10.

240. ILS, 100. Alternatively, this word could be from Greek ἀνδρῶν; see Rosenthal, Sprache, 90, note 5.

241. DNWSI, 19 (Palmyrene); Cook, Glossary, DJBA, 111; DSA, 10; SL, 11; MD, 353.


243. DJPA, 43; Cook, Glossary, 7; DJBA, 112; SL, 32; MD, 40.


245. DNWSI, 284; DQA, 65; Cook, Glossary, 16; SL, 12; Jastrow, Dictionary, 844.

246. ILS, 105. The etymology is not certain. Note that some western manuscripts spell מַרְכָּר, and most Yemenite manuscripts spell מַרְכָּר.

247. DJA, 34; DJPA, 591; Cook, Glossary, 26; DJBA, 179; MD, 490; Jastrow, Dictionary, 134.
5.7.5.2 Persian Words Not Attested in Jewish Literary Aramaic

יווה wardā²⁵⁶ “rose” (2:1–2, 16; 6:2; 7:3). Though not attested in JLA, this word is commonly attested throughout the Aramaic dialects.

248.  *ILS*, 142.
250.  *ILS*, 137. This etymology is not certain.
251.  *DNWSI*, 780 (JPA); *DJP*, 384; *Cook, Glossary*, 823; *SL*, 1025.
253.  *ILS*, 266–67. A majority of manuscripts have this word in the phrase, “crown of kingship.” The other manuscripts, including Paris 110, have the word כבינתא “cloak of kingship.”
254.  *DNWSI*, 1203 #1 (Palmyrene); *DJB*, 1193; *SL*, 1623; *MD*, 477.
255.  See Lexical Stock 5.3.2.
256.  *ILS*, 168.
זנגביל \(^{257}\) “ginger” (3:9). This word is limited to the late eastern dialects.\(^{258}\) It is not attested elsewhere in LJLA.

### 5.7.6 Sanskrit

관드 \(\text{nalada} \) “nard” (1:12). This word is attested in QA, CPA, Syriac, and Mandaic.\(^{259}\) It also occurs in the underlying Hebrew of this verse.\(^{260}\) This is the only targumic attestation.

### 5.8 Hebraisms

The influence of Hebrew (both BH and RH) on Aramaic can be described as a series of concentric circles, with the inner circle representing the strongest degree of influence. The inner circle includes the targumim, which naturally have a strong Hebrew influence due to their translational character and their function as religious texts in the Jewish liturgy.\(^{261}\) The next circle includes a number of words more specific to Jewish religious life, and they are common to all of the Jewish dialects. The outer circle includes the non-Jewish dialects of late western Aramaic: SA and CPA.\(^{262}\)

\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^{257}\) ILS, 175.
  \item \(^{258}\) DJBA, 417; SL, 388; MD, 160. The Yemenite recension has the nonsensical דמילגא.
  \item \(^{259}\) DQA, 161; CPA, 273; SL, 951; MD, 286.
  \item \(^{260}\) HALOT, 723.
\end{itemize}
The Hebraisms listed in this section include both loanwords and words which, though originally Aramaic, have undergone a change due to the influence of Hebrew. The words have been divided into two groups. The first group includes words which are also attested in other Aramaic dialects. The second group includes words which are unique to LJLA. A number of the words in the second group are drawn from a specific Hebrew text (particularly the underlying Hebrew of a given verse) or are likely chosen because they are rare in the Hebrew Bible and add an exotic element to the targum.

5.8.1 Hebraisms Attested in other Aramaic Dialects

אבל “but” (1:17). This conjunction is attested in JBA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPsJ Gen 4:8; Deut 32:31.

בלבל “to mix” (2:2). This word is attested in JBA and five times in JLA. In LJLA, it is attested in TgPsJ Gen 35:22; 37:29; 49:4. The Yemenite recension of TgSong mistakes this for the preferred Quad verb לבלב “to bloom.”

גבעה “hill” (2:8). This noun is attested 60+ times in TgJon, and it occurs in the underlying Hebrew of this verse. Elsewhere in LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgChr and TgPsJ. Paris 110 and a number of other manuscripts use the Aramaic נלמה instead.

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263. HALOT, 7; Jastrow, Dictionary, 6; DJBA, 75.


265. The attestation in TgPs 18:27 reflects the underlying form in the targum of 2 Sam 22.

266. HALOT, 174; Jastrow, Dictionary, 208. It occurs in a masculine form נלמה in SA (DSA, 126).
“divine commandment” (1:11). This word is attested in JPA and once in JLA (Ezek 1:25). In LJLA, it occurs in Tg1Chr 6:43; 7:21; Tg2Chr 5:10; 9:5; TgPsJ Gen 24:22; Num 7:86; Deut 5:23; 32:45.

זוד “to act haughtily” (2:7; 3:5). This verb is attested in BA, Targumic JPA, SA, and three times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPsJ Gen 50:25; Exod 15:1, 21; Lev 24:11.

חב “to gird” (3:8). Aside from one attestation in the Palestinian Talmud, this Hebrew verb only occurs in this TgSong reference.

חסידו “piety” (3:6; 7:6). This is attested in JBA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 60:7; 69:11; TgPsJ Gen 18:19; 29:13.

זקק “to refine” (D) (1:11; 3:10). This verb is attested in TgMal 3:3. In LJLA, it also occurs in TgPs 12:7; 66:10.

חיבה “love” (1:2, 16; 2:4–5; 4:9–10; 5:8). This word is attested in JPA piyyutim and CPA. These are the only attestations in LJLA.

267. HALOT, 212; Jastrow, Dictionary, 294; DJPA, 165. Note that several TgSong manuscripts have the less-specific Hebrew word with Aramaic plural morpheme דברי “words” (unless this is simply spelled defectively) instead of the more specific and preferred דביריא.


269. HALOT, 391; DJPA, 187.

270. HALOT, 279 #1; Jastrow, Dictionary, 410.

271. DJPA, 197; DCPA, 116; Jastrow, Dictionary, 416.
“to plow” (1:10). This word is attested in JPA and JBA. It occurs in a majority of TgSong manuscripts; a minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110, use the Aramaic ירעה.

“curtain” (1:5). This word is attested in Targumic JPA, SA, CPA, Syriac, and 50 times in JLA. In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 104:2; TgEsth I 1:6; Tg1Chr 2:18; 17:1; all of the occurrences in TgPsJ are likewise attested in Onqelos. Notably, this word also occurs in the underlying Hebrew of this verse in Song of Songs.

“as if” (4:4). This conjunction occurs in JPA, SA, and 10+ times in JLA; it also occurs in RH. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“strength” (1:9). This noun is attested in JBA, SA, and Mandaic. In LJLA, it occurs 10+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgLam, and TgPsJ.

“cover of the ark” (3:10). This technical term occurs in JPA, SA, and JLA (as a direct correspondence to the Hebrew). In LJLA, it also occurs in Tg1Chr 28:18; all of the TgPsJ attestations are likewise attested in Onqelos.

272. HALOT, 357; Jastrow, Dictionary, 357; DJPA, 216 #2; DJBA, 485 #1. The attestations in IA, Palmyrene, and Syriac have the expected phonological correspondence of the Proto-Semitic */θ/:

273. For ירעה, see DNWSI, 1061; DJPA, 517 #2; Cook, Glossary, 260; DJBA, 1060 #2; DSA, 818 #1; DCPA, 391 #2; SL, 1437; MD, 425 #2.

274. HALOT; 439; DJPA, 245; DSA, 361; DCPA, 167; SL, 584; Cook, Glossary, 118.

275. Jastrow, Dictionary, 48; DJPA, 249; DSA, 33; Cook, Glossary, 121.

276. HALOT, 468; Jastrow, Dictionary, 628; DJBA, 558; DSA, 380; MD, 195.

277. HALOT, 495; Jastrow, Dictionary, 658; DJPA, 267; DSA, 405; Cook, Glossary, 130.
“atonement” (4:3). This term is attested in JPA, JBA, and eight times in JLA.\footnote{278} In LJLA, it only occurs in the collocation "day of atonement": TgLam 1:4; 2:20; Tg2Chr 24:20; TgPsJ Exod 18:13; 30:10.

"circumcision" (2:9). This word is attested three times in JLA (Exod 4:25–26; Ezek 16:6) and should be compared with the JBA form מהילותא. In LJLA, it is attested in TgPsJ Gen 18:1; 24:2, 9; 45:4; 47:22; 48:20; Exod 4:25; 12:13; Num 15:31; Deut 34:6.

"mezuzah" (8:3). This word is attested in JPA and JBA; references to the doorpost on which the mezuzah was attached are attested in JLA and SA.\footnote{280} In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 121:5; TgLam 2:9; TgPsJ Deut 20:5.

"psalm" (1:1). This term is attested in JPA, JBA, CPA, and Syriac.\footnote{281} This is the only targumic occurrence, and it appears in a Hebrew quote of Ps 92:1.

"careful" (5:12). While this is an Aramaic word attested in JPA and Syriac, its use in TgSong in the phrase "deliberate in judgment" is likely an Aramaized form of \textit{מְתוּנִין} \textit{בַּדִּין}.\footnote{282}

"sweet" (2:5; 4:11;\textsuperscript{283} 5:16). This adjective is only attested here and in JBA.\footnote{284}

\footnote{278} \textit{HALOT}, 795; \textit{DJPA}, 256; Cook, \textit{Glossary}, 126; \textit{DJBA}, 530.


\footnote{281} \textit{HALOT}, 566; \textit{DJPA}, 298; \textit{DJBA}, 654; \textit{DCPA}, 214; \textit{SL}, 735.


\footnote{283} The Yemenite recension has the verb מתל "to compare."

\footnote{284} \textit{HALOT}, 654; Jastrow, \textit{Dictionary}, 860; \textit{DJBA}; 721.
“cast metal” (5:4). This noun is attested twenty times in JLA, Targumic JPA, and SA (derived from Onqelos). In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 106:19; Tg2Chr 28:2; 34:3-4; TgPsJ Exod 12:12; 32:19; Num 33:4.

“prophecy” (10+ attestations). This term is commonly attested in the Jewish dialects, as well as SA and CPA. In LJLA, it is attested 50+ times in TgPs, TgJob, TgRuth, TgQoh, TgEsth I & II, TgLam, TgChr, and TgPsJ.

“freewill offering” (7:2-3). This term is attested 15+ times in JLA and SA. In LJLA, it occurs here and Tg1Chr 29:18; Tg2Chr 24:10; 31:14. The TgPsJ occurrences are likewise attested in Onqelos.

“hair locks” (5:2). This word is attested in SA and fourteen times in TgOnq Num 6 as a direct correspondences to the underlying Hebrew. In LJLA, it is only attested here; the TgPsJ occurrences are likewise attested in Onqelos.

“Temple courtyard” (4:11). This term is attested in inscriptionsal JPA, TgJon, and JBA. In LJLA, it occurs in Tg2Chr 6:13; TgEsth II 1:2; 6:1.

“to (be?) sweet” (2:14). This is attested in Targumic JPA, and it occurs in the underlying Hebrew of the two LJLA attestations: here and Prov 20:17.

286. HALOT, 660; Jastrow, Dictionary, 867; Vogt, Lexicon, 221; DJPA, 339; Cook, Glossary, 170; DJBA, 725; DSA, 495; DCPA, 254.
287. HALOT, 684; Jastrow, Dictionary, 893; Cook, Glossary, 175; DSA, 514.
288. HALOT, 812; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1062; DJA, 70; ChW 2:208; DJBA, 850.
289. HALOT 879 #3; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1110 #2; DJPA, 417.
“image” (2:15). This term occurs in SA.\textsuperscript{290} In LJLA, it occurs in TgPs 53:6; 78:58; 97:7; Tg2Chr 24:20; 33:4; 33:7; TgPsJ Gen 35:4; Num 11:1, as well as the Tosefta of Judges 18:3.

צדק “righteousness, merit” (3:6). This is attested in one Yemenite manuscript; most of the other Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript have the LJLA form צדקה; the western recension otherwise has the more common form צדק. The form צדק is attested in older dialects of Aramaic and CPA; in LJLA, it occurs 15+ times in TgPs and TgJob.\textsuperscript{291}

שיר “song” (1:1; 4:11). This word is attested in JPA, CPA, and Tg 1Sam 2:1.\textsuperscript{292} In LJLA, it occurs 30+ times in TgPs (26 times), TgJob, and TgChr.

שירה “song” (15+ attestations). This term is attested in the western dialects of JPA, SA, and CPA.\textsuperscript{293}

שלם “whole, perfect” (6:9). According to CAL, the feminine form שלמתא is a Hebraic pattern in which the theme vowel is treated as though it were long.\textsuperscript{294} It occurs in JBA and occasionally in JPA, and while the Yemenite recension and several western manuscripts use the standard JLA and Syriac שלמה, the form with * is more common in LJLA: TgPs 19:8; 37:37; TgRuth 2:21; TgLam 5:21; of the two unique additions in TgPsJ,

\textsuperscript{290} HALOT 949; Jastrow, Dictionary, 278; DSA, 692.
\textsuperscript{291} HALOT 1004; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1263; DNWSI, 962 #2; DCPA, 348.
\textsuperscript{292} HALOT, 1481; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1568; DJPA, 548 (limited to targumic texts and piyyutim); DCPA, 428.
\textsuperscript{293} HALOT, 1481; DJPA, 548; DSA, 891; DCPA, 428; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1568. The only Syriac attestation occurs in the title of the biblical book “Song of Songs”; J. Payne Smith, Syriac English Dictionary, 575.
\textsuperscript{294} Accessed 2 October 2015.
the form with י occurs in Num 6:19. Alternatively, the forms with י may not be Hebraisms at all and could simply be examples of epenthesis.

In TgSong, the western recension uses שלמות and the Yemenite recension has the term שלמות unique to JBA.

In TgPsJ Gen 42:37; Num 21:24; Deut 7:2, 26; 13:18.

In Tg2Chr 24:13; TgEsth II 1:2; 2:3, 12; 5:1; 6:11. All of the TgPsJ attestations likewise occur in Onqelos.

Elsewhere in LJLA, it also occurs in TgPs 32:9; Tg2Chr 24:13; TgEsth II 1:2; 2:3, 12; 5:1; 6:11. All of the TgPsJ attestations likewise occur in Onqelos.

The use of this word in the technical sense to refer to the Talmud occurs in JBA and here; it is an extension of the more general meaning “learning, study.”

295. DJBA, 1149; SL, 1568. See Morphology 3.2.3.3.


297. Jastrow, Dictionary, 1593; DJPA, 556; DJBA, 1156. This should be compared to the more common meaning “report, news” in QA, TgJon, SA, and Syriac (DQA, 238; ChW 2:495; DSA, 911; SL, 1571). The only other LJLA attestation (TgPs 112:7) has this meaning, as in the underlying Hebrew.

298. Jastrow, Dictionary, 1603; DJBA, 1163; MD, 442 #2. Note that there is a verbal form of this root in the Syriac magic bowl 16.

299. Jastrow, Dictionary, 1666; DNWJ, 1227 (JPA); DJPA, 581; Cook, Glossary, 300; DSA, 961.

300. Jastrow, Dictionary, 1672; DJBA, 1209. With the more general meaning “learning, study”: DJPA, 583; DSA, 439; DCPA, 456; SL, 1630.
“bitter herb” (2:9). This term occurs in JBA and TgPsJ Exod 12:8.\textsuperscript{301}

tamar “palm tree” (2:12; 7:8). The masculine form is unique to Hebrew, SA, and these two passages; it occurs in the underlying Hebrew of TgSong 7:8. The more common Aramaic form of the word is feminine.\textsuperscript{302}

tokafah “summer solstice” (1:7). This term is attested in JBA and SA.\textsuperscript{303} In LJLA, it also occurs in TgQoh 1:6; Tg2Chr 12:33; TgPsJ Gen 1:14; 8:22; Exod 12:2; Deut 16:1.

5.8.2 Hebraisms Unique to Late Jewish Literary Aramaic

ahavah “love” (8:6). This word occurs in the underlying Hebrew of this verse.\textsuperscript{304} This is the only Aramaic attestation.

delah “poor” (7:6). This is a clear reference to 2 Kgs 24:14; 25:12; Jer 40:7; 52:15–16.\textsuperscript{305} Note that the term is masculine in the Hebrew and feminine in TgSong.

zeuttah “student, unlearned one” (6:5). While some have treated this as a loan from Greek,\textsuperscript{306} the evidence in RH and Qumran Hebrew suggests that this is in fact a Semitic word.\textsuperscript{307}

\textsuperscript{301} Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1677; *DJBA*, 1213. Note that both the TgSong and the TgPsJ attestations occur in the phrase תמכה והשלים “bitter herbs and endives” (compare \textit{m. Pesah 2:6 והשלים והемся}, the second term being Hebraic in form as well. Several Yemenite manuscripts and two western manuscripts have the more JLA-like form.

\textsuperscript{302} *HALOT*, 1956; *DSA*, 956 #1. Note the feminine forms in *DQA*, 256; *DJA*, 87; *DJBA*, 1214; *SL*, 1653; *MD*, 483.

\textsuperscript{303} *HALOT*, 1783; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1690; *DJBA*, 1226; *DSA*, 768.

\textsuperscript{304} *HALOT*, 18; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 19.

\textsuperscript{305} *HALOT*, 222 #2.

\textsuperscript{306} Levy suggests that it is from \textit{ζητητής} (*ChW* 1:226).

\textsuperscript{307} So CAL (11 September 2015); Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 407; note its occurrence in 1Q30 7:3.
“clefts” (2:14). This term is attested in the underlying Hebrew and does not occur elsewhere in Aramaic.\footnote{HALOT, 391.}

“to hurry” (2:9). This is a semantic Hebraism since the verb is attested with different meanings in other Aramaic dialects. It also occurs in TgPs 141:1 and TgPsJ Deut 1:44.\footnote{HALOT, 300 #1. For different meanings of this root, see Cook, Glossary, 85; SL, 435; MD, 138.}

“thunderbolt” (2:9). This term occurs three times in BH: Job 28:26; 38:25; Zech 10:1.\footnote{HALOT, 302. The term may may refer to different aspects of a storm in the different Hebrew references.} As indicated by Jastrow, CAL, and Alexander, the term may be rendered “(thunder)cloud.”\footnote{HALOT, 302; CAL (11 September 2015); Jastrow, Dictionary, 443; Alexander, The Targum of Canticles, 106. Alexander appeals to the Hebrew קִל עַב “swift cloud” in Isa 19:1.} Elsewhere in LJLA, this word is attested in TgJob 28:26.\footnote{Note that the other BH attestation in Job (38:25) is translated as עֵן "cloud" in the targum.}

“hiding place” (2:14). This BH \textit{hapax legomenon} (Hab 3:4) is also attested in TgQoh 10:20.\footnote{HALOT, 285.}

“seal” (3:8). This is the only Aramaic attestation. The feminine form (as opposed to the masculine חותם) occurs one time in BH (Gen 38:25) and in RH.\footnote{HALOT, 364; Jastrow, Dictionary, 512.}
“continual” (2:11). The nuance of perpetuity with this root is attested in BH Prov 19:13; 27:15. Ultimately, this derives from the common Aramaic “to drive out,” though the meaning “continual” is limited to this TgSong instance.

“unity (of God)” (3:28). This word occurs here and TgLam 3:28.16

“honeycomb” (4:11). This word only occurs here and BH 1 Sam 14:27.17

“circumcision” (3:8). This term is attested here and the Cairo Genizah Testament of Levi Cambridge Ms.18

“Mishnah” (1:2; 5:10). This word is attested here and TgLam 2:19.19

“to waft” (1:12; 4:10; 7:9). This verb occurs here and TgPsJ Exod 40:5.20

“bowed” (7:6). This is an Aramaized hypercorrection from the RH מוך, and it is limited to one Yemenite manuscript. The targumic form reads the RH form as a Gp of מוך, when it is actually a Niph’al of מוך. The other manuscripts have the adjective מך, which is more associated with the late eastern dialects.22

315. Jonas C. Greenfield, “Lexicographical Notes I,” HUCA 29 (1958): 210–12. Note that one western manuscript has the adjective תדיר “continual,” and one Yemenite manuscript mistakenly has תריס.


317. HALOT, 423.


322. DJBA, 675; SL, 756; MD, 242. Note that it also occurs in QA (DQA, 138).
“fruitless (trees)” (2:3). This word is attested in TgQoh 2:5; TgPsJ Gen 1:29; 49:22.323

“yoke” (7:7). This is attested in most of the Yemenite manuscripts, and it is the only attestation in Aramaic.324 The other manuscripts have the Aramaic equivalent נְרִי. 325

“endives” (2:9). This form is also attested in TgPsJ Exod 12:8 and compares with the form עלתים in JPA.325

“light” (5:14). This is the only attestation of this word in an Aramaic text.326

“to be dark” (1:5–6). The geographical term קדר “Kedar” occurs in the underlying Hebrew of TgSong 1:5. This verb is also attested in TgPs 81:7; TgQoh 12:2; TgLam 5:10; Tg2Chr 35:13; TgPsJ Deut 28:15.327

“plucking (fruit)” (2:12). This term only occurs with this nuance here; JBA has the meaning “juice.”328

“reward” (2:3). This occurs in roughly half of the TgSong manuscripts, including Paris 110. The other manuscripts use the Aramaic equivalent אָגר.329


324. HALOT, 827; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1050.


327. HALOT 1072; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1318 #2. There is one uncertain attestation in JBA (DJBA, 987), and Mandaic has a Pan’el form of this root (MD, 405).

328. Jastrow, Dictionary, 1357; DJBA, 1011.

329. Note that this word is attested in IA; DNWSI 1135 #4. For אָגר see DNWSI, 11; DQA, 2; DJA, 29; DJPA, 34; Cook, Glossary, 4; DJBA, 80; DSA, 6; DCPA, 4; SL, 8; MD, 6.
“chain mail” (6:8). The form withא, also attested in TgPsJ Num 11:26 and TgEsth II 6:10, is known from BH and may ultimately originate from Hurrian.\textsuperscript{330} Note that two western manuscripts of TgSong also have a Hebraic or archaizing אא–plural morpheme (בירה). The formصغرא occurs in JLA, Syriac, and Mandaic.\textsuperscript{331}

תפוח “apple” (2:5; 7:9). These are the only Aramaic attestations, and the word occurs in the underlying Hebrew of both verses.\textsuperscript{332}

5.9 TgSong 5:14: The Twelve Tribes with Gemstones\textsuperscript{333}

While the content of TgSong is largely the same in both the western and Yemenite recensions, one of the main places of divergence occurs in TgSong 5:14.\textsuperscript{334} This verse contains a list of twelve gemstones which correspond to the twelve tribes of Israel, and while the beginning and end of the verse is the same in both recensions, the actual list is different.\textsuperscript{335} In addition to the fact that the order of the tribes is different, the gemstones are different as well.\textsuperscript{336}

\textsuperscript{330.} HALOT, 1655.

\textsuperscript{331.} HALOT, 1655; Jastrow, Dictionary, 1631; DQA, 244; Cook, Glossary, 293; SL, 1607 #2; MD, 463 #2. Note that BH also has the formsصغرא and (HALOT 769).

\textsuperscript{332.} HALOT, 1773 #1.

\textsuperscript{333.} Many thanks to Shawqi N. Talia for his assistance with this section.

\textsuperscript{334.} Note that a number of corruptions (particularly in Yemenite manuscripts) have occurred, and some terms from the other recension are used. Otherwise, this is a western–Yemenite difference. See Alexander, The Targum of Canticles, 210.

\textsuperscript{335.} As Alexander notes, the awkward syntax immediately following the list is a strong indicator that the list is a secondary addition.

\textsuperscript{336.} There are many such lists in ancient texts, and they do not always correspond in order or type of gemstones. For a discussion, see “Appendix B” in Alexander, The Targum of Canticles, 210–213 and the literature cited therein. One should note that some of the gemstones in the western recension of TgSong 5:14 correspond to those found in TgPsJ 28:17–20; 39:10–13, but not all. Furthermore, the order of the tribes in TgPsJ corresponds to
The Yemenite recension lists the tribes according to the patronymic birth order as described in Gen 29–30; the western recension lists the patronymic chronologically but grouped according to birth mother.\textsuperscript{337} The Yemenite recension uses a list of gemstones which correspond to the Hebrew of Exod 28:17–20; 39:10–13. The western recension uses a combination of gemstones and adjectives (depicting color). Some of these are known from other languages, notably Greek, Persian, and Arabic; others have etymologies which are unknown.\textsuperscript{338} One Yemenite manuscript has an additional list written in the margin which contains some words known from the western recension and other words which are unique. It is impossible to know whether the Yemenite or western list was first applied to TgSong.

There are numerous spelling variants among the manuscripts, but in the chart that follows, the gemstones in the western recension are listed as they appear in Paris 110, and the gemstones from the Yemenite recension are spelled as they appear in the Masoretic tradition of the Hebrew Bible. Since the identification of some of the gems is a matter of debate, no English glosses are provided for the gemstones in the Yemenite recension; the footnotes contain commentary about individual gems in the western recension and the marginal glosses in the Yemenite manuscript Or. 1302.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West</th>
<th>Yemenite</th>
<th>Additional Marginal Glosses in Or. 1302 (Yem.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reuben</td>
<td>אחמר\textsuperscript{339}</td>
<td>Reuben אדום</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{337} Alexander, The Targum of Canticles, 211.

\textsuperscript{338} Alexander states that most of the gems listed in the western recension are Arabic or Arabic in form, but not all of the “Arabic” forms proposed by him are convincing; The Targum of Canticles, 212.

\textsuperscript{339} This is an Arabic word meaning “red,” and it is also attested in Syriac (SL, 28).
340. Alexander states that this may be related to Arabic ʿakik “cornelian” (EФ 1:336), The Targum of Canticles, 212. Note, however, that Aramaic /q/ and Arabic /k/ are not normal phonological correspondences.

341. The etymology of this word is unknown; it may simply be an error for עקיק.

342. This word meaning “saffron” may ultimately derive from Persian (EФ 11:381); it is also attested in Syriac (SL, 391) and Mandaic (MD, 160). Compare JBA בורכמא; DJBA, 566.

343. While the form is unique to this particular verse, this word is attested more broadly with reference to eye-paint: QA (DQA, 111), JPA (DJPA, 255), JBA (DJBA, 558), Syriac (SL, 40), and Mandaic (MD, 207 #1). Note also מים in Hebrew; Jastrow, Dictionary, 618. The final י may be an adjectival ending.

344. This Greek loan (Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:248) meaning “emerald” is attested in a number of other dialects, but the form in TgSong is unique to LJLA. It also occurs in TgPsJ Exod 28:18; 39:11; Num. 2:10. For alternate spellings, see DJPA, 179; Cook, Glossary, 7; DSA, 234; DCPA, 111; SL, 74, 387.

345. The etymology of this word is unknown, but note that there is an Arabic verb māha which can mean “to guild” or “to overlaying with gold or silver”; Hans Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic: Arabic-English (4th ed.; ed. J. Milton Cowan; Urbana: Spoken Language Services, 1994), 932; J. G. Hava, Al-Faraid: Arabic-English Dictionary (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1964), 743.

346. As Alexander states, this is likely related to the generic Arabic term for gems, jauhar (EФ 12:250–62); The Targum of Canticles, 212.

347. This is the Persian word bahramān meaning “ruby”; F. Steingass, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary (London: Routledge, 1892; 1988), 211.

348. The etymology for this particular term meaning “beryl” is uncertain, though it is likely either Greek (Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:145) or Persian (ILS, 128). It is attested in various forms in JPA (DJPA, 102), JLA (Cook, Glossary, 40), SA (DSA, 87, < Onqelos), and Syriac (SL, 187).
5.10 The Lexicon in Broader Perspective

One way of assessing high-frequency words is by focusing on the words that occur a certain number of times in a text. For the analysis here, I consider a word to be “high-frequency” if it occurs at least five times. There are roughly 1,130 different words in TgSong, and about 215 of them occur at least five times. Nearly all of the 215 high-frequency words are common to all or most of the Aramaic dialects. There are about 35 words that exhibit

349. This Greek (Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:89) term meaning “sapphire” is not attested elsewhere in Aramaic. It is, however, in the underlying Hebrew of this verse (HALOT, 764).

350. This is an error for אספור שבוג.

351. This word may derive from the Greek (Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:254) word meaning “topaz.” It should be compared with the Syriac نازغيب (SL, 52), which coincidently occurs in the list of gems in the Peshitta of Rev 21:20. Alexander posits that it may reflect the Arabic pronunciation taufaj/taubaj; Targum of Canticles, 212.

352. This Persian term (ILS, 1189) meaning “sapphire” is also attested in Syriac (SL, 1189).

353. This Arabic term meaning “blue” is also attested in Syriac (SL, 97).

354. The etymology of this word is unknown.

355. The etymology of this word is unknown.

356. This term may derive from Latin through Greek (Krauss, Lehnwörter, 2:109) and would then refer to some kind of stone resembling a panther or leopard. The form is unique to LJLA and also occurs in TgPsJ Exod 28:20; 39:13; Num 2:25. It is likely related to the form פנתורי in JLA (Cook, Glossary, 227) and targumic SA (DSA, 691).

357. The numbers are slightly variable depending on the manuscript.
some kind of dialectal affinity, but after removing the words that are also attested at least once in JLA, the list is quite small. Two of these words, קומי for the more common preposition ‘before’ and אילים for the more common ‘these,’” do not occur across all of the TgSong manuscripts. The resultant list is as follows: אורותל “young gazelle” (JBA), אים “he, it” (JBA), אתה “you” (BA, JBA), בין “in; at” (JBA), הדר “to turn, return” (eastern), כמה ד– “as, just as” (western), חסד “piety” (RH, JBA), the Greek loan נינפי “bride” (RH), and the Hebrew loan שירה “song” (western).

Another way of assessing high-frequency words is by extracting the words that occur most often. Of the 40 most frequent words in TgSong, only two deserve further discussion. First, the direct object marker י is primarily attested in the targumim and western dialects. Second, the form of the third person masculine pronoun (הוא) is attested throughout the Jewish dialects, as far back as BA.

In sum, a broad analysis of TgSong’s lexicon elicits two facts. First, the targumist primarily draws upon common Aramaic words that are dialectally neutral. Second, most of the high-frequency words that occur in TgSong and display some kind of dialectal affinity are also attested in JLA.

358. For קומי, see Lexical Stock 5.4.2; for אילים, see Morphology 3.1.4.1.

359. DNWSI, 47 (ʾyt #3), Vogt, Lexicon, 160; DQA, 107; DJA, 55; DJPA, 246; Cook, Glossary, 120; DJBA 544 (archaic and dialectal); DSA, 365; DCPA, 168 (only with suffixed pronouns).

360. Vogt, Lexicon, 104; DQA, 61; DJPA, 159; Cook, Glossary, 67; DJBA, 368; DSA, 200. The late dialects of JPA and JBA have additional forms of the pronoun as well. See Morphology 3.1.1.
5.11 Conclusions

The lexicon of TgSong is primarily made up of common (literary) Aramaic terms, with the specific imprint of the targums of Onqelos and Jonathan. A large number of words in TgSong that exhibit some kind of dialectal affinity with either the western or eastern dialects are likewise attested in JLA, and this goes for loanwords as well. Furthermore, an analysis of words unique to JLA in conjunction with a comparison of other pentateuchal targumim shows that the targumist often draws upon Onqelos when recounting the history of the Israelite people.361

Nearly all of the words in TgSong that are more associated with western dialects are attested in JLA or the Palestinian targum tradition. It is interesting to note that a number of the western words in TgSong common throughout the other LJLA texts fall into the category of function words. Function words include prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions, and they provide the syntactical framework for sentences.362 Their prevalence indicates a familiarity with and modeling of certain aspects of targumic syntax, whether that be the syntax of JLA or the Palestinian targum tradition. The following western function words occur at least 50 times in LJLA: "according to" (also JLA), לַחֲדָא "very" (also JLA), "because of, concerning" (also JLA), דכמא "as, just as." The following function words occur over 250 times in LJLA: בֶּן "because of"


The particle וְיָרֵךְ “like” occurs over 800 times in LJLA, and אָרָדַשׁ “for, because” occurs more than 2000 times in LJLA.

Eastern words are not as prevalent in TgSong, and nearly all of them are attested in the Babylonian Talmud or JLA. With more than ten occurrences in TgSong, the preposition בּ “in, at” is a notable word, and while it is attested in other LJLA texts, it is most frequent in TgSong. Two other words are significant due to their prevalence in LJLA more broadly. The verb הָדַּר “to return, turn” occurs more than 50 times in LJLA, and the word מֶסְלָל “on account of” occurs more than 600 times. Fewer in number, still, are words that are specific to BA. They largely occur in passages related to characters in the book of Daniel. For example, the targumist uses the BA verb כָּל instead of כָּל “to be able” only in reference to Daniel and the three young men (TgSong 7:9). This shows a degree of dialectal sophistication on the targumist’s part.

There are several words that occur in other dialects but have a form which is unique to LJLA. These may be described and explained in a number of ways. More significant at present are words that are not attested in other dialects, words such as the verb טְפָז “to leap” (D), the noun מָוֶר “palate,” and the demons צפָרִיר “midday demons” and צפָרִיר “morning demons.” The latter two words only occur in TgSong 4:6 and the first verse of the Aaronic blessing in TgPsJ Num 6:24. Either one of the targumim is influencing the other or these passages preserve a standard list of demons. Given the strong dependence on literary sources for the rest of TgSong’s lexicon, it is plausible that some of the words which are unique to LJLA may derive from literary texts which have simply not survived.
5.12 Introductory Glossary Matters

The entries of the glossary are modeled after Cook’s *A Glossary of Targum Onkelos*. The lemmas are listed in alphabetical order, and nouns are listed according to a presumed absolute form, with Paris 110 being the base text. The lemma is followed by the part of speech and a gloss for the word based on its use in TgSong. The next section includes a variety of information, particularly the location of attestations in the text and any additional information relevant to a given word. References are given for any word occurring fewer than ten times. The final section includes references to the standard scientific dictionaries of other Aramaic dialects, and these are listed from oldest to most recent, west to east, Jewish dialects to non-Jewish dialects. If a lemma is different in a given dictionary, it is listed in parentheses. The order of the dictionaries is as follows: OA, IA, and MA (represented by *DNWSI*, Vogt’s *A Lexicon of Biblical Aramaic* [Vogt], and *DQA*), Jewish Aramaic (represented by *DJA*, *DJP A*, Cook, *A Glossary of Targum Onkelos* [Cook], *DJBA*), Samaritan Aramaic (*DSA*), Christian Palestinian Aramaic (*DCPA*), Syriac (*SL*), and Mandaic (*MD*). At times, other resources are utilized if a given word does not appear in this list of

363. See the description of the entries in *Glossary*, xiv–xvii.

364. This does not include such conventions as the spelling of a consonantal י with one or two yods or the presentation of feminine nouns as emphatic in *JBA*, *SL*, and *MD* or absolute with a final נ– in Cook, *Glossary*.

365. When a word is attested in Targum Jonathan and not Onqelos, the reference in *ChW* is given.
dictionaries. If a particular root or word occurs in another dialect, this is indicated in the list of dictionaries, regardless of whether or not they share the same meaning or verbal stem.

If a particular word is a loanword from Akkadian, Greek, Latin, or Persian, the dictionary references are preceded by a reference to one of the following books: for Akkadian, Kaufman’s *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* [Kaufman], for Greek and Latin, Krauss’ *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* [Krauss], for Persian, Ciancaglini’s *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* [ILS]. For Hebrew, there are two types of references provided. First, direct loanwords are indicated in the same way as those of the other foreign words, with references to *HALOT* (for BH) and Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* [Jastrow] (for RH) preceding the Aramaic dictionaries. Second, if a word has a Hebrew cognate but does not necessarily originate from Hebrew, the Hebrew references follow the Aramaic dictionaries.

I initially compiled the words for the glossary from a concordance created with the Accordance® software Targum Module version 4.8, the particular text in that software is supplied from the CAL database and represents Sperber’s edition. I then compared this concordance against Fontela’s critical edition of the western (and two Yemenite) manuscripts and Melamed’s critical edition of the Yemenite manuscripts.


While the manuscripts do not distinguish between ψ and ϕ, such a distinction is indicated in the glossary for the sake of clarity.
אָבָן, n. m. father, ancestor
[DNWSI 1; Vogt 23; DQA 1; DJA 29; DJPA 31; Cook 1; DJBA 72; DSA 1; DCPA 1; SL 1; MD 1.]

אָבָד, v. to destroy (C)
TgSong 2:17
[DNWSI 4; Vogt 23; DQA 1; DJA 29; DJPA 32; Cook 1; DJBA 73; DSA 2; DCPA 2; SL 2; MD 3.]

אָבֵל, conj. but [Heb.]
TgSong 1:17
[BH HALOT 7; RH Jastrow 6. DJBA 75 (< Heb.).]

אָבָן, n. f. stone
TgSong 1:2, 11–12, 14; 3:10; 4:1; 5:13; 6:5; 8:5
[DNWSI 6; Vogt 24; DQA 2; DJA 29; DJPA 33; Cook 3; DJBA 75; DSA 4; DCPA 3; SL 4; MD 4.]

אָגוּן, n. m. disk (of the moon)
TgSong 7:3. < Hebrew text. The emphatic form אָגָנָא is only attested here.
[DNWSI 9 (אָגָנָא); DJPA 34 (אָגָנָא); ChW 1:8 (אָגָנָא); DJBA 79 (אָגָנָא); DSA 6 (אָגָנָא); DCPA 4; SL 7; MD 5. BH HALOT 11.]

אָגר, n. m. reward
TgSong 2:3. This is attested in about half of the manuscripts. Other manuscripts (including Paris 110) have the Hebraic שָׂכֵר.
[DNWSI 11; DQA 2; DJA 29; DJPA 34; Cook 4; DJBA 80; DSA 6; DCPA 4; SL 8; MD 6.]

אָבָד, n. m. finger
TgSong 7:8. This is only attested in Paris 110. The other manuscripts either attest to confusion over the ' or have the more common form אָבָד, as in TgSong 1:11. This LJLA form is also attested 10+ times in TgPsJ.
[Jastrow 15; ChW 1:10.]
אדם, n. m. ruby [Heb.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[BH HALOT 15. Jastrow 22.]

אדר, n. m. See אדר

אדרון, n. m. See אידרון

אדרע, n. m. arm
TgSong 8:6. On the prothetic א, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.5.1.
[DNWSI (IA zr') 342; Vogt 26; DQA 59 (דרון); DJPA 37; Cook 65 (דר Staten); DJBA 353 (דרון); DSA 10; DCPA 5; SL 324 (דרון); MD 114 (dra).]

אהבה, n. f. love [Heb.]
TgSong 8:6. < Hebrew text.
[BH HALOT 18; RH Jastrow 19. ChW 1:13.]

אהת, pro. f. See איה

או, conj. or
TgSong 4:11; 8:14
[DNWSI 21; DQA 3; DJA 29; DJPA 37; Cook 5; DJBA 83; DSA 12; DCPA 1 (אאם); SL 12.]

אוכם, n. m. See אוכם

אוחר, adj. other
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 41 (חרון); Vogt 31 (חרון); DQA 7 (חרון); DJA 30 (חרון); DJPA 38, 192 (חרון); Cook 9; DJBA 105 (חרון); DSA 20 (חרון); DCPA 123 (חרון); SL 29 (חרון); MD 137 (חרון).]

אוכם, adj. black
TgSong 5:11
[DJPA 39; Cook 5; DJBA 88; MD 343. Cp. אוכם in the following dictionaries: DQA 9; DJPA 56; DSA 29; DCPA 14; SL 40.]

אוליבן, n. f. frankincense [Lat.]
TgSong 4:11. This is likely the Latin term olibanum, and it is not attested elsewhere in Aramaic. It is a play on Lebanon from the underlying Hebrew. Most Yemenite manuscripts have the geographical name “Lebanon” or a word for incense. See the discussion in Lexical Stock 5.7.4.
[ChW 1:29.]

אולפן, n. m. instruction
אָוָם, n. f. people, nation

אָוָמָן, n. m. artisan [Akk.]

אָוָמוֹן, n. f. profession

אָוָס, n. m. oppression

אָוַךְ, conj. also, even

אָוָז, n. m. treasury

אָוָיוֹל, n. m. young gazelle

אָוָר, n. f. way, road

אָוָרוֹר, n. f. law, Torah

אָוָשָׁה, n. m. foundation (wall?) [Akk. < Sum.]
TgSong 8:9
[Akk. *uššu* (Kaufman 110). DNWSI 47 (יָשׁ #3); Vogt 54 (יָשׁ); DQA 25 (יָשׁ); ChW 1:70; DCPA 9.]

אַזָּד, *n. m.* See *אַזָּד*

אַזָּל, *vb.* to go (G)
[DNWSI 25; Vogt 27; DQA 5; DJA 30; DJPA 43; Cook 7; DJBA 100; DSA 15; DCPA 10; SL 24; MD 12.]

אַזְמֹרָד, *n. m.* See *אַזְמֹרָד*

אַזְוזָר, *n. m.* precious stone [Arab.]
TgSong 5:14. This is a marginal note in one Yemenite manuscript.
[SL 97.]

אַזָּר, *n. m.* brother
TgSong 2:7; 7:8; 8:1
[DNWSI 28; Vogt 28; DQA 5; DJA 30; DJPA 45; Cook 7; DJBA 102; DSA 18; DCPA 10; SL 25; MD 8.]

אַזָּז, *vb.* to seize, hold; close (a door) (G)
TgSong 3:8; 4:4; 6; 5:5; 6:9 (only certain manuscripts, see *יחָד*)
[DNWSI 35 (הָז); DQA 6; DJA 30; DJPA 45; Cook 8; DJBA 103; DSA 17; DCPA 11; SL 25; MD 8.]

אַצָּרה, *n. f.* sister
TgSong 4:9–10; 5:1–2; 8:8
[DQA 6; DJPA 46; Cook 8; DJBA 106; DSA 18; DCPA 11; SL 503 (הָרְמָה); MD 8 (עָרָמָה).]

אַצָּלָלָמו, *n. f.* precious stone (amethyst; jasper?) [Heb. < Eg.?]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[BH HALOT 34.]

אַצָּרָה, *adj.* red [Arab.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension.
[ChW 1:21; SL 28.]

אַחַר, *n. m.* See *אַחַר*

אַף, I. *interj.* ay!
TgSong 2:5. This is a mistake in the Yemenite recension.
[DJPA 47; DJBA 109; DSA 22; SL 31; MD 14.]

אַף, II. *conj.* if (real condition with with pf. and ptc.)
כְּדוּר, interrr. pro. which?
TgSong 5:9 (twice); 6:1. The space is only attested in Paris 110 and one other western manuscript.
[DJPA 162 (エル); ChW 1:24; DJBA 111 (dialectal); DSA 23 (愛); DCPA 98 (אדר).]

אידר, n. m. threshing floor
TgSong 7:3
[DNWSI 18; Vogt 26; DJPA 36; Cook 5 (ארד); DSA 10 (אד); DCPA 5 (עדר); SL 11.]

אידרון, n. m. inner chamber [Pers.?]
TgSong 3:4
[Pers.: andarōn (ILS 100). This is alternatively from the Greek ἄνδρων (Rosenthal, Sprache, 90, n. 5), DNWSI 19 (drown); Cook 9; DJBA 111; DSA 10 (ארד); SL 11 (אד); MD 353.]

הו, pro. he
TgSong 1:1, 9; 2:2; 5:6 (twice); 5:15
[ChW 1:24; DJBA 111.]

והי, pro. f. she, it
TgSong 2:5. This is attested in the western recension. It is likely a mistake for the expected 1cs personal pronoun שָׁנָה, as is attested throughout the Yemenite manuscripts.
[ChW 1:24; DJBA 111.]

איגדור, n. m. messenger [Pers.]
TgSong 2:7
[Pers. iżgaddā < iżgand (ILS 105). DJPA 43 (Neofiti Gen 49:21 only); Cook 7 (אחדר); DJBA 112; SL 32; MD 40 (איגדרה).]

אנדרורד, n. m. emerald [Gk.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension. This is an LJLA form also attested in TgPsJ Exod 28:18; 39:11. A few manuscripts have the form ἀνδρός.
[Gk. ἄνδρως (Krauss 2:248). Cp. DJPA 179 (תמר); Cook 7 (ܐܢܕܪܘ); DSA 234 (אדרון); DCPA 111 (אדרון); SL 387 (אדרון); MD 74.]

עָיִל, n. m./f. deer
TgSong 2:9; 8:14. Some of the Yemenite manuscripts erroneously have the f. ptc. אֱיַלְאָלוּ “which goes” for both attestations.
איכדין, **interr.** how?
TgSong 1:7 (twice); 5:3 (Yemenite recension). See [DNWSI 45 #3 (איל); DQA 8 (איל); DJPA 48; Cook 10 (איל); DJBA 113 #2; DSA 23 (איל); DCPA 12 (איל); SL 34; MD 15 (איל)].

איל, **n. m.** See איל.

אילא, **n. f.** See אילא.

אילא, **conj.** but; except
TgSong 2:7; 4:12; 6:12. Concerning the etymology, whether a contraction from הָאֵל or a derivation from the older אֵל, see Cook 11 and Tal, Language, 33.

אילא, **conj.** were it not; if (indicates an irreal negative condition)
TgSong 1:9; 2:15, 17; 6:11; 8:7 (twice)

אילא, **dem. pro.** these; [DNWSI 566 (אילא); Vogt 191 (אילא); DQA 126 #2 (אילא); DJA 60 (אילא); DJPA 59 (אילא); Cook 13 (אילא); DSA 32 (אילא); DCPA 16 (אילא); SL 46 (אילא).]

אילא, **conj.** if not for
TgSong 4:12

איל, **n. m.** tree
TgSong 1:16; 2:3; 3:5; 9:4:12

איל, **n. f.** See איל.

אילו, **n. f.** terror, dread
TgSong 6:4, 10

אילא, **n. f.** See אילא.
אֵימָר, n. m. lamb
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 78 #3 (’mr); Vogt 40 (אמר); DQA 14; DJA 30; DJPA 50; Cook 11; DJBA 117; DSA 44; DCPA 13; SL 57 #2; MD 352 (’mbra).]

אֵינָב, n. m. See אֵינָב

אֵינוֹן, pers. pro. they
[DNWSI 264 (h #1); Vogt 42; DQA 15; DJA 32; DJPA 163 (הינון); Cook 17; DJBA 119 (archaic); DSA 47; DCPA 67 (ܢܐ); SL 60; MD 146 (himun).]

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אֵיסְרוֹר, n. m. See אֵיסְרוֹר

אֵיסְרָאֵל, n. f. garment, robe [Gk.]
TgSong 5:10. There are a few spellings with ס instead of צ among the manuscripts.
[Gk. στολή (Krauss 2:80). DJPA 51 (אֶיסְטוֹלֵי); Cook 18 (אסטלי with variants); DJBA 125 (אִיסְטְלָא); DSA 58 (אָסְטָלָא); DCPA 22 (אֶיסְטוֹלֵי); SL 69 (אֶיסְטוֹלֵי); MD 356 (صلاة).]

אֵיוֹת, n. f. fire
TgSong 1:4; 2:5; 5:1; 6:2; 8:6
[DNWSI 121-22 (ח #2); Vogt 26 (אש); DQA 26 (אש); DJA 54; DJPA 54; Cook 12; DJBA 126; DSA 67 (ש); DCPA 14; SL 108; MD 357 (ש).]

אֵיז, part. there is []<
TgSong 8:8
[DNWSI 50 (י); Vogt 32 (י); DQA 8 (י); DJA 30 (י); DJPA 54; Cook 12; DJBA 126; DSA 25; DCPA 14; SL 39; MD 348.]

אֵל, vb. to eat (G)
TgSong 2:9; 4:2; 5:1 (twice); 6:6
[DNWSI 51; Vogt 34; DQA 9; DJA 31; DJPA 56; Cook 13; DJBA 129; DSA 27; DCPA 14; SL 41; MD 16.]

אֵלֶה, n. f. sling
TgSong 8:5. For a discussion of this word, see Lexical Stock 5.6.2.
[ChW 1:29.]

אֵלֶיָּה, conj. but, rather
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 57; DQA 10; DJA 58; Cook 10 (אֶלֶיָּה); DJBA 132; DSA 31; DCPA 16; SL 46; MD 350.]
אלה, n. m. God, god
TgSong 1:6; 4:16; 5:9 (twice), 10, 16; 7:6, 13; 8:1
[DNWSI 57; Vogt 35; DQA 10; DJA 31; DJPA 59; Cook 13; DJBA 133;
DSA 32; DCPA 16; SL 47; MD 18.]

אלהו, n. f. divinity
TgSong 1:4; 8:1, 6
[DJPA 59 ("strength"); DSA 32; DCPA 16; SL 47; MD 18.]

אלהים, conj. See אלהור

אלהים, dem. pro. See אלהים

ה, vb. to spy (D)
TgSong 2:6, 7 (twice)
[DJPA 60 (Neofiti Deut 1:24 only, as in Onqelos); Cook 14; cp. the noun
הלים "lie; spy" DSA 36.]

אלהים, conj. See / unlawful

אלהים, I. vb. to learn (G), teach (D)
TgSong 1:6, 8; 2:4; 3:8; 8:2, 13
[DNWSI 64; DQA 12; DJPA 60; Cook 15; DJBA 136; DSA 37; DCPA 18;
SL 50; MD 21.]

אלהים, II. n. m. thousand
TgSong 4:1
[DNWSI 65#5; Vogt 37; DQA 12; DJPA 60; Cook 15; DJBA 136; DSA
39; DCPA 18; SL 51; MD 21.]

אם, I. n. f. mother
TgSong 2:8; 7:3; 8:1, 5
[DNWSI 66; DQA 12; DJPA 61; Cook 15; DJBA 116; DSA 40;
DCPA 12; SL 52; MD 352.]

אם, II. conj. if [likely < Heb.]
TgSong 8:9. This is attested in many manuscripts (including Paris 110)
instead of the Aramaic א.
[DNWSI 68 #3; DQA 12; DJA 31; DJPA 61; Cook 15; DJBA 137.]

אמר, vb. See אמר

אמר, I. vb. to say (G), to be said (Gt)
[DNWSI 73; Vogt 38; DQA 13; DJA 31; DJPA 63; Cook 16; DJBA 140;
DSA 42; DCPA 19; SL 57; MD 23.]
אימר, II. *n. m.* See

אימרכל, *n. m.* official [*Pers.*]

TgSong 4:3

[Pers. *hmārakara* > *hamarakar* (ILS 101). *DNWSI* 284 (*hmrrkr*); *DQA* 65 (המרכל). *Cook* 16; *SL* 12 (אימרכל).]

آن, *conj.* if

TgSong 8:7, 9 (many manuscripts have the Hebrew אֶנְנָה)

[DNWSI 285 #3 (*hn*); *Vogt* 113 (*הן*); *DQA* 14, 65 (*הן*); *DJPA* 63; *DJBA* 108 (*הן*); *DSA* 45; *DCPA* 20; *SL* 58; *MD* 146 (*hin*).]

אנא, *pro.* I, myself

TgSong 1:16

[Akk. *inbu* (Kaufman 58). *DNWSI* 3 #2 (*ʾnb*); *Vogt* 41; *DQA* 15; *DJA* 31 (*אנה*); *DJPA* 64 (*אנה*); *Cook* 17; *DJBA* 143; *DSA* 47 (*אנה*); *DCPA* 20; *SL* 58; *MD* 24.]

אנב, *n. m.* fruit [*Akk.*]

TgSong 1:16

[Akk. *inbu* (Paris 110 has נָב and Villa-Amil 5 has נָבָה); 8:14

[DNWSI 81 (*inbu*); *Vogt* 42 (*הנה*); *DQA* 16; *DJPA* 65 (*הנה*, targumic); *Cook* 17, 176 (*אנה*); *DJBA* 144 (archaic); *DSA* 48 (*אנה*); *SL* 472 (*אנה*); *MD* 353 (*inba*).]

אנוגנה, *pro.* we

TgSong 1:16 (Paris 110 has נָנָה and Villa-Amil 5 has נוֹנָה); 8:14

[DNWSI 81 (*inbu*); *Vogt* 42 (*הנה*); *DQA* 16; *DJPA* 65 (*הנה*, targumic); *Cook* 17, 176 (*אנה*); *DJBA* 144 (archaic); *DSA* 48 (*אנה*); *SL* 472 (*אנה*); *MD* 353 (*inba*).]

אניסו, *n. f.* oppression

TgSong 4:2; 6:6 (twice; the second attestation has the form אַנְיסָה). This is an LJLA word also attested in TgQoh 5:7. It is always in collocation with גְּזִיל “robbery.” See also אֲנָמָס.

[*ChW* 1:42.]

אנ, *pro.* we

TgSong 2:9; 6:1

[*DJPA* 66; *DJBA* 145; *DCPA* 20; *SL* 472 (*אֲנָס*); *MD* 27 (*anin, anʾn*).]

אנפלי, *n. m.* money-box or gate house [*etm. uncertain*]

TgSong 4:12. This is an LJLA word only attested here. See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.2.2.

[*ChW* 1:42, from ἐνυπόλεος “gate house”; *Jastrow* 78 (also in Mishnaic Heb.; from *נדֶל*).]

אנפין, *n. m. pl.* face; wing (at 5:11?)

Song 1:2, 5, 11; 4:16; 5:3, 5, 10–11; 7:7–8 (three times). There are attestations with and without הר throughout the manuscripts.
നാൻ, n. m. man, human
TgSong 2:7, 14; 7:3. On the forms, see Morphology 3.2.3.3.

നാ, pro. f. you (sing.)
The attestations vary within each manuscript as bothനാ andനാ are used. See alsoനാ.

നാന്, pl. n. f. woman, wife
TgSong 4:12–13; 7:11. The only singular form is nasalized in the western recension, but not the Yemenite recension (7:11). See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.2.2.

നാന്തി, pro. f. you (sing.)
TgSong 5:9 (twice). This is attested in a few Yemenite manuscripts. Other manuscripts haveനാന orനാ II.

അശി, vb. to be healed (Dt)
TgSong 2:5

അശപ്പോർ, n. m. sapphire [Gk.]
TgSong 5:14. < Hebrew text. This is attested in the western recension. This is the only Aramaic attestation.

[ChW 1:50. BH HALOT 764.]

അശി, conj. Seeഅശി

അശി, conj. even
TgSong 4:1; 8:5, 9

[DHJ 70; CHW 1:53; DJBA 157 (‘קוח). RH Jastrow 103.]

ഉപ്‌, n. m. pl. Seeഉപ്‌
אפנטור, n. m. precious stone [Gk. < Lat.?]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension. It is an LJLA form
also attested in TgPsJ Exod 28:20; 39:13; Num 2:25.
[πάνθηρ or ἄπανταρ (Krauss 2:109). ChW 1:54. Cp. Jastrow 1191 (פנטיר);
Cook 227 (מטיריד); DSA 691 (פנטיריו).]

אפרשא, n. f. separated portion of offering
TgSong 4:2; 6:6
[DJPA 71 (targumic); Cook 21; DJBA 159; DSA 711; DCPA 26 (פנתריו)].

אפרשה, n. f. finger
TgSong 1:11. See also
[DNWSI 98; Vogt 49; DQA 21; DJPA 72; Cook 21; DJBA 159; DSA 720;
DCPA 26; SL 1272 (ויתנהו); MD 355.]

אכפל אולף, n. m. aloe [Gk?]
TgSong 4:14. This is an LJLA word also attested at TgPs 45:9.
[Gk. ἀκοφέλος (Krauss 2:124–25). The LXX at this verse has the word ἄκοφον
“wood,” Liddell & Scott, 540. ChW 1:59.]

אפרעם, num. four
TgSong 1:9; 2:6, 14; 4:12; 5:10; 6:4, 10 (not attested in some manuscripts)
[DNWSI 101; Vogt 49; DQA 22; DJA 33; DJPA 72; Cook 21; DJBA 163;
DSA 813; DCPA 27; SL 94; MD 36.]

אפרעם עשר, num. fourteen
TgSong 3:11
[DQA 22; DJPA 73; Cook 21; DJBA 163 (ארבואר); DSA 813;
DCPA 27; SL 94 (ארבאיר); MD 36 (arbasar).]

אפרעם ערבין, num. forty
TgSong 1:11; 2:7; 3:5; 4:5
[DNWSI 101; Vogt 49; DQA 22; DJA 33; DJPA 72; Cook 21; DJBA 163;
DSA 813; DCPA 27; SL 94; MD 36.]

אפרעם, n. m. purple fabric [Akk.]
TgSong 3:10; 7:6
[Akk. argamannu, (Kaufman 35). DNWSI 103; Vogt 49; DQA 22; DJPA
73; Cook 22; DJBA 164; DSA 59; DCPA 28; SL 95; MD 36 (argba).]

אפרוס, conj. for, because
TgSong 1:13; 2:5, 11, 14; 5:2, 5; 8:6
[DNWSI 104 ( rv $2); Vogt 36 (איש, אפרוס); DQA 22 (אפרוס); DJPA 73
(targumic); DSA 60 (“but”).]

אפרון, n. m. Ark of the Covenant
TgSong 1:14 (twice); 3:4, 10
ארז, I. n. m. cedar
TgSong 1:17; 8:9

ארי, II. n. m. lion
TgSong 4:8

ארי, conj. for, because
This is attested as an alternative to אָרִים in a few manuscripts at 1:13 and 5:5.

אריס, n. m. tenant farmer [Akk.]
TgSong 8:11
[Akk. errēšu (Kaufman 49). DJP 74; DJBA 167 (אָרֵישׁוֹ); DSA 64; DCPA 28.]

ארך, vb. to wait (C)
TgSong 2:7

ארו, n. m. political ruler [Gk.]
TgSong 4:3
[Gk. ἀρχων (Krauss 2:129). DNWSI 109; DJP 75; DJBA 881 (אָרָכִי); DSA 63; DCPA 29; SL 100; MD 37 (arkun)].

ארס, n. m. poison [Heb.]
TgSong 2:14. Some manuscripts have אָרִיס, others have אָרִיסְהּ. [RH Jastrow 124. DJP 76; DCPA 13 (אַרְס).]

ארע, n. f. land, earth
[DNWSI 110 (רו #1); Vogt 52; DQA 24; DJA 33; DJP 76; DJBA 24; DJBA 170; DSA 65; DCPA 30; SL 104; MD 39 (ארָע).]

אשי, n. f. wall [Akk.]
TgSong 2:9. The form with a 1cp suffix is spelled אָשָׁה in the western recension; the Yemenite recension has אָשָׁית. There may be confusion with אָשָׁה “foundation, wall.” It is unclear whether אשי drives from Akkadian or is native to both languages.
lish, vb. to consider blessed, happy (D) [Heb.]
TgSong 6:9. This root with the meaning “congratulate,” (CAL, 4 September 2014) is only attested here. Otherwise, the root means “to make strong.” In context, it makes more sense to posit that this is a Hebrew loan. Similarly in LJLA, see TgPsJ Deut 10:2.
[BH HALOT 97, DJBA 174 #2 “to strengthen.”]

אשתדור, n. m. sedition [Etm. uncert.] TgSong 6:1. This is derived from BA. In LJLA, it is also attested in TgLam 1:1 and the Antiochus Scroll.
[Vogt 55; DQA 26.]

את, I. pro. m. you (sing.)
TgSong 1:16 (twice)
[DNWSI 85 ('nth #2); Vogt 45 (אנתון ketib); DQA 18 (אנתון D); DJA 33; DJPA 79; Cook 25; DJBA 175; DSA 70–71 (אתון, אתון); GCPA 67; SL 66 (אנתון); MD 24 (anat).]

את, II. pro. f. you (sing.)
The attestations vary within each manuscript as both את and את are used. See also את.
[DNWSI 85 ('nth #2); Vogt 45 (אנתון ketib); DJA 33; DJPA 79 (אתון); Cook 25; DJBA 175; DSA 73 (אתון); DCPA 34 (אנתון); SL 66 (אתון); MD 24 (anat).]

את, III. n. m./f. sign, letter
TgSong 1:3–4; 3:7
[Vogt 55; DQA 26; DJPA 78; Cook 25; DJBA 175; DSA 70; DCPA 32; SL 109; MD 42.]

אתון, pro. you (m. pl.)
TgSong 2:5; 7:1; 8:4, 9
[Vogt 46 (אתון ketib); DQA 19 (אתון); DJPA 79; Cook 25; DJBA 175 (אתון); DSA 71 #2; DCPA 33; SL 66; MD 25 (anaton).]

את, vb. to come (G), bring (C)
[DNWSI 133; Vogt 55; DQA 26; DJA 33; DJPA 80; Cook 25; DJBA 176; DSA 71; DCPA 33; SL 110; MD 41.]

אתכל, n. m. cluster (of grapes)
TgSong 1:14; 7:8–9
[Cook 25; DJBA 178; DSA 73 (< Onq).]

ותר, n m. place
אטרוג, *n. m.* citron [Pers.?]

TgSong 2:3. Some western manuscripts spell אטרוגא; most Yemenite manuscripts have מטרונא.

[Pers.? atruggā (ILS 105). DJA 34; DJPA 591 (תרוג); Cook 26; DJBA 179; MD 490 (trunga). RH Jastrow 134.]

ב, *prep.* in; at; with

See also יב.

[DNWSI 137; Vogt 59; DQA 28; DJA 35; DJPA 83; Cook 27; DJBA 181; DSA 75; DCPA 37; SL 114; MD 44.]

באדין, *adv.* then

TgSong 6:8

[DNWSI 13 ('dyn); Vogt 25 (אדין); DQA 3 (אדין); DSA 8 (אדין).]

באר, *n. f.* well

TgSong 1:1; 4:5, 15

[DNWSI 141, 155 (באר); DJA 101 (באר); Cook 33 (באר); DJBA 205 (באר); DSA 76; DCPA 47 (באר); SL 114; MD 62.]

בבו, *n. f.* resentment

TgSong 2:15; 8:6. This is an LJLA form of the word דבבו, which many manuscripts have. It is also attested in TgPsJ and TgJob.

[ChW 1:80; Cook 55 (דבב); DJPA 164 (דבב).]

בבעו, *interj.* please

TgSong 7:12; 8:6

[DJPA 84; Cook 37; DSA 108; SL 169; MD 57.]

בגין, *prep.* because of; *conj.* so that

“Therefore” when in the construction כין בגין.

[DJPA 84; ChW 1:136.]
בְּדוֹר, vb. to be cheerful (G)
TgSong 1:4
[DJBA 185; Syriac has the nominal formmux “pleasure” SL 124.]

בְּדִיל, prep. because of; conj. so that
TgSong 1:3; 7:9
[DQA 31; DJA 40; DJPA 85; Cook 28; DJBA 186 (archaic); DSA 81;
DCPA 192 (סְבוֹלָם).]

בֵּדֶר, vb. to scatter (D)
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 145 #1; Vogt 66; DQA 31; DJA 35; DJPA 86; Cook 28; DJBA
187 #2; DSA 82; DCPA 41; SL 120; MD 52.]

בְּדִיק, adj. shining
TgSong 1:11; 5:14; 7:3. This LJLA word is only attested here.
[ChW 1:84. Verbs from this root with the meaning “to shine, to make shine”
are attested in the following dialects: ChW 1:84; DCPA 41; SL 122; with
reference to a light spot on skin, note DJPA 86 (בִּדֶּק; targumic); Cook 29;
DSA 84; SL 122 (כַּמּוֹר). BH בֹּדֶק HALOT 112.]

בְּדִיזֶר, adj. clear, shining
TgSong 5:14. Yemenite manuscripts mistakenly have בְּדִיזֵר “chosen”; a few
western manuscripts have the more common synonym נְדֵר. This is an LJLA
word possibly also attested in TgJob 37:21; TgPsJ 30:23.
[ChW 1:84. For the verbal root meaning “to shine,” cf. SL 123; MD 54 #2;
BH HALOT 112.]

בְּדַרָה, n. m. ruby [Pers.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the margin of one Yemenite manuscript.

בְּדָרֶר, n. m. See בְּדָרֶר

בְּדָרֶר, n. m. See בְּדָרֶר

בְּדַאָר, n. m. See בְּדַאָר

בְּדֹסֶם, n. m. See בְּדֹסֶם

בָּדוּט, vb. to rejoice loudly (G)
TgSong 5:2
[DQA 32; ChW 1:85.]

בָּדוּט, n. m. lamp [Akk.]
בושׂם, n. m. See הבושׂמ

בָּוֹת, vb. to spend the night (G)

בָּזָז, n. f. plunder

בָּזָז, vb. to plunder (G)

בָּזִי, vb. to despise (D)

בָּזָע, vb. to tear, split (G or D), be split open (Gt)

בָּחַיר, adj. chosen, excellent

בָּטַל, vb. to test (G)

בָּטַל, vb. to cease, be idle (G)

בָּי, I. n. m./f. house, place
There is much confusion among the manuscripts concerning this preposition. Some manuscripts make it an inseparable preposition; others just have an inseparable ב in all instances. When it does occur, it is used in adverbial constructions. See Morphology 3.1.4.1.

[DJBA 199.]

בזה, n.f. See בז

ביכורין, n. m. pl. first fruits

TgSong 2:13
[DJPA 96; Cook 34 (בכורין); DSA 98 (בכורים). BHHALOT 130.]

בילאר, n. m. beryl [etym. uncert.]

TgSong 5:14. Note also the spelling בילארים in TgEsth I 1:4. For a possible Greek etymology (βηρυλλος), see Krauss 2:145; for a possible Persian etymology (belurā), see ILS 128. One Yemenite manuscript adds צאפי in the margin.

[DJPA 102 (בירול); Cook 40 (בירהל); DSA 87 (< Onq בכרל; SL 187 (בכרל).]

בילארה, n. m. See בילאר

בין, prep. between

[DNWSI 152 #2; Vogt 67; DQA 33; DJPA 105 (ב); Cook 32; DJBA 201; DSA 94; DCPA 46; SL 141 (ובין); MD 61 (binat).]

ברירה (י)ת, n.f. See בירה

בいる, n. m. See ביר

ביש, adj. evil, bad

TgSong 1:12; 2:2; 6–7; 4:3; 5:3
[DNWSI 142 (ב' של #2); Vogt 65 (באיש); DQA 29 (באיש); DJPA 102; Cook 33; DJBA 206; DSA 78; DCPA 47; SL 143; MD 63.]

בכין, n. m. See בכין

בכור, n. m. See בכור

בכוין, conj. then [< ב + כין]

[DJPA 103 (בכין); Cook 35; DJBA 587; DSA 394; DCPA 49 (בכין).]
בכירו, n. f. birthright
TgSong 2:15. Yemenite manuscripts have the spelling בכרוהא, as in TgOnq Gen 25:32.
[DJPA 103 (בכרוהא); Cook 35 (בכרוהה); DJBA 220; DSA 97 (בכרוהה); DCPA 49; SL 152 (בכרוהא).]

נ. m. firstborn
TgSong 2:9 (Paris 110 has the form בכורא; all other manuscripts have the form בוכרא, 12. The form בוכראי at 2:12 is a pervasive error in Paris 110 and manuscripts from both recensions. The correct form is the plural emphatic א (י), בוכרי, and it is attested in four western manuscripts.
[DJPA 102 (בכור); Cook 34 (בכור); DJBA 190 (בוכרא); DSA 97 (בכור); DCPA 48 (בוכרי); SL 126 (בוכרי); MD 55 (bukra).]

בלבל vb. to mix (Quad)
TgSong 2:2. Yemenite manuscripts mistake this for the verb בלבל "to bloom." The intransitive meaning that is required by the context would necessitate a QuadT form.
[DJPA 104 (בלבל); Cook 35; DJBA 220; DSA 100 (בבללו); SL 157 (בבללו); MD 66 (BLL). RH Jastrow 171.]

בלסמון, n. m. balsam [Gk. back formation of Sem.]
TgSong 7:14. Yemenite manuscripts have the Semitic form בוסמין. [Gk. Βάλσαμον < Semitic (Krauss 2:159). DJA 36 (בלסם); SL 158. RH Jastrow 174 (בלסם).]

בלשן n. m. language expert
TgSong 7:3. This occurs in a list similar to that of Ezra 2:2; Neh 7:7. Rather than being a PN as in the biblical text, it seems that the targumist is referring to a tradition of Mordechai being a gifted expert in languages; see b. Menahot 65a. Ginzberg suggest that this is a combined תִּלְשָׁן בולש "master of languages." See Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews II, 1140 and 1141, n. 62. Perhaps a stronger combination would be תִּלְשָׁן בולש "investigator of languages" (Edward M. Cook., p.c. fall 2014).

בני vb. to build (G), be built (Gt)
[DNWSI 173; Vogt 71; DQA 35; DJA 36; DJPA 106; Cook 36; DJBA 222; DSA 104; DCPA 51; SL 161; MD 66.]

בִּסָּם adj. sweet
TgSong 2:3. A number of manuscripts have the Gk. noun בסס "basis" instead, but this is contextually awkward.
[DNWSI 179; DJPA 106; DJBA 224; DCPA 52; SL 164; MD 48.]

בָּסָם, I. vb. to be made sweet (Dt)
TgSong 2:5 (A pervasive scribal error attested in several manuscripts for the root בסס) 7:14
[DJPA 115 (בָּסָם); Cook 36; DJBA 224; DSA 105; DCPA 53; SL 165; MD 67.]
בָּסָם, II. n. m. See בָּשָׂם

בָּסָם, vb. to base (G), be founded (Dt) [Gk.]
TgSong 2:5; 5:15
[Gk. βάσις (Krauss 2:161). ChW 1:103; MD 68 (“to stamp down”).
Nominal forms are attested in the following dictionaries: DNWSI 179;
DJPA 106; Cook 36; DSA 105; SL 166.]

בָּסָר, n. m. See בָּשָׂר

בָּשָׂר, vb. to seek, petition (G); be sought (Gt)
[DNWSI 180 #1; Vogt 73; DQA 36; DJPA 107; Cook 37; DJBA 224; DSA 107; DCPA 55; SL 169; MD 44 (BA4).]

בָּקוּת, n. f. valley
TgSong 7:10
[DNWSI 187 (bqʿ); Vogt 75; DQA 37; DJPA 110; Cook 39; DJBA 230 (בָּקֻת); DSA 111; SL 1224 (פַּעַת); MD 362 (paqata).]

בָּקָר, vb. to examine (D)
TgSong 7:13
[DNWSI 187 #1; Vogt 75; DQA 37; DJPA 110; Cook 39; DSA 111; SL 177; MD 68.]

בָּר, n. m. son
[DNWSI 188 #1; Vogt 76; DQA 37; DJA 37 #1; DJPA 97 (בָּר); Cook 39; DJBA 231 #1; DSA 103; DCPA 58; SL 177; MD 68.]

בָּר, prep. aside from
TgSong 4:3; 6:7–8. Alexander lists the first attestation as a possible Arabism since he argues its meaning is closer to the Arabic ba da than its normal Aramaic meaning, The Targum of Canticles, 11, note 9.
[DNWSI 195 (br #3); Vogt 77 #2 (בִּר); DQA 38; DJA 37 #2; DJPA 110; Cook 39; DJBA 239; DSA 119.]

בָּרָא, See לָבָרָא וּלָרָא and מַלְבָּרָא

בָּרָא, n. m. cypress, juniper
TgSong 1:17. < Hebrew text.
[DQA 39; DJPA 112 (בָּרָא); ChW 1:118; DJBA 250 (בָּרָא); DCPA 62 (חָוָא); SL 187 (חָוָא); HALOT 155.]

בָּרָד, n. m. hail
TgSong 2:6
[DNWSI 196; DJPA 111; Cook 39; DJBA 242; DSA 112; DCPA 62; SL 186; MD 50.]
ברזיל, *n. m.* See בורזיל

בריר, *vb.* to create (G), be created (Gt)

TgSong 8:2; 6

[DQA 39; DJPA 112; Cook 40; DJBA 243; DSA 113; DCPA 62; SL 188; MD 69.]

בריה, *n. f.* creation

TgSong 8:6. There is no consensus on the spelling of this word among the manuscripts.

[DQA 39 (בריה); DJA 37 (ברית); DJPA 113 (בריה); Cook 40 (בריה); DJBA 245 (בריה); DSA 114 (בריה); DCPA 62 (בריה); SL 189 (בריה); MD 70 (brita).]

ברוך, *adj.* blessed

TgSong 1:2; 8–9; 2:5; 3:5; 5:1

[DNWSI 198 (brk); Vogt 77 (ברך); DQA 39 (ברך); DJPA 113; Cook 40; DJBA 245; DSA 116; DCPA 63; SL 189; MD 70.]

בריר, *adj.* pure

TgSong 6:9–10

[DJPA 114; ChW 1:117; DJBA 245; SL 189.]

ברך, *vb.* to bless (D)

TgSong 3:7; 5:12; 7:8

[DNWSI 198; Vogt 77; DQA 39; DJPA 114; Cook 40; DJBA 246; DSA 116; DCPA 63; SL 189; MD 70.]

ברכה, *n. f.* blessing

TgSong 2:15; 3:7

[DNWSI 202 (brkh #1); DQA 39; DJPA 114; Cook 41; DJBA 246 (ברכתא); DSA 116; DCPA 63; SL 190 (see also 131 #5G); MD 63.]

ברכקת, *n. f.* jewel, emerald

TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.

[DJPA 115 (Neofiti); Cook 41; DSA 118 (ברקת); SL 192. BH HALOT 162.]

ברת, *n. f.* daughter

TgSong 1:15

[DNWSI 192 (ברת); DQA 38 (ברית); DJA 37 (ברית); DJPA 11 (ברית); Cook 41; DJBA 248; DSA 103 (ברית); DCPA 61 (ברית); SL 192; MD 70.]

ברקת, *n. f.* divine voice from heaven (“echo”)

TgSong 2:14; 4:1

[DJPA 112; DJBA 250 (ברקת); SL 194. RH Jastrow 200 (ברקת).]
בשׂם, *n. m.* spice, perfume

[DQA 40; DJPA 106 (בָּשָׂם); *Cook* 29 (בָּשׂ); *DJBA* 191 (בָּשׂ); *DSA* 105 (בָּשׂ); *DCPA* 47 (בָּשׂ); *SL* 128 (בָּשׂ); *MD* 56 (*busma*).]

בָּשָׂר, *n. m.* flesh

TgSong 1:12; 3:8 (twice); 4:2. The Yemenite recension and some western manuscripts always spell בָּשָׂר.

[DNWSI 204 #2; *Vogt* 78; *DQA* 40; *DJPA* 115; *Cook* 37 (בָּשָׂר); *DJBA* 207 (בָּשׂר); *DSA* 106 (בָּשׂ); *DCPA* 54 (בָּשׂ); *SL* 167 (בָּשׂ); *MD* 67 (בָּשׂ).]

בתולה, *n. f.* virgin

TgSong 4:12

[DNWSI 205 (*bttl*); *DQA* 40; *DJA* 37; *DJPA* 116; *Cook* 42; *DJBA* 251; *DSA* 121; *DCPA* 64; *SL* 196; *MD* 384 (*ptula*).]

בתור, *prep./conj.* after; *בתור נָל, prep. after; adv.* afterwards [< ב + ה] יקץ

[DNWSI 206 (*bthr*); *Vogt* 58 (בָּתָר); *DQA* 41; *DJA* 35 (בָּתָר); *DJPA* 116, 314 (בָּתָר); *Cook* 42; *DJBA* 251, 253 (בָּתָר); *DSA* 121; *DCPA* 65; *SL* 196; *MD* 51.]

גָּבַב, *vb.* to gather (D)

TgSong 6:2. This is attested in the western recension. The Yemenite recension reads from the root גָּבַי in the D-stem “to collect”; this is less likely.

[DJPA 118; *Cook* 43; *DSA* 124; *DCPA* 66. With the meaning “bend” *DJBA* 256; *MD* 82.]

גָּבְרוֹת, *n. f.* might; mighty act

TgSong 1:3 (twice), 9; 5:4–5

[DNWSI 211 #2; *Vogt* 79; *DQA* 42; *DJPA* 119; *Cook* 43; *DSA* 127 (גָּבְרוֹת); *MD* 82; *DCPA* 66.]

גבוי, *vb.* to collect (D)
TgSong 6:2. This is attested in the Yemenite recension. The western recension reads from גגב in the D-stem “to gather”: this is preferred since גבי usually refers to the collection of monies while the context refers to the gathering of roses.

[DNWSI 208 #1; DJPA 119; Cook 43; DJBA 256; DSA 124; DCPA 67; SL 199; MD 79.]

גבעה, n. f. hill [Heb.]

TgSong 2:8. Several manuscripts (including Paris 110) have the Aramaic word גבע.

[BH HALOT 174; RH Jastrow 208. ChW 1:123; DSA 126 (גבע).]

גבר, I. vb. to prevail (Dt)

TgSong 3:6–8

[DNWSI 210 #1; DQA 42; DJPA 120; Cook 44; DJBA 258; DSA 126; DCPA 67; SL 202; MD 80.]

גבר, II. n. m. man

[DNWSI 210 #2; Vogt 79; DQA 42; DJA 38; DJPA 121; Cook 44; DJBA 258; DSA 126; DCPA 67; SL 202; MD 73.]

גדי, n. m. young goat

TgSong 1:8

[DNWSI 213 #1 (gd'); DQA 43; DJPA 121; Cook 44; DJBA 260; DSA 129; DCPA 68 (אש:expr); SL 205; MD 73.]

גוזל, n. m. wing

TgSong 2:15–16

[DJPA 121 (targumic); Cook 45; DJBA 262; MD 74.]

גוח, always in the following constructions: בגה, prep. within;

למה, prep. from within; לעה, prep. into

[DNWSI 215 #2; Vogt 81; DQA 43; DJA 38; DJPA 121, 84 (נה), 277 ( licensing,); Cook 45; DJBA 263; DSA 132; DCPA 68; SL 209; MD 51 (hau), 74 (gau), 230 (lgw).]

גוזיק, n. m. young bird

TgSong 1:15; 4:1

[DJA 38; DJPA 122; DJBA 268; DSA 135; DCPA 69; SL 370 (א긴=גוז).] RH Jastrow 220.

בוה, vb. to initiate battle (C)

TgSong 1:1; 2:15–16; 6:8–9; 8:4, 8
[Vogt 81; DQA 44; DJA 38; DJPA 123; Cook 46; DSA 136; SL 213.]

גולמי, n. m. type of tree [Etm. uncert.]

TgSong 1:17; 5:15. In LJLA, this is also attested in TgPsJ Num 19:6.

[DJBA 268; ChW 1:143.]
גומרה, *n. f.* coal
TgSong 8:6
[**DQA** 45 (ғәәрә); **DJPA** 123; **Cook** 46; **DJBA** 269; **DSA** 151 (ғәәрә); **DCPA** 70; **SL** 240 (ғәәрә); **MD** 83.]

גוז, *n. m.* body
TgSong 3:5
[**DNWSI** 231 #1 (ғ) гуз; **DJA** 38; **DJPA** 124; **DJBA** 270; **DSA** 137 ("womb, entrails"). **RH Jastrow** 225.]

גועל, *n. f. (?)* vine
TgSong 1:14; 6:11; 7:13
[**DQA** 46 (ғу); **DJPA** 134 (ғу, ғу); **Cook** 47; **DJBA** 271; **DSA** 155 (ғу); **DCPA** 70; **SL** 219; **MD** 84.]

גוז, *vb.* to shear (G)
TgSong 4:2
[**DNWSI** 219; **DJPA** 125; **Cook** 47; **DJBA** 273; **DSA** 139; **DCPA** 77; **SL** 224; **MD** 86.]

גוֹלָל, *n. m.* robbery
TgSong 4:2 (twice); 6:6 (twice)
[**DJPA** 125 (ғу, ғу); **Cook** 47; **DJBA** 274. **BH HALOT** 186.]

גזרה, *n. f.* decree
TgSong 1:7; 2:2, 9; 5:8; 7:10
[**Vogt** 82 (ғәәрә); **DQA** 44 (ғәәрә); **DJA** 38 (ғәәрә); **DJPA** 125; **Cook** 47; **DJBA** 274; **DSA** 142 (ғәәрә); **SL** 226 (ғәәрә); **MD** 86.]

גזר, *vb.* to cut (G)
TgSong 5:11. The participial form with relative marker דגזרין is a mistake in some of the manuscripts for דגזרין "heaps."
[**DNWSI** 220 #1; **Vogt** 82; **DQA** 44; **DJPA** 126; **Cook** 48; **DJBA** 276; **DSA** 141; **DCPA** 71; **SL** 226; **MD** 87.]

גיבור, *n. m.* warrior; *adj.* mighty
TgSong 3:7–8; 4:4, 8; 5:15
[**DNWSI** 211 (ғәәрә #3); **Vogt** 80 (ғәәрә); **DQA** 43 (ғәәрә); **DJPA** 127; **Cook** 48; **DJBA** 277; **DSA** 127; **DCPA** 72; **SL** 245 (ғәәрә); **MD** 73 (ғәәрә)].

זִיגִית, *n. m.* jewel [Arab.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension.
[**ChW** 1:135.]

זִיות, *adj.* exalted
TgSong 6:12. This word usually has negative connotations, as in “proud.”
For other positive attestations in LJLA, see TgPs 16:3; TgJob 40:10; TgPsJ
Deut 7:7; 9:2; 20:1; 26:19; 28:1.
[DJPA 127 (targumic); Cook 48; SL 197 (גלה); MD 89.]

גנה, n. f. See גנה

גנוני, n. f. See גנוני

 gjrs, n. m. recitation
TgSong 1:2. This is the only LJLA attestation.
[DJBA 283; DSA 159 (refers to that which is crushed).]

גל, n. f. exile
[Vogt 83; DQA 48; DJA 38; DJPA 129; Cook 50; DJBA 285; DCPA 73;
SL 234; MD 93.]

גלות, n. m. engraving
TgSong 8:6 (twice). In LJLA, this is attested here and TgPsJ Gen 49:24;
Exod 28:11, 21; 39:14 as a correspondence for the more common גלף.
[ChW 1:144; DSA 149. Cp. alternate forms: Cook 51 (גלף); DCPA 74
(גלות) “statue, idol”); 239 (גלות “engraving”).]

גל, I. vb. to reveal (G), be revealed (Gt)
[DNWSI 223; Vogt 82 #1; DQA 45; DJPA 129; Cook 50; DJBA 286 #2;
DSA 145; DCPA 73; SL 235; MD 92.]

גל, II. vb. to go into exile (G), send into exile (C)
TgSong 5:4; 7:12; 8:6
[DNWSI 223; Vogt 83 #2; DJA 38; DJPA 129; Cook 50; DJBA 286 #1;
SL 235; MD 92.]

גל, I. vb. with רחם, to be emotionally overcome (Ithpolal)
TgSong 5:4
[DJPA 130 (targumic); Cook 51; DJBA 285 (גלל); DSA 146; SL 238; MD
93.]

גל, II. vb. to reveal (G)
TgSong 5:14. This is unless we are to read“(un)rolled.” Most Yemenite
manuscripts have גלף “to engrave.”
[MD 94 (by-form of GLY). With the meaning “to roll,” see DJPA 130
(targumic); Cook 51; DSA 146; SL 238; MD 93.]

גלה, n. f. hill
TgSong 2:8. Some manuscripts have the Heb. גבעה.
[DNWSI 224; DJPA 130; DJBA 288 (“hill”); DSA 148, DCPA 74.]
גלף, vb. to engrave (G) [Gk.]

[Gk. γλύφω (Krauss 2:178). DJPA 131; Cook 51; DJBA 288 (bowl 12); DSA 148; DCPA 74; SL 239; MD 94.]

גלשושי, n. f. monument (of stones)

TgSong 4:1; 6:5. The form גלשתיא is unique to this attestation.

[ChW 1:144. Cp. DJPA 120 (לֶשׁשָׁהוּ).]

גמירה, n. f. complete destruction

TgSong 6:12

[DJPA 131; Cook 52; DSA 151 (adv.); SL 240 (גָּמְרָה).]

גנור, I. vb. to be perfumed (Dt)

TgSong 3:6. The verbal stem and meaning “to be perfumed” is exclusive to LJLA and is also attested in TgPs 45:9. The meaning is perhaps derivative of the nominal “coals,” which is attested from an early point in Aramaic. The burning of coals and incense is also attested in CPA and Syriac.

[ChW 1:146.]

גנור, II. vb. to reach a decision (G)

TgSong 5:12. This is a JBA legal term that is likely an extension of the common Aramaic “to complete.”

[DQA 45; DJPA 132; Cook 52; DJBA 290-91; DCPA 74 #2; SL 242; MD 94.]

גנוב, vb. to steal (G)

TgSong 2:15

[DNWSI 237 #1; DJA 39; DJPA 132; Cook 52; DJBA 293; DSA 151; DCPA 74; SL 243; MD 95.]

גנה, n. f. garden

TgSong 1:17–2:1; 2:5; 4:12–13; 5:13; 7:9; 8:2, 13. This usually occurs in the construction גַּן עדן “Garden of Eden.”

[DNWSI 228 (גַּן, #1); DJA 39; DJPA 133; Cook 52; DJBA 281; DSA 154; DCPA 74; SL 250; MD 91.]

ﮓنظر, n. f. garden

TgSong 2:1 (many manuscripts have the more common גָּנֶון); 5:13

[ChW 1:149; DJBA 295.]

ﮓנות, I. vb. to hide (G)

TgSong 7:14

[DJPA 133; Cook 53; DJBA 295; DSA 152; DCPA 74; SL 246.]

ﮓנות, II. n. m. See ט(ו)ן

ﮓלי, vb. to hide (G)
TgSong 7:14. This is attested in two Yemenite manuscripts, but it is likely a scribal error for גנז.

[SL 247 #2.]

גנן, n. m. treasury, treasure [Pers.]
TgSong 1:4 (“treasury” גנן); 4:12 (“treasure” גניז)
[Pers. gazzā < *ganza- (ILS 142). DNWSI 229; Vogt 83; DJPA 93 (גניז)
ךנן); ChW 1:143; DJBA 273 (سجن, ינש); SL 223 (גניז); MD 90 (gimza).]

גנן, vb. to protect (C)
TgSong 1:1; 2:9
[DJPA 133; Cook 53; DJBA 296 #1; DSA 153; DCPA 75; SL 248.]

גרר, vb. to be incited (Dt)
TgSong 8:4
[DNWSI 234; DJPA 135; Cook 54; DJBA 300 #1; DSA 158; DCPA 76;
SL 259 #2.]

גרם, vb. to cause (G)
TgSong 1:6
[DJPA 136; Cook 54; DJBA 301 #1; DSA 158 (“to become strong”); SL
260 (“to be certain”).]

גרס, n. m. See גירסא

ד, rel. pro.; conj. who; which, that; of
[DNWSI 310 (זג); Vogt 88 (ר’); DQA 45; DJA 40 (ר’); DJPA 144 (ר’);
Cook 55; DJBA 307; DSA 162; DCPA 79; SL 268; MD 97.]

ד, demon. pro. this; ד, adj. this
[Vogt 100 (سائر); DQA 49; DJA 40; DJPA 153 (ר’); Cook 55; DJBA 310,
361 (archaic); DSA 170; GCPA 71; SL 330 (ר’); MD 116-117 (hadu,
haza).]

דבבו, n. f. See בבו
דביר, *n. m.* divine commandment
TgSong 1:11. Many manuscripts have the less-specific Hebrew (with Aramaic morphology) דביריא “words” for the more specific and preferred דביריא.
[DJPA 138; ChW 1:161. BH HALOT 212; RH Jastrow 294.]

דבוק, *vb.* to overtake (C)
TgSong 5:7
[DNWSI 238; Vogt 85; DQA 49; DJPA 138; Cook 56; DJBA 312; DSA 165; DCPA 79; SL 271; MD 101.]

דבר, I. *vb.* to take (G), lead, guide (D), travel; be led (Dt)
TgSong 1:4, 8 (twice); 4:15; 5:4; 8:2, 11. In contrast to TgOnq, the G-stem is not restricted to animate objects.
[DNWSI 239 #2; DQA 50; DJA 40; DJPA 138; Cook 56; DJBA 313; DSA 161 #1; DCPA 80; SL 271; MD 102.]

דבר, II. *n. m.* See דביר

דבש, *n. m.* honey
TgSong 3:5; 4:11 (twice). The emphatic form is like that of eastern dialects: דבשא.
[DNWSI 240; DQA 50; DJPA 139; Cook 56; DJBA 315; DSA 168; DCPA 85 (דבשא); SL 273; MD 103.]

דגור, *n. m.* heap
TgSong 5:11 (twice)
[Cook 47; MD 102.]

דלת, *n. m.* breast
TgSong 8:1. This is attested in Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript; it is likely the original word. Western manuscripts otherwise use the more common דדי “chest.”
[DJPA 139 (suggests that attestations should be emended to דדי); DJBA 432 (emendation to דדי); BH HALOT 214.]

דתב, *n. m.* gold
TgSong 1:11–12; 2:17; 3:9–10; 5:11, 14–16
[DNWSI 306 (zhb); Vogt 86; DQA 51; DJA 40; DJPA 140; Cook 57; DJBA 314; DSA 171; DCPA 82; SL 275; MD 98.]

דוהא, *n. m.* See דוהא

דוהא (1), *n. m.* leader [Gk. < Lat.]
TgSong 6:8. The Yemenite manuscripts misread from דוהא “to mount, ride.”
[Gk. δοξά < Lat. dux (Krauss 2:188). DJPA 140; DJBA 317; SL 281.]
דוכן, *n. m.* priestly platform [Akk. < Sum.?]
TgSong 3:7
[Akk. < Sum.? *tukkannu* (CAD T, 74). DQA 51; DJPA 141; ChW 1:164; DJBA 317; RH Jastrow 285.]

דוד, *vb.* to judge (G)
TgSong 2:12; 7:5
[DNWSI 246 #1 (dyn); Vogt 97 (דינ); DQA 53 (דין); DJPA 141; Cook 58; DJBA 319; DSA 173; DCPA 83; SL 283; MD 104.]

דרור, *n. m.* gift [Gk.]
TgSong 4:8
[Gk. δῶρον (Krauss 2:194). DJPA 142; DCPA 83; Syriac Audo 1:186.]

דחק, *n. m.* oppression
TgSong 2:8
[DJPA 143 (דחק); Cook 58; DJBA 317 (דוחקא); DSA 178; DCPA 84; SL 279 (דוחקא).]

דחל, *vb.* to fear, worship (G)
TgSong 1:4; 3:8; 5:9; 8:2
[DNWSI 309 (זחל); Vogt 87; DQA 52; DJPA 143; Cook 59; DJBA 324; DSA 177; DCPA 84; SL 290; MD 103.]

דרולה, *n. f.* worship
TgSong 7:6
[DQA 52; DJPA 143; Cook 59; DSA 177; DCPA 84; SL 291; MD 98 (dahalta).]

די, *rel. pro.; conj.* See –ד

דייר, *n. m.* inhabitant
TgSong 4:8; 8:5, 10
[DJPA 146; Cook 60; DJBA 330; DSA 175 (דייר); SL 300; MD 99.]

דרי, *poss. part.* of; belonging to [<ש–ל+ר]
TgSong 4:4; 8:7
[DQA 49; DJA 41; DJPA 146; Cook 60; DJBA 331 (“rare and dial[ectal]”); SA Tal Samaritan Aramaic 47; DCPA 86; SL 295; MD 107.]

דר, I. *demon. pro. m. sg.* this; דר, *adj.* this
[Vogt 100 (דר); DQA 56 (דר); DJA 41 (דר); DJPA 153 (דר); Cook 60; DJBA 332 (archaic); DSA 190 (דר); DCPA 92 (דר); MD 116 (hadinu), 118 (hazin) (archaic).]

דר, II. *n. m.* legal decision, justice; law court (דינא בית)
TgSong 5:12 (twice); 7:5 (three times)
דיקודוק, *n. m.* See דיקוד

dכ, I. *vb.* to ritually purify (D)

DG 7:3

[DQA 54; DJPA 149; Cook 61; DJBA 337; DSA 179; DCPA 87; SL 301; MD 109.]

dכ, II. *adj.* pure, innocent

DG 3:9; 4:2, 14; 6:6

[DQA 54; DJA 41; DJPA 149; Cook 61; DJBA 337; DSA 180; DCPA 87; SL 301; MD 99.]

dבר, *vb.* to remember (G, Gt)

DG 1:4, 13; 2:17; 8:1, 4, 9

[DNWSI 321 (zkr #1); DQA 54; DJPA 149; Cook 61; DJBA 337; DSA 181; DCPA 88; SL 301 #1; MD 110.]

dלה, *n. f.* poor [Heb.]

DG 7:6. This is the only Aramaic attestation. It is a clear reference to 2 Kgs 24:14; 25:12; Jer 40:7; 52:15–16.

[SH HALOT 222 #2.]

dלי, *vb.* to lift up (G)

DG 2:6

[DJPA 150 (targumic); Cook 62; DJBA 339; DSA 183; DCPA 89; SL 304; MD 110.]

dלת, *n. m.* See תולת

dם, *n. m.* blood

DG 2:9 (twice)

[DNWSI 251 #1; DQA 55; DJPA 35 (דומא); Cook 62; DJBA 340; DSA 188; DCPA 5 (דומא); SL 307; MD 111.]

dבוליגא, *n. m.* See ודבוליגא

dומד, *adj; nomen agentis.* sleepy, sleeping

DG 5:2. The form varies among the manuscripts, דומד/דומדנו/דומדנה.

[DJBA 341; DSA 187; J. Payne Smith 94.]

dומ(ר)ת, *n. m.* slumber

DG 5:2. Paris 110 and a few other manuscripts have the spelling with 1.

[ChW 1:180; DJPA 152; DSA 187; DCPA 92 #1; SL 310.]
דָּהָרי, vb. to be like, resemble (G)
[DNWSI 251 (dm); Vogt 100; DQA 56; DJPA 151; Cook 63; DJBA 341; DSA 186; DCPA 90 #1; SL 308; MD 111.]

דָּמַך, vb. to sleep (G)
TgSong 7:10 (twice); 8:14
[DNWSI 252; DQA 56; DJPA 152; Cook 63; DJBA 343; DSA 187; DCPA 91; SL 310.]

דָּמַך, n. m. See דָּמַק

דָּמַע, n. f. tear
TgSong 5:2.
[DQA 56 (דָּמַע); DJPA 153; DSA 189 (דָּמַע); DCPA 92; SL 311; MD 107.]

דָּנָה, demon. pro. m. this one
TgSong 1:12; 2:17; 7:6
[DNWSI 333 (znh); Vogt 100; DQA 57; DJA 41; DJPA 153 (ז)נ(ה); DJBA 344 (archaic).]

דָּקָדוּךְ, n. m. legal detail, delicacy (?)
TgSong 5:13
[DJBA 348. RH Jastrow 318, 1713.]

דָּקָה, n. m. date palm
TgSong 7:8
[DNWSI 258; DJPA 154; Cook 64; DJBA 335; DCPA 93; SL 317; MD 109.]

דָּר, n. m. generation
TgSong 1:4, 8–9, 12; 2:7, 15; 6:12; 7:14
[Vogt 101; DQA 58; DJPA 154; Cook 65; DJBA 349; DSA 176; DCPA 93; SL 319; MD 100.]

דָּרֵג, n. f. cliff
TgSong 2:14. The Yemenite recension spells דָּרֵגֵתא. This is the only attestation of the word, and it is likely related to דָּרֶג “step, ladder.” The underlying Hebrew has תְּמֵדָּר “foothold in the rock,” HALOT 550.
[ChW 1:187; Jastrow 1713.]
[If related to דָּר “step, ladder,” DNWSI 359 #2; DQA 58; DJPA 155; Cook 65; DJBA 350; DSA 193; DCPA 93; SL 320; MD 109.]

דָּרְמָה, n. m. south
TgSong 4:16
[DNWSI 262 (dram); DQA 58; DJA 42; DJPA 155; Cook 65; DJBA 351; DSA 194; DCPA 93. BH HALOT 230; RH Jastrow 321.]
דריגה, n. f. See דרה

דרי, n. m. door [Akk.]
TgSong 5:5; 8:3
[Akk. daltu (Kaufman 45). DNWSI 262; DQA 59; DJA 42; Cook 65; DJBA 355; DSA 195 #2 (דרי); MD 109 (diša).]

ה

הא, interj. behold, here (presentative particle)
TgSong 1:14; 2:8, 11 (some manuscripts do not attest); 5:3 (twice); 6:9; 8:7 (only in Yemenite manuscripts)
[DNWSI 267 #2; Vogt 103; DQA 60; DJPA 158; Cook 66; DJBA 357; DSA 198; DCPA 95; SL 327; MD 115.]

–כ, prep. See –כ

אלאל(ו), adj. See אלאל

אלה, adj. See אלה

אלוה, adj. See אלה

וה, adj. See וה

וה, vb. to return, turn (G), bring back (C)
TgSong 2:16; 5:2–3; 6:1; 7:5; 8:7
[DJPA 159 (< TBA); DJBA 363; MD 131.]

וה, adj. See וה

וה, adj. See וה

וה, pro. m. he; it; והוה, adj. that
[DNWSI 264 (ת"ו); Vogt 104; DQA 61; DJA 13 (ת"ו); DJPA 159; Cook 67; DJBA 368; DSA 200; DCPA 96 (อน); SL 333 (อน); MD 133, 116.]
הוֹי, vb. to go, become (G)
[DNWSI 271; Vogt 107; DQA 62; DJA 43; DJPA 160; Cook 67; DJBA 370; DSA 200; DCPA 97; SL 333; MD 134.]

הוֹך, vb. to go (G)
TgSong 1:3, 8; 7:10, 13; 8:2
[DNWSI 280 (hlk); Vogt 111 (ַнные); DQA 63; DJA 43; DJPA 161 (One Neofiti attestation); Cook 67; DJBA 373 (archaic); DSA 202.]

–כִּי, prep. like
TgSong 4:13; 6:11. Some manuscripts have the following constructions instead: –כִּי or –כִּיָּה.
[DNWSI 278 (hyk); DJPA 164 (יה); Cook 67; DJBA 376 (היכי Bowl 69); DCPA 99 (א/).]

–כִּמָּה, conj./prep. as, just as
Paris 110 consistently spells as the given lemma. Several other manuscripts do not have the given space and attest the forms היכמה and היכמא.
[DJPA 164 (multiple spellings); DSA 206 (–דְּמה הָּכִּי); DCPA 100 (א/).]

היא, pro. f. she; it; that (adjectival);
[DNWSI 264 (#1); Vogt 104; DQA 63; DJA 43 (#); DJPA 161; Cook 68; DJBA 368, 375; DSA 203; DCPA 96; SL 339; MD 116, 151.]

היכדין, interr. how?
TgSong 3:5; 5:3 (twice, western recension). Many manuscripts mistakenly have the adverb היכדין.
[Vogt 32 (א/); DQA 63 (י); DJPA 164 (#2 (היכ孳ד); Cook 10 (א/י); ChW 1:197; DJPA 164 #2 (היכ孳ד); DJBA 377 (זד); DSA 205 (ד).]

היכל, n. m. temple [Akk. < Sum.]
TgSong 3:9
[Akk. ekallu (Kaufman 27). DNWSI 278; Vogt 111; DQA 64; DJA 43; DJPA 163; Cook 68; DJBA 377; DSA 203; SL 340; MD 143.]

–כִּב, prep. See –כִּי

–כִּי, n. m. hin (liquid measure)
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 285 #1 ( hn); DJPA 163 (targumic); Cook 68; DSA 205; SL 36 (א/).]

הָּכִּי, adv./conj. thus; just as [<כִּי]
TgSong 2:2, 14 (many manuscripts have כִּי; 5:9. See also בָּכִּי, הָּכִּי and כִּי.
[Cook 122 (כִּי); ChW 1:197; DJPA 164 (כִּי); DJBA 332 (כִּי), archaic); DCPA 101 (א/).]
בָּכִי, adv. thus
TgSong 1:1 (one attestation; seven other attestations are abbreviations of הבכִי, which is spelled out in a number of manuscripts; otherwise the manuscripts use הבכִין; 4:13.
[DJBA 382 (ほか).]

בָּכִין, adv. thus
TgSong 1:1 (some manuscripts use הבכִין.)
[DNWSI 279; DJPA 165 (ほか); ChW 1:199; DJBA 382 (ほか); SL 342 (ほか).]

אָלָה, interr. See א

לָלַח, vb. to walk, go (D)
TgSong 1:6–8; 6:4, 10; 7:11
[DNWSI 280 #1; Vogt 112; DQA 64; DJPA 165; Cook 69; DJBA 384; DSA 208; DCPA 102; SL 344; MD 148.]

לָפְח, vb. to overturn (D)
TgSong 4:3
[DNWSI 291; DQA 65; DJA 44; DJPA 167; Cook 70; DJBA 388; DSA 212; DCPA 104; SL 349; MD 31 (APK).]

וְ–ו, conj. and, but, or
[DNWSI 294; Vogt 115; DQA 67; DJA 45; DJPA 169; Cook 70; DJBA 394; DSA 214; DCPA 106; SL 357; MD 155.]

וְרָד, n. m. rose [Pers.]
TgSong 2:1–2, 16; 6:2; 7:3
[Pers. wardā (ILS 168). DNWSI 298 #2; DQA 69; DJPA 169; DJBA 395; DCPA 106; SL 359; MD 155.]
זָהוֹדְרִי, n.f. scarlet
TgSong 4:3
[DJPA 172 (targumic); Cook 72; DJBA 400; DSA 223; DCPA 110; SL 376;]

זָהוֹד, adj. See יקר.

זָהוֹרֵר, I. vb. to admonish (C)
TgSong 5:2
[DNWSI 307; DQA 71 #2; DJPA 172; Cook 72; DJBA 400; DSA 222; DCPA 108 #1; SL 368 #2; MD 163.]

זָהוֹר, II. vb. to shine (G)
TgSong 5:10
[DQA 71 #1; ChW 1:212; DCPA 108 #2; SL 368 #1; MD 164.]

זָהוֹרִין, n.m. jewel [Heb.]
TgSong 7:2. This is attested in the Yemenite recension and some western manuscripts. Lagarde has גוהרין, which is similar to גיהאר in the western recension of jewels in TgSong 5:14. See יוהרין.
[BH ז’זר HALOT 265 < Aram?; MD 157 “uthra.”]

זָוד, vb. to act haughtily (G), to plan to act haughtily (C)
TgSong 2:7 (twice); 3:5
[Vogt 122 (רי); DJPA 173 (targumic); Cook 72; DSA 224. HALOT 268.]

זָוטֵר, adj. insignificant
TgSong 4:9
[DJBA 403; MD 355 (“śartia”).]

זָז, vb. to feed (G)
TgSong 6:3
[DNWSI 308; Vogt 122; DJA 46; DJPA 174; Cook 73; DJBA 404; DSA 226; DCPA 109; SL 373; MD 165.]
זוע, vb. to tremble (G)
TgSong 1:3; 2:5
[Vogt 122; DQA 71; DJA 46 (m. 'Abot); DJPA 174; Cook 73; DJBA 405; DSA 227; DCPA 109; SL 374; MD 164 (ZUH, ZHA).]

זחל, n. m. creeping thing
TgSong 8:9
[DJPA 174; DSA 229; SL 377. For a verb from the same root “to crawl,” see Cook 73; DSA 229. BH HALOT 267 #1.]

זיו, n. m. splendor [Akk.]
TgSong 1:5; 5:10; 6:10. This is attested in the Western recension, and it is unusually treated as an adj. [Akk. zīmu (Kaufman 113). DNWSI 318; Vogt 122; DQA 70 (ז, ז"ז); DJPA 175; Cook 74; DJBA 407; DSA 229; SL 377; MD 166.]

ן(י)זין, n. m. weapon, weaponry [Pers.]
TgSong 2:17; 4:4
[Pers. zaynā (ILS 174). DNWSI 319 #2 (zyn); DQA 71 (זין); DJPA 175 (זין); Cook 74 (זין); DJBA 410 (זאינ, אשינ, אשינ); DSA 226 (זין); DCPA 110 (זין); SL 378; MD 158 (zaina).]

זכי, n. f. righteousness, meritorious action
[Vogt 123; DQA 71; DJPA 176; Cook 75; DJBA 412; DSA 230; SL 380; MD 158.]

זכי, I. vb. to declare innocent (D)
TgSong 5:12; 8:13
[DNWSI 320; DQA 71; DJPA 177; Cook 75; DJBA 413; DSA 229; DCPA 110; SL 380; MD 168.]

זכי, II. adj. innocent
TgSong 7:3
[DJPA 177 (זוכי); Cook 75; DJBA 412 (bowl #78 זוכי); DSA 230 (זוכי); DCPA 110 (זוכי); SL 381; MD 158 (zakai)].

ზלח, vb. to drip (G)
TgSong 4:11; 5:13. Both attestations are confused with הון “to them” in the Yemenite recension.
[ChW 1:222; DJBA 414; SL 381; MD 168 (ZLH), 163 (ZHL, by metathesis).]

זמם, n. m. bridle
TgSong 1:10 (twice)
[DQA 72; DJPA 178 (targumic); ChW 1:223; DJBA 416; SL 386; MD 169.]

זון, n. m./f. time, moment; assembly [Akk.]
זמר, n. m. musical instrumentation
TgSong 1:1
[Vogt 124; DJPA 179; Cook 76; DJBA 417; DSA 234; DCPA 111 #1; SL 387; MD 169.]

זנגביל, n. m. ginger [Pers.?]
TgSong 3:9. This is the only targumic attestation; Yemenite manuscripts have a nonsensical form דמבילגא.
[Pers. zangbil (ILS 175). DJBA 417; SL 388; MD 160 (zanšapil).]

זעסוט, n. m. student, unlearned one
TgSong 6:5. This is an LJLA term that is only attested here.
[Note the Qumran Hebrew collocation זעסוט נער. RH Jastrow 407. Some postulate that this is from Greek ζήτητης (ChW 1:226), but CAL states that a derivation from the root זוטא "small" is more likely (accessed 19 Sep 2014).]

זעיר, adj. small
TgSong 2:14 (western recension); 3:4; 8:4
[DNWSI 337 #2 (זʿר); Vogt 124; DQA 72; DJA 47; DJPA 180; Cook 77; DJBA 418 (archaic); DSA 237 (זערו), 238; DCPA 111 (זערו); SL 390 (זערו).]

זעירו, n. f. paucity
TgSong 2:17
[DJPA 180; Cook 77; DSA 238; DCPA 112 (זעירו); SL 392 (זעירו).]

זעפראן, n. m. saffron [Arab. < Pers.?]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension in the collocation ברקה זעפראן. See ברקה.
[ChW 1:227; SL 391 (זעפראן); MD 160 (zaparana).]

זקיק, adj. refined
TgSong 1:11. This is an LJLA term also attested in TgPs 68:14, 31.
[ChW 1:229. Cp. the verb “to refine” in BH HALOT 279 #1; RH Jastrow 410.]

זקק, vb. to refine (D) [Heb.]
TgSong 1:11; 3:10
[ChW 1:229. BH HALOT 279 #1; RH Jastrow 410.]

זרז, vb. to prepare for battle (Dt)
TgSong 2:16
[DJPA 181; Cook 78; DJBA 420; DSA 239; SL 398; MD 170.]
זרע, n. m. place for sowing
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 160; DJA 36; DJPA 93 (targumic); Syriac e.g. Peshîta Num 20:5.]

חָבֵב, vb. to love (D)
TgSong 1:1
[DNWSI 343; DJPA 184 (targumic); Cook 79; DJBA 424; DCPA 116; SL 403; MD 129.]

חָבָה, n.f. See חָבָה

חָבִיב, adj. beloved (one)
TgSong 1:15; 5:16; 6:4
[DQA 74; DJPA 184; Cook 79; DJBA 425; DSA 242; DCPA 117; SL 405; MD 115.]

חָבֵיון, n. m. See חָבֵיון

חָבל, vb. to destroy; act corruptly (D), be destroyed (Dt)
TgSong 1:13; 2:9, 15; 8:3
[DNWSI 344 #1; Vogt 125; DQA 74; DJPA 185; Cook 80; DJBA 426 #1; DSA 242; DCPA 117 #2; SL 407; MD 129.]

חָבֵר, n. m. companion, colleague
TgSong 1:2, 7; 7:10; 8:13
[DNWSI 346 #2; Vogt 126; DQA 75; DJA 48; DJPA 185; Cook 80; DJBA 428 #1; DSA 243; DCPA 117; SL 410; MD 115.]

חָזָה, n. m. festival, pilgrimage (once in 3:11, “who are in Zion on pilgrimage”?)
TgSong 1:1; 2:9; 3:11 (manuscripts are not unanimous on the number of attestations in this verse)
[DNWSI 348; DQA 75; DJA 48; DJPA 186; Cook 80; DJBA 430; DSA 245; SL 411.]
חָגוּר, n. m. con. pl. clefts [Heb.]
TgSong 2:14 (twice). < Hebrew text. This is the only Aramaic attestation.
[BH HALOT 290 (*חָגוּר). ChW 1:238.]

חָגוּר, vb. to gird (G) [Heb.]
TgSong 3:8
[BH HALOT 391. DJPA 187 (one talmudic attestation).]

חד, num. one
[DNWSI 32 (#d #4); Vogt 126; DQA 75; DJA 48; DJPA 187; Cook 81; DJBA 430; DSA 246; DCPA 118; SL 413; MD 116.]

חדו, n. f. joy
TgSong 1:1; 3:11
[DNWSI 349 #3 (bdy); Vogt 129; DQA 76; DJPA 188; Cook 81; DJBA 432; DSA 248; DCPA 119; SL 414; MD 116.]

חדֵד, I. vb. to rejoice (G)
TgSong 1:4; 3:11
[DNWSI 349 #1; DQA 76; DJPA 188; Cook 81; DJBA 432; DSA 248; DCPA 120; SL 415; MD 130.]

חדֵד, II. n. m. chest
TgSong 8:1. The is attested in the Western recension. The Yemenite recension (and one western manuscript) have the rarer, and likely original term, דד "breast."
[DNWSI 349 #4; Vogt 128; DQA 76; Cook 81; DJBA 432; DSA 248 #2; DCPA 120; SL 415; MD 116.]

חדֶת, I. vb. to promulgate, make new (D)
TgSong 5:10
[DNWSI 350 (ḥdš #1); DJPA 189; Cook 81; DJBA 433; DSA 249; DCPA 120; SL 417; MD 132.]

חדֶת, II. adj. new
TgSong 5:10; 7:10 (this is an error in one Yemenite manuscript and Sperber)
[DNWSI 351 (ḥdš #3); Vogt 129; DQA 77; DJA 48; DJPA 188; Cook 81; DJBA 433; DSA 249; DCPA 121; SL 418; MD 116.]

חבָּא, I. vb. to sin (G), pronounce guilt (D), incur guilt; be subject to liability (Dt)
TgSong 1:7, 14; 2:15; 5:2, 12; 7:5, 12; 8:13
[DNWSI 351 #1; DQA 77; DJPA 189; Cook 82; DJBA 433; DSA 249; DCPA 121; SL 418; MD 134.]

חבָּה, II. n. m. sin
TgSong 1:14; 3:3; 4:3; 5:15; 6:1 (twice); 7:1, 7
חوها, *n.f.* sin
TgSong 1:1
[DNWSI 352; DQA 77; DJA 48; DJPA 189; Cook 82; DJBA 434; DSA 250; CDPA 121; SL 420; MD 117.]

חוט, *n.m.* thread
TgSong 4:3
[DNWSI 353 #3; DQA 77; DJPA 190; Cook 82; DJBA 436; DSA 251; SL 423; MD 117.]

חוטר, *n.m.* rod
TgSong 7:6
[DNWSI 364 (*ḥṭ* #1); DQA 82 (*חטר*); DJPA 197 (*חוטר*); Cook 82; DJBA 438; DSA 266 (*חטר*); DCPA 122; SL 423; MD 135.]

חוי, *vb.* to declare (D)
TgSong 1:7; 5:8
[DNWSI 353 #1; Vogt 129; DQA 77; DJPA 190; Cook 82; DJBA 437; DSA 252; DCPA 122; SL 423; MD 134.]

חוכמה, *n.f.* wisdom
TgSong 5:10; 7:5; 8:7. All of the emphatic attestations are spelled *plene* in most manuscripts (including Paris 110).
[DNWSI 371 (*ḥkmh*); Vogt 136 (*חכמה*); DQA 84 (*חכמה*); DJPA 190; Cook 83; DJBA 460 (*חכמה*); DSA 269 (*חכמה*); DCPA 129 (*חכמה*); SL 451 (*חכמה*); MD 135.]

חומה, *n.f.* heat
TgSong 1:7
[DNWSI 381 (*ḥmh* #2); Vogt 137 (*חמה*); DQA 86 (*חמה*); DJPA 204 (*חמה*); Cook 83; DJBA 473 #2; DSA 341 (*חמה*); DCPA 132 #1 (*חמה*); SL 469 (*חמה*); MD 146.]

חוס, *vb.* to have pity (G)
TgSong 2:9
[DJPA 191; Cook 84; DJBA 441; DSA 255; DCPA 123; SL 428; MD 136.]

חוסן, *n.m.* strength
TgSong 5:16
[DNWSI 393 (*ḥsn* #4); Vogt 139 (*חסן*); DQA 88 (*חסן*); ChW 1:274; DSA 286 (*חסן*); SL 428.]

חור, *vb.* to whiten (D)
TgSong 4:3; 5:15
חוש, vb. to hurry (G) [Heb.]
TgSong 2:9. This gloss is a Hebraism only attested in LJLA, it also occurs in TgPs 141:1; TgPsJ Deut 1:44.
[BH HALOT 300 #1. ChW 1:245. With alternate meanings for this root, cf. Cook 85; SL 435; MD 138.]

חושב, n. m. calculation
TgSong 7:5
[DNWSI 411 (ḥš bn #1); DQA 92 (חִשְׁבּ); DJA 50 (חשה); DJPA 193; Cook 85; DJBA 443; DSA 299 (חשה); DCPA 141 (משה); SL 435; MD 138.]

חוש, n. m. appearance
TgSong 2:14 (This is attested twice in the western recension; some Yemenite manuscripts have a different, though related, lexeme). See חשה.
[DNWSI 357; Vogt 132; DQA 97; DJA 194 (חשה); Cook 85; DJBA 444 (bowls 64, 58); DSA 260; SL 436; MD 142.]

חוש, n. m. appearance
TgSong 2:14 (This is attested twice in most Yemenite manuscripts; the western recension has a different, though related, lexeme). See חשה.
[DQA 81 (חזה); DJPA 194; Cook 85; DJBA 452 (bowls); SL 437; MD 142 (חזע).]

חזרו, adv. all around
TgSong 3:3; 5:7; 6:5
[DJPA 193.]

חוש, vb. to see (G), show (C), appear (Gt)
Several manuscripts (including Paris 110) more frequently use the root חמי; the Yemenite recension more frequently uses this root.
[DNWSI 357; Vogt 130 (חימה); DQA 79; DJA 48; DJPA 194; Cook 86; DJBA 444; DSA 259; DCPA 124 (specialized usage); SL 438; MD 138.]

חוש, n. m. thunderbolt [Heb.]
TgSong 2:9. Jastrow, CAL, and Alexander (with appeal to Isa 19:1 and a “swift cloud” קֵל עֹב prefer “(storm)cloud.”
[BH HALOT 302. ChW 1:247.]

חוש, vb. to go around (G)
TgSong 3:2
[DNWSI 362 #1; DJPA 195; Cook 86; DJBA 448 (probably corrupt); DSA 261. RH Jastrow 446.]

חי, adj. living
TgSong 4:12, 15
חִיבָה, n. f. love, affection [Heb. and/or Western Aram.?]
TgSong 1:2, 16; 2:4–5; 4:9–10; 5:8
[DJPA 197 (piyyutim); DCPA 116 ( massechta ). RH Jastrow 416.]

חִיבִיוֹן, n. m. hiding place [Heb.]
TgSong 2:14
[BH HALOT 285. ChW 1:234.]

חָיוּיו, n. m. serpent
TgSong 1:9; 2:6, 14 (twice)
[DNWSI 353 ( hw #1 ); DJPA 197; Cook 88 (חיווי ); DJBA 450 ( חיווי ); DSA 252 #2 (חיווי, targumic); DCPA 121 ( massechta ); SL 424 ( massechta ); MD 142.]

חָיוּוֹר, adj. white
TgSong 5:1, 10–11
[DNWSI 357 ( hvry ); Vogt 130 (חיוור ); DQA 79 (חיוור ); DJA 48 (חיוור ); DJPA 189 (חיוור ); Cook 88; DJBA 450; DSA 257 (חיוור ); DCPA 123 ( massechta ); SL 432 ( massechta ); MD 142.]

חיָיוּי, I. vb. come to life (G)
TgSong 8:5
[DNWSI 354 ( hvry #2 ); Vogt 134 #3(חיווי ); DQA 82; DJPA 198; Cook 89; DJBA 453; DSA 266; DCPA 127; SL 446; MD 140.]

חיָיוֹי, II. n. m. pl. life
TgSong 4:12. The Yemenite recension and a few western manuscripts have the western Aramaic form חָיוֹי. The same collocation, “tree of life,” is also attested in TgProv 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4; TgJob 28:7.
[DNWSI 365 ( hv #1 ); Vogt 134 #2 (חיווי ); DQA 83 (חיווי ); DJA 49 (חיווי ); DJPA 199 (חיווי ); Cook 89 (חיווי ); DJBA 454; DSA 267 (חיווי ); DCPA 127 ( massechta ); SL 444 ( massechta ); MD 143.]

חיָיב, n. m. sinner; guilty
TgSong 5:4; 7:3
[DQA 82 (חיב); DJPA 198; Cook 89; DJBA 454; DSA 250 (חיב); DCPA 126 ( massechta ); SL 445 ( massechta ); MD 119.]

חיָיָי, n. m. pl. See חייו, II.

חיָל, n. m. strength, army
TgSong 3:11; 7:3; 8:4
[DNWSI 369 #2; Vogt 135; DQA 83; DJPA 199; Cook 89; DJBA 455 #1; DSA 254; DCPA 128; SL 447; MD 120.]
חימה, n. f. See חומה

חביב, n. m. < adj. wise person
TgSong 4:1; 5:13, 16; 6:2, 5, 11; 7:3, 13–14
[DNWSI 371 #2 (ḥkm); Vogt 136; DQA 83; DJA 49; DJPA 200; Cook 90; DJBA 459; DSA 269; DCPA 128; SL 449; MD 120.]

חכים, n. m. < adj. wise person
TgSong 4:1; 5:13, 16; 6:2, 5, 11; 7:3, 13–14
[DNWSI 371 #2 (ḥkm); Vogt 136; DQA 83; DJA 49; DJPA 200; Cook 90; DJBA 459; DSA 269; DCPA 128; SL 449; MD 120.]

חכמה, n. f. See חוכמה

חד, n. m. milk
TgSong 3:5; 4:11; 5:12
[DNWSI 372 #4; DJPA 201; Cook 91; DJBA 461; DSA 270 #1; DCPA 130; SL 451; MD 121.]

חדל, vb. to defile (C)
TgSong 7:1
[DQA 85; DJPA 203; Cook 92; DJBA 463; DSA 271; SL 456 #1; MD 148 #4.]

חדיח, vb. to pass (G)
TgSong 2:11
[DNWSI 376 #1; Vogt 136; DQA 85; DJA 49; DJPA 203; Cook 92; DJBA 465; DSA 273; ChW 131; SL 458 #1; MD 149.]

חמאה, n. f. See חמאה

חמי, vb. to see (G), appear (Gt)
Paris 110 and a number of western manuscripts prefer this to the root חז; the Yemenite recension is the opposite. The Git attestation (8:5) is mistakenly the root חם in some of the Yemenite manuscripts.
[DNWSI 381; DJPA 205; DJBA 468 (dialectal); DSA 278; ChW 132; SL 463 #2.]

חמה, n. f. See חמה

חמי, vb. to see (G), appear (Gt)
Paris 110 and a number of western manuscripts prefer this to the root חז; the Yemenite recension is the opposite. The Git attestation (8:5) is mistakenly the root חם in some of the Yemenite manuscripts.
[DNWSI 381; DJPA 205; DJBA 468 (dialectal); DSA 278; ChW 132; SL 463 #2.]

חמל, num. fifth
TgSong 1:1
[DNWSI 386 (ḥms #3); DQA 86; DJPA 206; Cook 94; DJBA 469; DSA 281; ChW 131; SL 464; MD 124.]

חמנה, vb. See חמת

חמר, n. m. wine
TgSong 1:14 (three times); 5:1 (twice); 7:10; 8:2
[DNWSI 383 #5; Vogt 138; DQA 87 #1; DJPA 207; Cook 94; DJBA 470 #1; DSA 280; ChW 134 #1; SL 467; MD 123.]

חנוכה, n. f. dedication
TgSong 3:11 (the majority of manuscripts have two attestations in this verse)
[DNWSI 388 (ḥnkh); Vogt 138; DJA 49; DJPA 208; Cook 95; DJBA 473; DSA 283 (חנכה).]

חסדו, n. f. piety
TgSong 3:6; 7:6
[DJBA 474. RH Jastrow 487.]

חסית, adj. strong
TgSong 4:4, 8; 5:15; 7:5; 8:6, 10
[DNWSI 391 #1; DQA 88; DJPA 210 (חרות); Cook 96; DJBA 475 (bowl 106); DSA 286; SL 476; MD 125.]

חסן, vb. to inherit, possess (G, C)
TgSong 1:3; 2:7; 3:5 (twice)
[DNWSI 391 #1; Vogt 139; DJA 50; DJPA 46 (חסן); Cook 97; DJBA 475; DSA 287 #2; SL 478; MD 151.]

חסר, vb. to be lacking (G)
TgSong 7:3 (twice)
[DNWSI 394 #1; DQA 88; DJPA 211; Cook 97; DJBA 476; DSA 287; DCPA 136; SL 479; MD 151.]

חפי, vb. to overlay (G)
TgSong 3:9
[DNWSI 394; DQA 89; DJPA 211; Cook 98; DJBA 477; DSA 288; DCPA 136; SL 480; MD 151.]

חצב, vb. to hew (G)
TgSong 1:11
[DJPA 212; ChW 1:277; DCPA 136; MD 151. BH HALOT 342.]

חקל, n. f. field
TgSong 1:10; 7:12
[DNWSI 401; DJA 50; DJPA 213; Cook 98; DJBA 480; DSA 292; DCPA 137; SL 485; MD 126.]

חקק, vb. to engrave (G)
TgSong 2:9, 17
[DNWSI 401; DJPA 213; DJBA 480; SL 485.]

חרב, n. f. sword
TgSong 2:16; 3:8 (twice); 5:7
[DNWSI 403 #2; DQA 90; DJA 50; DJPA 213; Cook 99; DJBA 481; DSA 293 #2; DCPA 137; SL 486; MD 126.]

חרט, vb. to repent (G)
חרך, *n. m.* window

TgSong 2:9. *< Hebrew text. [DJPA 215; Cook 99; DSA 294. BH HALOT 353 (only this verse).]*

חרשים, *vb.* to plow (G) [Heb.]

TgSong 1:10. This is attested in a majority of manuscripts; a minority of manuscripts (including Paris 110) have the Aramaic רדך.

[BH HALOT 357; RH HALOT 507. DNWSI 407 (*brt*); DJPA 216 #2; DJBA 485 #1. For the Aramaic root רדך, see DNWSI 407; SL 496.]

חשיך, *adj.* dark

TgSong 3:1

[DNWSI 411 (*ḥšk* #2); DQA 92; DJBA 487; DSA 299; DCPA 142; SL 500.]

חתימה, *n. f.* sign [Heb.]

TgSong 3:8. This is the only Aramaic attestation.

[RH Jastrow 512. ChW 1:290.]

חתם, *vb.* to seal (G), be sealed (Gt)

TgSong 3:8; 4:12 (twice)

[DNWSI 413 #1; Vogt 142; DQA 93; DJA 51; DJPA 218; Cook 101; DJBA 489; DSA 300; DCPA 142; SL 504; MD 154.]

טב, *adj.* good, fine

[DNWSI 415 #2; Vogt 142; DQA 94; DJA 52; DJPA 219; Cook 102; DJBA 492; DSA 304; DCPA 144; SL 507; MD 172.]

טבאג, *n. m.* topaz? [Gk.]

TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension. It is the only Aramaic attestation in this form.

[Gk.? *τόπαζον* (Krauss 2:254). ChW 1:293. Cp. SL 520 (parts).]
טְבוּ, n. m. gazelle
TgSong 2:9, 17; 4:5; 7:4; 8:14
[DNWSI 419 #1; DJPA 220; Cook 103; DJBA 493; DSA 302; SL 509; MD 173.]

טְבֵּל, n. m. drum
TgSong 1:1
[DJBA 494; SL 510; MD 173.]

טְבֹּר, n. m. noon
TgSong 1:7
[DJPA 221; Cook 103; DJBA 501; DSA 303; DCPA 144; SL 513.]

טָבֻּ, n. m. goodness, produce
TgSong 1:3–4; 5:1 (western recension)
[DNWSI 415 (ṭb #1); DQA 94; DJPA 221; Cook 103; DJBA 495; DSA 305; DCPA 145; SL 514; MD 176.]

טָוָּר, n. m. See טוּר

טָוָּ, vb. to roast (G)
TgSong 2:9
[Cook 103; DJBA 496; SL 516 #2; MD 176. Cp. n. m. טוּר DJPA 221.]

טָוָּר, n. m. mountain
See Phonology and Orthography 2.1.3.2 concerning the spelling טוּר.
[DNWSI 974 (sr #1); Vogt 143; DQA 95; DJPA 222; Cook 104; DJBA 498; DSA 307; DCPA 146; SL 521; MD 178.]

טָוָּר, n. m. right, authority (?)
TgSong 7:1. This is attested in a few western manuscripts.
[Possible Akkadian etymology (Kaufman 42). DJPA 219 (טָר); Cook 105; DCPA 144 (טָר); SL 508 (טָר). RH Jastrow 529.]

טִיוֹרִיטי, n. m. pl. See רִי טִיוֹרִ.
This is an error in TgSong 4:6 in one Yemenite manuscript, Sperber’s base.

טִיוֹרִ, n. m. pl. midday demons
TgSong 4:6. This is an LJLA term also attested in TgPsJ Num 6:24; Deut 32:24.
[ChW 1:296.]

טִין, n. m. mud
TgSong 1:9 (twice)
[DNWSI 421; Vogt 143; DQA 95; DJPA 224; Cook 105; DJBA 502; DSA 310 (טִין); DCPA 147; SL 527; MD 179.]
טִנָּר, n. m. rock
TgSong 2:14 (twice)
[DJPA 224; Cook 105; DJBA 502; DSA 310 (targumic).]

טִיפה, n. f. drop
TgSong 5:2
[DJPA 224; ChW 1:314; DJBA 503; DSA 322 (_framework); DCPA 153 (_frame).]

טִיקוֹס, n. m. banner, battle division [Gk.]
TgSong 2:4; 5:10; 6:4, 10
[Gk. τάξις (Krauss 2:267); DNWSI 422 (framework); DJPA 224 (framework); Cook 105; DSA 311 #1 (framework); DCPA 148 (framework); SL 529 (_frame).]

טִיל, n. m. dew
TgSong 5:2
[DNWSI 422 #1; Vogt 143; DQA 95; DJPA 224; Cook 105; DJBA 504; DSA 313 (framework); DCPA 148; SL 530; MD 174.]

טִלָּל, vb. to wander (Quad), be made to wander (QuadT)
TgSong 1:7; 7:11; 8:1
[DJPA 225; Cook 106; DJBA 504; DSA 306.]

טִלָּל, I. vb. to cover, shade (D)
TgSong 2:17; 3:10; 5:6
[DNWSI 423 #1; Vogt 144; DJPA 225; Cook 106; DJBA 505; DSA 311 #1; DCPA 149; SL 532 #2; MD 180 #1.]

טִלָּל, II. n. m. shade
TgSong 2:3
[DNWSI 423 #2; DQA 95; Cook 106; DJBA 505; DSA 312; DCPA 150; SL 533; MD 180.]

טִלְנוֹת, n. m. pl. shadow demons
TgSong 3:8; 4:6
[DNWSI 423 (framework); DJPA 225 (amulets); DJBA 505 (bowls); DCPA 150 (“shadow”); SL 534; MD 177.]

טִיטֵם, vb. to hide (G), be hidden (Gt)
TgSong 2:14; 4:12
[DQA 96; DJPA 227; Cook 107; DJBA 507; DSA 317; DCPA 151; SL 537; MD 180.]

טִנָּה, vb. to defile (D)
TgSong 5:3. < Hebrew text. This is attested in the majority of manuscripts (but not Paris 110).
[DJPA 227 (Targumic); DJBA 508; SL 538; MD 181. HALOT 377.]
טעו, n. f. idol
TgSong 1:4, 6–7; 5:3
[DNWSI 426 (ṭ wn #1); DQA 96; DJPA 227; Cook 107; DJBA 509; DSA 319; DCPA 151; SL 542; MD 174 (ṭaitiou).]

טעי, vb. to lead astray (G, not C!)
TgSong 7:1
[DNWSI 426; DQA 96; DJPA 227; Cook 107; DJBA 509; DSA 318; DCPA 152; SL 540; MD 171.]

טעו, n. m. reasoning
TgSong 5:11, 13; 8:1
[DNWSI 427 #2; Vogt 144; DJPA 228; Cook 107 (טעים); DJBA 510; DSA 319; DCPA 152; SL 543; MD 174.]

טפז, vb. to leap (D)
TgSong 2:8. The manuscripts are not unanimous on this term (most of the variants are attributable to graphic error), but the reading of this LJLA term is likely. It is attested 10+ times in TgPs; TgJob; TgQoh; TgChr; TgPsJ. Alexander’s emendation to קפז “to jump” is unnecessary. Most Yemenite manuscripts erroneously have מטס “to arrive” or מטפי “to extinguish.”
[ChW 1:314.]

טפי, vb. to extinguish (G)
TgSong 8:7. Some Yemenite manuscripts mistakenly read this instead of the preferred טפז “to leap” (D) at 2:8.
[DQA 97; DJPA 229; Cook 108; DSA 321; DCPA 153.]

טרי, vb. to fight, argue (G)
TgSong 3:8. This occurs in collocation with שכל “to lift and thrust” > “to argue,” and it is also attested in TgRuth 4:7. On the collocation, see Jastrow 552.
[DJPA 231 (verb only; not the idiom with שכל); DJBA 517; SL 551 #2; MD 182.]

טריד, adj. < PPtc. continual [Heb. < Aram.]
TgSong 2:11. The nuance of perpetuity is attested in BH Prov 19:13; 27:15, which originally derives from the common Aramaic “to drive out.” This word is listed as טרד in one Yemenite manuscript. One western manuscript has the adj. תדיר “continual.”
[BH HALOT 379. With the standard nuance of “to drive out” (G): Vogt 145; DJPA 230; Cook 109; DJBA 515; DSA 323; DCPA 154; SL 548; MD 182.]

טריד, adj. Error in one Yemenite manuscript and Sperber. See טרד.
יָאֵי, adj. beautiful
[DQA 98; DJPA 233; Cook 110; DJBA 521; DSA 327; DCPA 155; SL 559; MD 185.]

יְבֹלוּ, vb. to lead (C)
TgSong 5:2, 7
[DNWSI 431 #1; Vogt 145; DQA 98; DJA 53; DJPA 234; Cook 111; DJBA 522; DSA 328; DCPA 155; SL 560; MD 188.]

בְּשָׁה, n. f. dry ground
TgSong 1:9
[DNWSI 433 (ybš); Vogt 146; DQA 98; DJPA 234; Cook 112; DJBA 523; DSA 330; DCPA 156 (חמתסף); SL 560 (חמתסף); MD 184 (iybaša).]

יד, n. f. hand
[DNWSI 433; Vogt 146; DQA 99; DJA 53; DJPA 234; Cook 112; DJBA 523; DSA 331; DCPA 12 (ד `/א); SL 31 (ד `/א); MD 341 (da`).]

יְדֻעַ, vb. to know (G), make known (C)
TgSong 2:3; 7:5
[DNWSI 439 #1; Vogt 149; DQA 99; DJA 53; DJPA 235; Cook 112; DJBA 525; DSA 334; DCPA 156 #1; SL 563; MD 188.]

יְהֹב, vb. to give (G), be given (Gt)
[DNWSI 442; Vogt 150; DQA 100; DJA 53; DJPA 235; Cook 113; DJBA 526; DSA 335; DCPA 157; SL 565; MD 189.]

יְהֹלָם, n. m. precious stone [Heb.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[BH HALOT 397. DSA 337 (< Heb).]

יְהָרִים, n. m. pl. jewels
TgSong 7:2. This is an LJLA term also attested in TgEsth I 1:4; TgPsJ Gen 6:16; Deut 34:6 (the TgPsJ attestations are emendations). The Yemenite recension and a few western manuscripts have יְהָרִים.
[ChW 1:329.]
יום, *n. m.* day

[DNWSI 448; Vogt 153; DQA 101; DJA 54; DJPA 237; Cook 113; DJBA 529; DSA 337; DCPA 159; SL 568; MD 190.]

יהונה, *n. f.* dove

TgSong 1:15; 2:14; 4:1; 5:2, 12; 6:9

[DNWSI 453 (ywn #1); DJPA 237 (יון); Cook 113 (יון); DJBA 531; DSA 338; DCPA 160; SL 569; MD 185.]

יחוד, *vb.* to declare unique (G!)

TgSong 6:9. This is a pervasive error for ייחוד “to seize, hold.” The morphology seems to necessitate a G parsing, but the G is not attested for this root.

[DNWSI 454; DJPA 238; Cook 114; DJBA 532; SL 571.]

ייחוד, *n. m.* See ייחוד

ייחוי, *vb.* to hurry (C)

TgSong 1:14.

[QQA 102; DJPA 238; Cook 114; DSA 340; DCPA 160.]

יטב, *vb.* to do good to (C)

TgSong 5:12; 6:12

[DNWSI 454; Vogt 155; DJPA 239; Cook 115; DSA 342; DCPA 161; SL 572.]

ייחוד, *n. m.* unity [Heb.]

TgSong 8:9

[RH Jastrow 573. ChW 1:331.]

ייסורין, *n. m. pl.* chastisement

TgSong 7:7. Two Yemenite manuscripts have an LJLA variant יסורים which is also attested in TgQoh 3:10.

[QQA 104; DJPA 239; ChW 1:340; DJBA 534 (יסורים). RH Jastrow 582.]

ייחה, *vb.* to admonish (C)

TgSong 1:1; 5:15; 7:7

[QQA 102; DJPA 240; Cook 115; DJBA 534; DSA 343; MD 192 (YKA).]

יילה, *vb.* to be able (G)

TgSong 1:9 (twice); 5:2; 7:5; 8:7 (twice)

[DNWSI 456; Vogt 156; QQA 102; DJPA 240; Cook 115; DJBA 534; DSA 344; DCPA 161.]

יילה, *vb.* to bear, give birth (G)

TgSong 4:2; 13; 6:6; 8:5
ילף, vb. See יָלָף

ים, n. m. sea

ימין, adj. right, right hand

ימם, n. m. day

ינוק, n. m. suckling child

ינק, I. vb. to suck (G)

ינק, II. n. m. suckling child

יסורין, n. m. pl. See יִסְוָרִין

יסף, vb. to do again (C)

יערה, n. f. honeycomb [Heb.]

יקד, vb. to burn (G, C)
TgSong 7:6 (This is attested in the Yemenite recension; the western recension has a peculiar use of קרב in the G); 8:6

[DNWSI 466; Vogt 158; DQA 105; DJA 54; DJPA 243; Cook 117; DJBA 543; DSA 356; DCPA 165; SL 580; MD 193.]

יקיר, adj. precious
TgSong 3:10. The Yemenite recension—which does not have the preceding clause—has alternate words which can be attributed to graphic errors, including a few nonsensical words such as דהירין found in Sperber. See also בחיר and זהרין.

[DNWSI 466; Vogt 158; DQA 106; DJPA 244; Cook 118; DJBA 540; DSA 358; DCPA 166; SL 581; MD 187.]

יקיר, I. vb. to be made heavy (Dt)
TgSong 1:14

[DNWSI 467 #1; DQA 106; DJPA 244; Cook 118; DJBA 540; DSA 357; DCPA 166; SL 582; MD 193.]

יקיר, II. n. m. glory

[DNWSI 467 #2; Vogt 159; DQA 106; DJPA 54 ( qedem); Cook 118; DJBA 541; DSA 358 ( ברשא); DCPA 166; SL 38 (סְמַלָּא); MD 356 ( qr).]

ירח, n. m. month
TgSong 7:5

[DNWSI 469 #2; Vogt 159; DQA 106; DJA 55; DJPA 245; Cook 118; DJBA 542; DSA 359; DCPA 167; SL 584; MD 185 (iahra).]

יריעה, n. f. curtain [Heb.]
TgSong 1:5. < Hebrew text.
[ BH HALOT 439. DJPA 245 (targumic); Cook 118; DSA 361; DCPA 167; SL 584.]

ירך, n. m. / f (?) thigh, loin (with reference to descendants)
TgSong 3:8; 7:2

[Vogt 159 (ירכה); DQA 106 (ירכה); DJPA 245; Cook 119; DJBA 543; DSA 361.]

ישט, vb. to stretch out (C)
TgSong 5:4

[DJPA 246; Cook 119; DSA 363; DCPA 168; SL 586; MD 193.]

ישפה, n. m. jasper [Heb. < Akk.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[ BH HALOT 449. DSA 364 (< Heb); SL 586.]

ית, part. direct object marker
[DNWSI 47 (yt #3); Vogt 160; DQA 107; DJA 55; DJPA 246; Cook 120; DJBA 544 (archaic and dialectal); DSA 365; DCPA 168 (only with suffixed pronouns).]
יתב, vb. to sit, inhabit, dwell (G), cause to dwell (C)
[DNWSI 473 (yêt #1); Vogt 160; DQA 107; DJA 55; DJPA 247; Cook 120; DJBA 545; DSA 366; DCPA 169; SL 587; MD 193.]

יתיר, adj. more
TgSong 1:2, 11, 17; 4:10
[DNWSI 481 (yit #3); Vogt 161; DJA 55; DJPA 248; Cook 120; DJBA 547; DSA 370; DCPA 169; SL 589; MD 187.]

כ, prep. as; like
[DNWSI 482; Vogt 161; DQA 109; DJA 56; DJPA 249; Cook 121; DSA 372.]

כאילו, conj. as if
TgSong 4:4
[DJPA 249; Cook 121; DSA 33 (אילו הך). RH Jastrow 48.]

כבה, n. m. see כוה

כבודה, n. f. cloak
TgSong 5:7. This is attested in a minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110. Other manuscripts have the more common word כַּת “crown.”
[ChW 1:351; SL 596.]

כבר, adv. already
TgSong 2:12; 5:3 (twice); 7:14
[DQA 109; DJPA 249; ChW 1:351; DJBA 550; DSA 375 #2; DCPA 171; SL 597; MD 202 #1.]

כобще, vb. to subdue, hide face (G)
TgSong 3:5; 7:5, 8
[DNWSI 487; DQA 110; DJPA 249; Cook 122; DJBA 551; DSA 376; DCPA 171; SL 598; MD 202.]
כד, *conj.* when, as

[Vogt 163 (כדי); *DQA* 110 (כディ); *DJA* 56 (כדוי); *DJPA* 250; *Cook* 122; 
*DJA* 552; *DSA* 377; *DCPA* 171; *SL* 599; *MD* 225.]

כדו, *conj.* when

TgSong 2:12; 5:5; 6:1, 9, 12. This is interchangeable with כדי in certain attestations among the manuscripts and once with כען “now” (TgSong 2:12). It means “now; enough” in the other dialects in which it is attested.

[DJPA 251 (כדון, כדו); *ChW* 1:354; *DJBA* 553 (archaic and dialectal); *DSA* 378; *DCPA* 171; *SL* 599.]

cדינ, *adv.* thus

TgSong 2:14; 3:5. This is attested in a few manuscripts. See כלדמ and and note.

[DQA 111 (כדין); *DJPA* 251; *Cook* 122; *DJBA* 332 (dialectal); *DCPA* 172 (כדנ).]

cהל, *vb.* to be able (G)

TgSong 7:9. This word occurs in a verse describing Daniel and the three young men. In LJLA, it is also attested in TgPsJ Gen 36:7; TgEsth II 1:2 and the Antiochus Scroll.

[DNWSI 489; Vogt 166; *DQA* 111.]

cה, *n. m.* priest

[DNWSI 490 #1; Vogt 166; *DQA* 111; *DJA* 56; *DJPA* 252; *Cook* 123 (כהה); *DJBA* 554; *DSA* 379; *DCPA* 172; *SL* 601; *MD* 195.]

כה, *n. m.* window

TgSong 2:9. See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.4.1.

[DNWSI 492; Vogt 167; *DQA* 111; *DJPA* 252; *Cook* 123; *DJBA* 557; 
*DCPA* 172 (כeterminate); *SL* 616; *MD* 196.]

כותרת, *prep.* like

TgSong 4:13

[DNWSI 495; *DQA* 112; *DJA* 56; *DJPA* 253; *Cook* 125; *DJBA* 556; *DSA* 384; *DCPA* 177; *SL* 40 (כותרת); *MD* 16 (akvat).]

כותרת, *n. m.* antimony

TgSong 5:14. Some Yemenite manuscripts have this in conjunction with נופך “precious stone.”

[DQA 111 (“kohl [eye cosmetic]”); *DJPA* 255 (כותרת “eye paint”); *DJBA* 558; *SL* 604; *MD* 207 #1 (kula).]

כוך, *n. m.* burial cavern [Akk.]

TgSong 8:5. This is attested in the western recension. The Yemenite recension has כוך “ease.”

[Akk. *kimahhu* (Kaufman 64). DNWSI 492; *DJA* 56; *DJBA* 558 (dwelling). RH Jastrow 619.]
כורסי, *n. m.* throne

TgSong 1:11

[DNWSI 536 (kers); Vogt 175 (כרס;); DQA 119 (כרס); DJA 254; Cook 125; DJBA 566; DSA 412 (פרס); DCPA 176; SL 614; MD 209.]

כוז, *prep.* See –

כה, *n. m.* strength [Heb.]

TgSong 1:9

[BH HALOT 468. DJBA 558 (כוח); DSA 380; MD 195 (kahua). RH Jastrow 628.]

כחד, *adv.* together [כ ו חד]

TgSong 1:1; 3:5

[DQA 112; DJPA 255; Cook 125; DJBA 431; DSA 384; SL 40 (קמע)].

כחליל, *n. m.* precious stone

TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Western recension. It is the only attestation in this form

[ChW 2:360. Cp.: DJPA 255 (כחליל); DJBA 558 (כחלילה; SL 604 (קמע כחליל; MD 207 #1 (kula)].

כין, *adv.* See

כל, *n. m.* all, every, whole

[DNWSI 500; Vogt 167; DQA 113; DJA 56; DJPA 257; Cook 127; DJBA 559; DSA 390; DCPA 173; SL 622; MD 206.]

ביל, *prep.* towards

TgSong 1:6; 5:3; 7:8; 8:3 (This is attested in a minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110; see רעבל.)

[Vogt 284; DJPA 259 (כביל); DL 604 (כбил; MD 207 #1 (kula)].

בול, *n. m.* crown

TgSong 3:1 (twice), 11; 4:9; 5:14; 7:2

[DNWSI 512; DQA 115; DJA 57; DJPA 260; Cook 128; DJBA 582; DSA 391; DCPA 179; SL 625; MD 217.]

בול, *vb.* to crown (D)

TgSong 3:11

[DJPA 261 #2; DJBA 583 #1; DSA 390 #2; DCPA 179; SL 626; MD 217 #2.]

במה, *adv.* how much (declarative); *conj.* as

Paris 110 consistently spells with a final מ; many other manuscripts consistently spell with a final מ.
כין, adv. thus, so
The Yemenite recension spells כין. The standard LJLA spelling is כן.

כנ, n.f. congregation, assembly; בית כנישתא, n.f. synagogue

כנש, vb. to gather, assemble (G, D), be assembled (Dt)
TgSong 6:2, 8; 8:7

כסף, n.m. silver, money
TgSong 1:11; 3:10; 5:16; 8:9 (three times)

כען, adv. now
TgSong 1:7; 2:12 (see also כדו; TgSong 3:5; 5:1; 6:1; 7:14

כפורה, n.f. cover of the ark [Heb.]
TgSong 3:10
[BH HALOT 495; RH Jastrow 685. DJPA 267 (כפורה); Cook 130; DSA 405.]

כפרים, n.m. pl. atonement
TgSong 4:3. This occurs in the collocation (יומא) כפרים (יומא). BH כפרים HALOT 795.

כ𝐞𝐥, n.m. double
כפר, vb. to make atonement (D)
TgSong 1:14; 3:3
[DNWSI 531 #1; DQA 118; DJPA 267; Cook 131; DJBA 597; DSA 408; DCPA 184; SL 647. BH HALOT 498 #1; RH Jastrow 660.]

cְפֵת, vb. to bind, tie up (D)
TgSong 1:13; 7:5–6
[Vogt 175; DJPA 268; TgJudg 15:10 variant; DJBA 598 #1; DSA 407; DCPA 184; SL 645. MD 224 (KRPT).]

cרוב, n. m. cherub
TgSong 3:10
[DQA 119; DJPA 268; Cook 131; DJBA 599 #1 (bowl 132); DSA 408 #1; DCPA 184; SL 647. BH HALOT 497.]

cְרוֹז, n. m. herald
TgSong 3:11
[DNWSI 535 #2 (krz); Vogt 175; DJPA 268; Cook 131; DJBA 581 (כְּרוֹז; דָּרָז); DSA 409; DCPA 184; SL 647; MD 197 (kalua).]

cרַחִיל, n. m. shepherd [Akk.]
TgSong 1:8. Several Yemenite manuscripts erroneously read בְּרִיחֵל. [Akk. kuzallu (CAD K 613). DJBA 600; SL 650.]

cרֶד, n. m. fortified city
TgSong 3:10; 4:8
[DNWSI 535 #1; DJPA 269; Cook 132; DJBA 602; DSA 410; SL 654.]

cרְמָב, n. m. vineyard
TgSong 1:14; 2:15; 8:11 (twice)
[DNWSI 536 #2; DQA 119; DJPA 270; Cook 132; DJBA 603 (archaic); DSA 410 #1; DCPA 185 #1; SL 655. BH HALOT 498 #1; RH Jastrow 671.]

cשָׁוָר, n. m. beam [Akk.]
TgSong 1:17
[Akk. guššāru (Kaufman 53). DNWSI 236 (gîr). DJPA 270; TgKgs 6:2 variant; DJBA 305; 605; SL 264; 657.]

cשָׁו, n. m. beam [Akk.]
TgSong 1:17
[Akk. guššāru (Kaufman 53). DNWSI 236 (gîr). DJPA 270; TgKgs 6:2 variant; DJBA 305; 605; SL 264; 657.]

cשָׁו, I. vb. to be proper (Gt or Dt)
TgSong 1:15
[DNWSI 539; DQA 120; DJPA 271; ChW 1:392; DJBA 606; DSA 413; DCPA 186; SL 659; MD 225.]
כָּשֵׁר, II. adj. proper
TgSong 1:14; 2:6
[DNWSI 539 (kšyr); DJPA 271; Cook 133; DJBA 607; DSA 414 (כָּשֵׁר); DCPA 186; SL 660.]

בָּחַטָב, vb. to write (G), be written (Gt)
[DNWSI 540 #1; Vogt 176; DQA 120; DJA 57; DJPA 271; Cook 133; DJBA 607; DSA 414; DCPA 186; SL 660; MD 225.]

בַּהֲרִי, n. m. pl. The Writings
TgSong 5:10
[DJPA 272 (בַּהֲרִי); DJBA 609. Note RH חֵכֶב Jastrow 680.]

לָ– לָ, prep. to, toward, for
[DNWSI 249 #5; Vogt 177; DQA 122; DJA 59; DJPA 274; Cook 134; DJBA 611; DSA 419; DCPA 190; SL 665; MD 226.]

לָא, neg. part. no; not; הָלֵא, interr. is not ... ?
[DNWSI 558 #1; Vogt 187; DQA 124; DJA 59; DJPA 274; Cook 134; DJBA 613; DSA 421; DCPA 190; SL 665; MD 227.]

לָאָל, interr. to where, whither [<   + לָ]
TgSong 6:1
[DJPA 278 (לָאָל); Cook 16; DSA 45 (לָאָל); DCPA 196 (.  ).]

לָבָב, n. m. heart, mind
TgSong 1:1; 4:9; 5:2; 6:9, 11 (this is an error for לָבָב in the Yemenite recension); 8:6, 9
[DNWSI 561; Vogt 189; DQA 125; DJPA 275; Cook 135; DJBA 623 (לָבָב); DSA 422; DCPA 191; SL 666; MD 234.]

לָבָגָה, n. f. frankincense
TgSong 3:6; 4:11, 14. See also לָבָגָה.
[DNWSI 564 #2 (lbnh); DQA 125; DJPA 276; Cook 135; DSA 423; DCPA 193; SL 667; MD 232.]
לבוש, n. m. garment
TgSong 4:11
[DNWSI 565 #2 (lbh); Vogt 190; DQA 126; DJPA 276; Cook 135; DJBA 616; DSA 426; DCPA 193; SL 667; MD 228.]

lblob, vb. to bloom (Quad)
TgSong 2:2. This is attested in the western recension. The Yemenite recension mistakes it for בלבל.
[DJBA 617. RH Jastrow 689.]

לבוב, n. m. blossom
TgSong 6:11. The placement of the t varies among the manuscripts. The Yemenite recension mistakenly reads בלבל “heart.”
[DJPA 281 (lblob, Neofiti Margin Num 17:23 only); Cook 135 (בלוב); DSA 423 (לפלוף). Cp. the verb בלבל in DJBA 617; RH Jastrow 689.]

לברא, prep. outside of
TgSong 8:1
[DNWSI 195 #3; Vogt 77; DQA 38; DJA 37; DJPA 276; Cook 39; DJBA 239; DSA 119; DCPA 194; SL 670; MD 228.]

לבש, vb. to wear (G), clothe (D)
TgSong 6:8; 7:6 (twice)
[DNWSI 565 #1; Vogt 191; DQA 126; DJPA 276; Cook 136; DJBA 617; DSA 425; DCPA 197; SL 670; MD 229.]

לבר, prep. to, towards
TgSong 2:5; 5:3–4; 7:1
[Vogt 193; DQA 127; DJA 60; DJPA 279; Cook 136; DJBA 619; DSA 431 #1; DCPA 197; SL 682; MD 232.]

לוח, n. m./f. tablet
[DNWSI 569 #2; DQA 127; DJPA 279; Cook 136; DJBA 619 (לבר); DSA 428; DCPA 196; SL 677; MD 232.]

לולב, n. m. palm branch [Akk.]
TgSong 2:12; 7:8–9
[Akk. liblibbu (CAD L 179 #2; so CAL, accessed 29 Oct 2014). DNWSI 578 (llb); DQA 127; DJA 60 (לולב); DJPA 280; Cook 137; DJBA 621 (לולב, DCPA 196 (לוליבא) “support beam”). RH Jastrow 699.]

לולו, prep. See הלול

לבד, adv. very
TgSong 1:12
[DQA 127; DJPA 280 (targumic); Cook 138; DSA 431; DCPA 197.]
לחם, n. m. bread loaf
TgSong 4:16
[DNWSI 572 #4; Vogt 193; DQA 127; DJA 60; DJPA 280 (לחם); Cook 138 (לחם); DJBA 622 (archaic and dialectal); DSA 433 #1; DCPA 198; SL 685; MD 227.]

ليل, n. m. night
TgSong 1:1, 4; 2:9; 3:1, 8; 5:2, 10; 7:3
[DNWSI 574 (ليل); Vogt 193 (ليل); DQA 128 (ليل); DJA 60 (ليل); DJPA 202; Cook 139; DJBA 626; DSA 436; DCPA 199 (ليل); SL 691 (ليل); MD 236.]

לסה, n. f. cheek
TgSong 1:10 (twice)
[DQA 129 (לסת); ChW 1:411 (ליסת). RH Jastrow 713.]

לשית, n. m. tongue, language
TgSong 2:13; 4:11; 6:8
[DNWSI 584 (לשת); Vogt 194 (לשת); DQA 129 (לשת); DJA 282; Cook 139; DJBA 627; DSA 445 (לשת); DCPA 200; SL 698; MD 237.]

לָא, neg. part. there is not [< לא + את]]
TgSong 4:3, 7, 12; 6:8; 8:3, 8 (two Yemenite manuscripts and Sperber have לָא), 9
[DNWSI 576 (לָא #2); DQA 128; DJPA 283; Cook 139; DJBA 628; DSA 437 #1; DCPA 200; SL 689; MD 228.]

לֹא, interr. why?
TgSong 1:7
[DQA 129; DJPA 284; Cook 140; DJBA 630; DSA 439; DCPA 201; SL 691; MD 236.]

לסה, n. f. See

לפתים, adv. See

מתנום ד, prep. towards, opposite
TgSong 6:5; 8:3 (some manuscripts), 9
[DNWSI 981 (גְּבָל #3); Vogt 284 ( groupBox); DQA 203 (groupBox); DJA 280 (groupBox); DJPA 280 (groupBox); Cook 240; DJBA 978; DCPA 203 (groupBox); SL 680 (groupBox); MD 404.]

לקט, vb. to gather (G, D)
TgSong 4:1; 6:5
[DNWSI 584; DQA 129; DJPA 286; Cook 141; DJBA 632; DSA 443; DCPA 204; SL 696; MD 230 (LGT).]

לעם, n. m. precious stone [Heb.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[BH HALOT 537. DJPA 287 (Neofiti; < Hebrew text).]

מַא, *interr.* what?; -ד מַא, *rel. pro.* what, whatever
[DNWSI 599 (*mh* #2); Vogt 198; DQA 134 (תָּנִיס); DJA 61 (תָּנִיס); DJPA 293 (תָּנִיס); Cook 142; DJBA 643 (archaic and dialectal); DSA 453; DCPA 206; SL 700; MD 237.]

מַא, *conj.* See מָא

מָא, *n. f.* hundred
TgSong 2:8
[DNWSI 586 #2; Vogt 194; DQA 131; DJA 61; DJPA 288; Cook 143; DJBA 634; DSA 448; DCPA 207 (אלוה); SL 700 (אלוה); MD 238.]

מָאִים, *adv.* perhaps
TgSong 2:5; 3:3; 5:8. This is the standard LJLA spelling and is also attested in TgJob and TgPsJ. The Yemenite manuscripts usually spell מָאִים, as in JLA.
[ChW 2:2. Cp. Cook 142 (אל).]

מָאָר, *n. m.* See מָא

מָאָר, *rel. pro.* whoever
TgSong 1:14; 5:11; 7:5 (twice)
[DNWSI 648 #4 (*mn*); Vogt 208; DQA 143 (תָּנִיס); DJA 63 (תָּנִיסה); DJPA 316 (תָּנִיס); Cook 156 (תָּנִיס); DJBA 636; DSA 476 (תָּנִיס); DCPA 236 (תָּנִיס); SL 775 (תָּנִיס); MD 246.]

מַבּוּדַל, *n. m.* spring (of water)
TgSong 3:5; 4:12
[DQA 132; DJPA 289; Cook 143; DJBA 639; DSA 496; DCPA 208; SL 704.]

מַבְּלִים, *prep.* from among [מַמ + בֵּין <]
מברא, adv. (from the) outside; prep. outside
TgSong 2:14; 3:2
[Cook 39.]

מבתר, prep. behind, after
TgSong 1:4; 9; 2:14
[DNWSI 206 (brkh); DQA 41 (בתר); DJPA 314 (בתר); Cook 42; DJBA 253; DSA 122; DCPA 231 (ܕܵܪ 5* QL); SL 196 (ܡܕ).]

מגדל, n. m. tower
TgSong 7:5 (three times); 8:10. Paris 110 is the only manuscript to have the alternate LJLA form מוגדל on the first attestation in 7:5. The LJLA form is also attested in TgQoh; TgChr; TgPsJ.
[DQA 132; DJPA 289; Cook 143; DSA 130; DCPA 208; SL 707.]

מדבח, n. m. altar
TgSong 1:13, 14 (twice), 15; 4:1, 15; 5:1
[DNWSI 607 (mzb ḥ); Vogt 196; DQA 132; DJA 61; DJPA 291; Cook 145; DJBA 642 (only in targumic quotation); DSA 165; DCPA 209; SL 711; MD 239.]

מדבר, n. m. wilderness
[DNWSI 595; DQA 133; DJA 61; DJPA 291; Cook 145; DJBA 642; DSA 168; DCPA 209; SL 712.]

מדעם, pro. anything
TgSong 4:3. Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript have מודעם. [DNWSI 598; Vogt 215 (מndm); DQA 144 (מנדעמ); DJA 63; DJPA 303; Cook 146; DJBA 664 (מדעם archaic); DSA 452; DCPA 210 (חדר; המדל); SL 715 (חדר; מנדʿ); MD 267 (mindam).]

מדרש, n. m. school; בֵּית (ח), n. m. house of study
TgSong 1:8; 2:4–5; 3:4; 5:12; 6:5; 7:13–14; 8:13
[DJPA 94 (ח מדרש; חבת מדרש); ChW 2:12; DJBA 214 (ח מדרש). RH Jastrow 735.]

בָּשָׂר, n. m. precious stone
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the margin of one Yemenite manuscript. It is not attested elsewhere in Aramaic. Note that there is an Arabic verb māha which can mean “to guild, overlay with gold or silver.” See Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 932; Hava, Al-Faraid, 743.

מהילה, n. f. circumcision [Heb.]
TgSong 2:9
[RH Jastrow 737. Cook 146. Cp. DJBA 644 (מִהלָּתָּמָה).]
mahal, *n. m.* journey

TgSong 2:6

[DJPA 294; Cook 146; DSA 294; DCPA 211. BH HALOT 552.]

mogel, *n. m.* See מגדל

mokdash, *n. m.* See מקדש

mor, *n. m.* See מיר

morin, *n. m.* palate

TgSong 2:3, 5; 5:16. This is an LILAT term also attested in TgPs; TgJob; TgLam; TgPsJ.

[ChW 2:65.]

morik, *n. m.* safflower

TgSong 4:14

[DJPA 296 (one talmudic attestation); DJBA 650; SL 730; MD 263.]

mot, I. *vb.* to die (G)

TgSong 2:7; 8:5, 11

[DNWSI 605 #1; DQA 135; DJA 61; DJPA 297; Cook 148; DJBA 650; DSA 458; DCPA 213; SL 731; MD 263.]

mot, II. *n. m.* death

TgSong 8:6, 12

[DNWSI 607 #2; Vogt 199; DQA 135; DJPA 296; Cook 148; DJBA 651; DSA 459; DCPA 213; SL 731; MD 263.]

mortar, *n. m.* remainder

TgSong 4:15

[DJPA 297; Cook 148; DJBA 651; DSA 370; DCPA 214.]

mezuzah, *n. f.* mezuzah

TgSong 8:3

[DJPA 298; DJBA 652. Doorpost: Cook 148; DSA 652. BH HALOT 565; RH Jastrow 753.]

mokim, *n. m.* imp

TgSong 3:8; 4:6 (twice); 8:3

[DJPA 298; DJBA 653.]

moral, *n. m.* constellation [Akk.]

TgSong 5:14

[Akk. manzaltu (Kaufman 69). DQA 136; DJPA 298; ChW 2:20; DJBA 653; DCPA 214 (manzaltu “elemental spirits”); SL 723 (manzal); MD 248 (manzala).]
מזר, *n. m.* psalm [Heb.]
TgSong 1:1. This is the only targumic attestation, and it occurs in a quote of Ps 92:1.
[BH HALOT 566; DJPA 298; DJBA 654; DCPA 214; SL 735.]

מחבל, *n. m.* destroyer, destroying angel
TgSong 2:9; 4:6
[DNWSI 344 #1 (*hbl* amulet); DJPA 299; Cook 80; DJBA 654 (bowls).]

מחה, *n. f.* blow, plague
TgSong 4:7; 5:4–5
[DNWSI 611 (*mh h*); DQA 136; DJPA 299; Cook 149; DJBA 658 #1; DSA 460; DCPA 215.]

מחזי, *n. m.* appearance
TgSong 2:14. This occurs in one Yemenite manuscript; other manuscripts have חזון or חזו.
[DNWSI 612 #2; DQA 136 (והמ); Cook 149; DSA 260; SL 737.]

מחי, *vb.* to smite, erase (G)
TgSong 1:8 (several manuscripts have חז "to see," but this is less likely); 8:7
[DNWSI 610 (*mh*); Vogt 200 (*משון*); DQA 136; DJPA 300; Cook 150; DJBA 655; DSA 460; DCPA 216 #1; SL 738; MD 258.]

מטול, *prep.* on account of
TgSong 4:13
[DNWSI 618 (*ml*); DJPA 301 (Neofiti marginalia); DJBA 665 (bowls *פה*); SL 747 (גייל).]

מטוי, *vb.* to arrive (G)
TgSong 1:7; 2:7, 12; 7:13 (twice). For 2:8, see מ.psi.
[DNWSI 616 (*mf*); Vogt 201 (*משון*); DQA 137; DJA 62; DJPA 302; Cook 150; DJBA 658; DSA 462; DCPA 218; SL 745; MD 264.]

מטול(ן), *n. f. pl.* Sukkot
TgSong 3:11 (twice). The Yemenite recension and several western manuscripts only have one attestation. The western recension spells with two מְשָׁל; the Yemenite recension spells with one מְשָׁל, as is standard in the non-LJLA targumim. The form with מְשָׁל is also attested in TgPs; TgJob; TgEsth II; TgPsJ.
[DNWSI 618; DQA 137; DJPA 302; Cook 151; DJBA 660; DSA 313; DCPA 219; SL 748; MD 265.]

מטור, *n. m.* rain
TgSong 2:6, 11; 5:2
מתרוה, *n. f.* sacred service

TgSong 3:3; 6:2

[DQA 137; DJP 303; Cook 151; DJBA 661; DSA 465; DCPA 219; SL 750; MD 241.]

מטרונית, *n. f.* lady, matron [Lat.]

TgSong 2:3. This occurs in most Yemenite manuscripts. It might be a miscopying of "כתרה" אץראד, the word in the western recension. Alexander suggests that it may also be a reference to the Divine Presence (Targum of Canticles, 98 note h).

[Lat. *matrona* (Krauss 2:332). DJPA 303; ChW 2:30; DJBA 661; מטונית; SL 749. RH Jastrow 769.]

מידעם, *pro.* See מידעם

מימר, *n. m.* word

TgSong 2:13. Some manuscripts spell מבר. See מבר.

[DJPA 251 (בבר); Cook 121; DSA 379 (כבר); DCPA 232 (בבר); SL 756 (כבר).]

מילה, *I. n. f.* word

TgSong 2:5; 4:3; 5:6, 11, 16; 8:13

[DNWSI 630 (mlh); Vogt 203 (מלל); DQA 139 (מלל); DJA 62 (מלל); DJPA 305; Cook 153 (מלל); DJBA 668; DSA 473 (מלל); DCPA 225; SL 775; MD 267.]

מילה, *II. n. f.* circumcision [Heb.]

TgSong 3:8. In Aramaic, this is only attested here and the Cairo Genizah Testament of Levi Cambridge Ms.

[RH Jastrow 774. ChW 2:32.]

מימר, *n. m.* word, command, *Memra*

The attestation in 5:13 is spelled מבר המבר in the western recension; all other attestations are with מבר.

[DNWSI 588 (m’mr); Vogt 195 (memра); DQA 131 (memра); DJPA 305; Cook 152; DJBA 670; DSA 44 SL 701 (memра); MD 267.]

valueOf
מימן, II. n. m. pl. See מין;

מימן, III. prep. See מין;

myrrh, n. m. myrrh
TgSong 4:14; 5:13. This occurs in the LJLA form מירא, as in TgPs 45:9; TgEsth II 2:5, 12. Yemenite manuscripts (and one western manuscript) have the more common מירא.
[All lemmata are m(w)r. DNWSI 682 #1; DJPA 296; Cook 147; DJBA 649; DCPA 221; SL 729; MD 262.]

משיח, n. m. See משיח;

myshath, n. m. plain, valley
TgSong 2:1, 6; 6:2
[DQA 138; DJPA 306; Cook 152; DSA 365; DCPA 222.]

מית, adj. / n. m. death; deceased
TgSong 7:10 (a majority of manuscripts have two attestations, against Paris 110); 8:5 (twice)
[DNWSI 707 #5 (mt); DJA 150; DJPA 306; Cook 152; DJBA 674; DSA 459; DCPA 222; SL 755; MD 271.]

נמך, adj. lowered (of head)
TgSong 7:6. One Yemenite manuscript has the form נמיך, an Aramaized hypercorrection of נמוך from RH.
[DQA 138; DJBA 675; SL 756; MD 242.]

מכתש, n. m. plague
TgSong 1:12
[DQA 138; DJPA 308; Cook 153; DSA 418; SL 763.]

מלאך, n. m. angel
TgSong 1:5, 15; 2:3, 9; 4:12; 5:10; 8:8
מלים, I. vb. to be full (Gt)
TgSong 5:2 (some manuscripts have two attestations), 15
[DNWSI 627 (mlʾ #1); Vogt 202 (מלא); DQA 140; DJPA 309; Cook 154; DJBA 678; DSA 469; DCPA 226; SL 768; MD 272.]

מלים, II. adj. full, full of
TgSong 1:9; 2:14; 4:3 (two Yemenite manuscripts treat this as a verb), 13; 5:2; 6:7, 11; 7:3, 5, 13 (two Yemenite manuscripts have מלא). [G PPtc of מלים. DNWSI 628 (mlʾ #4); DJPA 309; Cook 154; DJBA 679; DSA 470; DCPA 225 (מלא); SL 763; MD 244.]

מלך, I. vb. to acknowledge as king (C)
TgSong 6:5; 7:6
[DNWSI 633 #1; DQA 140; DJPA 310 #1; Cook 154 #1; DJBA 679 #1; DSA 471; DCPA 225 #1; SL 771; MD 273 #1.]

מלך, II. vb. to give counsel (C), consult (Gt)
TgSong 6:12. See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.1.1.
[DNWSI 634 #2; DJPA 310 #2; Cook 154 #2; DJBA 680 #2; DSA 471; DCPA 228 #2; SL 771; MD 273 #2.]

מלך, III. n. m. king
[DNWSI 634 #3; Vogt 204; DQA 140 #1; DJA 62 #1; DJPA 310; Cook 154; DJBA 680; DSA 472; DCPA 228; SL 772; MD 244.]

מלוכנ, n. f. kingdom
TgSong 4:9; 5:7; 6:7, 9; 7:7, 14; 8:11
[DNWSI 644; Vogt 206; DQA 140; DJPA 310; Cook 155; DJBA 681; DSA 472; DCPA 228; SL 772; MD 245.]

מלבים, vb. to speak (D), converse, proclaim (Dt)
TgSong 1:1–2; 2:5; 4:11; 7:1; 8:8 (western recension; the Yemenite recension has the adverb עתידו)
[DNWSI 644 #1; Vogt 207; DQA 141; DJPA 311; Cook 155; DJBA 681 #1; DSA 473; DCPA 229; SL 773; MD 273 #1.]

מלרベース, adv. below [< מלבسه]
TgSong 2:6; 8:5
[DJPA 315 (מלרע); Cook 155; DJBA 668 (bowl 56 מלבס; DSA 66.]

מומון, n. m. money
TgSong 8:7
[DQA 141; DJPA 311; Cook 155; DJBA 682; DSA 474; DCPA 230; SL 776.]
מן, I. n. m. manna [Heb.]
TgSong 4:5
[BH HALOT 596. DJPA 313; Cook 156 (מנא); DSA 476; DCPA 236 #2
(רמנא); SL 784 (רמנא).]

מן, II. n. m. vessel, utensil
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 588 (מ׳נ); Vogt 195 (מנח); DQA 131 (מנח); DJA 61 (מנח); DJPA
288 (מנח, מנח); Cook 156; DJBA 637 (מנח); DSA 448 #2 (מנח); DCPA 207
(מנח); SL 702 (רמנח); MD 246 #1.]

מן, III. prep. from, out of
[DNWSI 649 #5; Vogt 208; DQA 141; DJA 62; DJPA 313; Cook 156;
DJBA 683; DSA 475; DCPA 230; SL 779; MD 273.]

מן, rel. pro. See –דמן

מן, adv. immediately
TgSong 2:13, 14
[DJPA 314; DJBA 524. RH Jastrow 563.]

מן, vb. to count (G), appoint (D), be appointed (Dt)
TgSong 1:14; 6:2, 8; 7:5–6
[DNWSI 660; Vogt 216; DQA 144; DJPA 317; Cook 157; DJBA 686;
DSA 477; DCPA 237; SL 781; MD 274.]

מנין, n. m. number
TgSong 6:8
[DNWSI 661; Vogt 217; DQA 145; DJA 63; DJPA 318; Cook 157; DJBA
687; DSA 477; DCPA 237; SL 783; MD 268.]

מניין, interr. See ןמניין

מניין, interr. from where, whence? [ןמניין + מן]
TgSong 1:14. This is attested in the western recension. The Yemenite
recension has מניין.
[DJPA 318; Cook 157; DJBA 685 (מנניין); DSA 45 (מןניין); MD 274 (מנה).] RH
Jastrow 796.]

מן, n. m. tribute [Heb.]
TgSong 4:8
[BH HALOT 603. DJPA 319 (only Neofiti’s parallel of Onqelos); Cook
157; DSA 478.]

מס, adj. unclean
TgSong 8:14. < D PPtc
[DJA 63; DJPA 319; Cook 157; DJBA 689; DSA 558 (מס); DCPA 237.]
**מסכין, adj.** poor [Akk.]
*TgSong 7:6; 8:9 (several manuscripts have מיכסא “low”).
[Akk. *muššēnu* (Kaufman 74); *DNWSI 665 (mskn); DJPA 320; Cook 158; DJBA 690; DSA 479; DCPA 239; SL 791; MD 268.]*

**מסר, vb.** to hand over, pass on (G)
*TgSong 1:1; 3:5, 7; 5:2, 4; 6:9; 8:1, 11
[DJPA 321; Cook 159; DJBA 692 #1; DSA 480 #1; DCPA 240 #1; SL 794; MD 276.]*

**ماذا, n. m.** womb, insides
*TgSong 7:3
[ChW 217; DQA 146; DJPA 322; Cook 160; DJBA 694 #2; DSA 481; DCPA 241; SL 800; MD 265 (*mia*), 276 (*m'ia*).]

**מעשר, n. m.** tithe
*TgSong 4:2; 6:6; 7:3. The Yemenite recension usually spells מעשר. See Phonology and Orthography 2.1.1.1.
[DNWSI 673; DQA 146; DJA 64; DJPA 323; Cook 160; DJBA 697; DSA 650; DCPA 241; SL 803.]*

**מקופנה, n. f.** spring (of water)
*TgSong 5:12. This meaning is restricted to LJLA; it is also attested in TgPs 107:33, 35; TglJob 6:15; Tg2Chr 32:30.
[DJPA 324 (Neofiti gloss referring to the exodus, Deut 16:3); SL 809 (reference to speech).]*

**מצודה, n. f.** stronghold
*TgSong 7:5
[ChW 2:61. Note the geographical term, Masada מַסְדָּא.]*

**מקדש, emph. pl. **מזכְּדָא, n. m.** temple
*Many manuscripts other than Paris 110 consistently spell the emphatic form מקְדֶשָה. It is usually in the collocation בית מקדשא. See Morphology 3.2.3.7.
[DNWSI 678; DQA 147; DJPA 326; Cook 163; DJBA 701; DSA 760; DCPA 244; SL 820; MD 405.]*

**מרגילי, n. f.** “pearl” [Gk. < Pers. ?]
*TgSong 5:14. This is used in a generic sense to refer to a collection of gems. There is an East–West split in the Aramaic dialects on whether the word has a ה or ל. JLA has a ל.
[Gk. *μαργαρίτης* (Liddell & Scott, 487); *μαργαρίλον* (Krauss 2:350) < Pers. *mwrj ryd* (ILS 207). DJPA 327; ChW 2:66; DCPA 246. Cp. DJBA 704 (the form מרג'לי is preferred in JBA); SL 826; MD 252 (*marg[a]nita #1). RH Jastrow 836.]*
מרד, I. vb. to rebel (G)

TgSong 8:4

[DNWSI 690 #1; DQA 148; DJPA 328; Cook 163; DJBA 704; DSA 484; DCPA 246; SL 826; MD 278.]

מרד, II. n. m. rebellion

TgSong 6:1. This occurs in a minority of manuscripts in the form מרדין; it is likely influenced by a similar phrase in Ezra 4:19, וְאֶשְׁתַּדְרוּ מְרַד "rebellion and sedition." See מרד.

[Vogt 219; DJPA 328 (targumic); Cook 163; DSA 484; SL 827; MD 270.]

מרוד, n. m. rebellion

TgSong 6:1. Some manuscripts have the form מרדין.

[Cook 164; DSA 485.]

מרוד(ו), n. f. dominion

TgSong 2:8, 11

[DNWSI 691 (mrwt); DJPA 328 (מרוד); Cook 163 (מרוה); DCPA 247 (mr); SL 830.]

מרום, n. m. height

TgSong 2:8–9, 14; 3:3; 4:7; 8:14 (twice). This always occurs in the phrase "high heaven."

[DQA 148; DJPA 328; ChW 2:68; DJBA 705 (bowl); DCPA 247; SL 830; MD 278.]

מרי, n. m. Lord, master

This is usually in the collocation עלמא玛丽 "Lord of the world."

[DNWSI 682 (mr̄); Vogt 218 (mr̄); DQA 147 (מרוי); DJA 64 (מרוי); DJPA 329; Cook 164; DJBA 707; DSA 484 (מרוי); DCPA 245 (מרוי); SL 823 (מרוי); MD 251 (maru).]

מרוב, n. m. precious stone

TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension.

[ChW 2:65.]

מרי, adj. sick

TgSong 5:8. This is attested in one Yemenite manuscript, which is likely original. Most other manuscripts have the nominal מרותי "sickness."

[ChW 2:72; DJBA 709.]

מרע, vb. to be sick (G)

TgSong 2:5

[DNWSI 694; DJPA 331; Cook 165; DJBA 710; DSA 486; DCPA 248; SL 836.]

מרע, n. f. See מראית and מראית.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מֵרֶעָה</td>
<td>n. f.</td>
<td>sickness</td>
<td>TgSong 5:8. This is attested in the majority of manuscripts, though the adjectival מֵרֶעָ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָרֵך</td>
<td>vb.</td>
<td>to be cleansed (D</td>
<td>note TgPsJ Exod 30:32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָשָּׂבָה</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>excellent</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מְשָׂמָשָּׂן</td>
<td>n. m.</td>
<td>attendant</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָשָׂח</td>
<td>n. m.</td>
<td>oil</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָשָׂה</td>
<td>n. m.</td>
<td>tent, tabernacle</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָשָׂנָה</td>
<td>n. f.</td>
<td>Mishnah</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָשָׂלִיר</td>
<td>n. f.</td>
<td>camp, army</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָלְעֵי</td>
<td>n. m.</td>
<td>desire</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָלֹטִבָה</td>
<td>n. f.</td>
<td>academy</td>
<td>TgSon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
מתיל, adj. See metabol

מתים, adj. deliberate, patient

TgSong 5:12. This occurs in the phrase מתינים בהדר "deliberate in judgment"; see m. 'Abot 1:1.

[DJPA 336; SL 867. RH Jastrow 860.]

מתיק, adj. sweet [Heb.]

TgSong 2:5; 4:11 (Yemenite recension has מתיל "compared"); 5:16.

[HALOT 654; RH Jastrow 860. DJBA 721.]

מתכה, n. f. cast metal [Heb.]

TgSong 5:4

[RH Jastrow 862. DJPA 336 (targumic); Cook 169; DSA 554 (from Onqelos).]

מתול, vb. to compare (G), be compared (Gt)

Most attestations are PPtc > Adj.

[DJPA 337; ChW 2:81 #2 ("quote a proverb"); DJBA 721; SL 868; MD 281.]

נבואת, n. f. prophecy [Heb.]

[BH HALOT 660; RH Jastrow 867. Vogt 221; DJPA 339; Cook 170; DJBA 725; DSA 495; DCPA 254.]

נביב, vb. to prophesy (D, Dt)

TgSong 5:16; 7:1. The manuscripts are divided as to whether the attestation at 7:1 is a D or Dt.

[Vogt 220 (",ביב; DJPA 339; Cook 170; DJBA 726; DSA 495; DCPA 255; SL 884; MD 287.]

נבי, n. m. prophet

[Vogt 221 (",ב; DQA 151 (",ב; DJPA 339; Cook 170; DJBA 726; DSA 495; DCPA 254; SL 884; MD 288.]
נבע, vb. to gush forth (C)

TgSong 4:12

[DNWSI 712; DJPA 340; Cook 171; DJBA 726; DSA 496; DCPA 255; SL 885; MD 287.]

נגב, vb. to dry up something (G [?], D)

TgSong 1:9 (four times). Yemenite manuscripts orthographically indicate that the first two attestations are D (גָּבָה) whereas the western manuscripts are defective and presumably G. The D is expected since the verbs are transitive.

[DJPA 340; Cook 171; DJBA 727; DSA 497; SL 886.]

נדב, vb. to flow, pull towards; beat (G, D)

TgSong 1:4; 4:15; 7:5 (twice); 8:7

[DNWSI 713 #1; Vogt 221; DQA 151 #1; DJPA 340; Cook 171; DJBA 727; DSA 498; DCPA 255; SL 886; MD 288.]

נדבה, n. f. freewill offering [Heb.]

TgSong 7:2, 3

[BH HALOT 671; RH Jastrow 877. Cook 172; DSA 502.]

נדבך, n. m. course, row [Akk.]

TgSong 8:9

[Akk. natbāku (Kaufman 76). Vogt 222; ChW 2:93.]

נדב, vb. to waft (G) [Heb.]

TgSong 1:12; 4:10; 7:9

[RH Jastrow 879. ChW 2:93.]

נדב, n. m. vow

TgSong 7:2, 3

[DNWSI 719 #2; Vogt 223 (Dan 2:22 ketib); DJA 65; DJPA 342; Cook 173; DJBA 747 (נִדָּב); DSA 504; SL 892; MD 281, 297.]

נדב, adj. shining

TgSong 5:14. This is only attested in a few western manuscripts. See הניב, the likely original.

[DNWSI 720 #4 (nhr); DQA 153; DJPA 343; DJBA 733; DSA 506; DCPA 257; SL 892; MD 281.]

נדיב, vb. to illuminate (C)

TgSong 4:1, 16; 5:12

[DNWSI 720 #1; DQA 153; DJPA 343; Cook 173; DJBA 733 #1; DSA 505; DCPA 258; SL 894; MD 291.]

נדיב, n. m. river
TgSong 4:8 (not in Paris 110 but attested in the majority of manuscripts),
12; 5:4; 7:3; 8:7
[DNWSI 720 #2; Vogt 223; DQA 153; DJA 65; DJPA 343; Cook 174;
DJBA 734; DSA 507 #2; DCPA 258; SL 894; MD 281.]

ן(ר)בר, adj. foreign
TgSong 1:9 (Paris 110 is defectively spelled; most are not); 8:6
[DNWSI 732 (nkry); DQA 157 (לכיר); DJPA 344 (לכיר); Cook 174 (לכיר);
DJBA 736 (לכיר); DSA 527 (לכיר); DCPA 259 (לכיר); SL 899 (לכיר);
MD 293.)

נופך, n. m. precious stone [Heb.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension; some manuscripts
have this word in conjunction with כירול “antimony.”
[BH HALOT 709. Jastrow 924; DSA 537 (< Heb.).]

נור, n. m. fire
TgSong 2:9; 5:10
[Vogt 224; DQA 154; DJPA 345; Cook 174; DJBA 738; DSA 512; DCPA
260; SL 904; MD 294.]

נזר, n. m. hair locks [Heb.]
TgSong 5:2 (twice)
[BH HALOT 684; RH Jastrow 893. Cook 175; DSA 514.]

נחל, n. m. wadi, stream
TgSong 1:14; 4:2; 6:6
[DQA 155; DJPA 346 (딛יל); Cook 175; DJBA 741; DSA 515 #2; DCPA
260 #1; SL 908; MD 281.]

נתנה, pro. See אנחנא

נתנה, pro. See אנחנא

נדות, vb. to descend (G)
TgSong 1:12–14; 5:2; 6:2
[DNWSI 726 #1; Vogt 225; DQA 155; DJA 65; DJPA 346; Cook 176;
DJBA 742 #1; DSA 517; DCPA 261; SL 909; MD 292.]

נסל, vb. to lift (G), be removed (Gt)
TgSong 3:1; 5:7
[DNWSI 728; Vogt 226; DQA 156; DJA 65; DJPA 348; Cook 177; DJBA
744 #1; DSA 519; SL 912.]

נכס, vb. to keep, guard
[DNWSI 754 #1 (nṣr); Vogt 226; DQA 156; DJPA 348; Cook 177; DJBA
745; DSA 521; DCPA 262; SL 913; MD 295.]
נייח, *n. m.* ease
TgSong 1:8; 4:15; 8:5 (This is attested in the Yemenite recension; the western recension has בקע “burial cavern.”)
[DNWSI 729; DQA 156; DJPA 349; Cook 177; DJBA 750; DSA 509; DCPA 263; SL 914; MD 296.]

נסמה, *n. f.* See נכסה

נמונוס, *n. m.* law [Gk.]
TgSong 1:6 (twice)
[Gk. νόμος (Krauss 2:359). DNWSI 733 (nms); DJA 65 (נמס); DJPA 349; Cook 179 (נמוס); DSA 523; DCPA 263; SL 921 (נמסה)].

ניבגי, *n. f.* bride [Gk.]
TgSong 4:8–12; 5:1. This is an LJLA term only attested here; it always translates the BH כלה.

ניקס, *n. m.* See נס

ניסור, *n. m.* libation
TgSong 4:15; 5:1
[Vogt 228 (נסך); DJPA 349; Cook 180 (נסך); DSA 534.]

ניסויה, *n. m.* temptation
TgSong 7:9
[DJPA 349; DJBA 759; DSA 533; DCPA 267 (נסיכה); SL 925.]

ניר, *n. m.* yoke
TgSong 1:10 (twice); 5:3; 7:7 (most Yemenite manuscripts have the Hebrew term עול)
[DJPA 350; Cook 178; DJBA 753 #1; DSA 524; DCPA 264; SL 916; MD 299.]

נכסה, *n. f.* (animal) sacrifice
TgSong 2:9 (twice in the majority of manuscripts); 5:1; 7:13
[DNWSI 731 #1 (nks verbal); DJPA 351 (נכסה); Cook 179; DJBA 754; DSA 527 (נכסה); DCPA 264 (נכסה); SL 919; MD 298 (n[i]kusta).]

נכריה, *n. f.* See נכר(י)

נכת, *vb.* to bite (G)
TgSong 2:14
[DNWSI 732 #1; DJPA 351; Cook 179; DJBA 755; DSA 528; DCPA 266; SL 921; MD 301.]
נְמֵי, adj. bowed [Heb.]
TgSong 7:6. This is attested in one Yemenite manuscript, an Aramaized hypercorrection of the RH נמוך. See מך.
[RH Jastrow 913.]

נָם, n. m. leopard
TgSong 4:8
[DNWSI 733 #1; Vogt 227; DJA 352; ChW 2:112; DJBA 756; DSA 529 (בָּנָן); DCPA 266; SL 922; MD 283.]

נס, n. m. miracle, “sign”
TgSong 1:1, 3; 2:12; 3:6; 7:9 (a play on נָסִי “temptation,” see Alexander, Targum of Canticles, 183, dd)
[DNWSI 760 #1 (nָסִי, “standard”); DJPA 352; Cook 179; DJBA 752 #1 (בָּנָן); SL 915. RH Jastrow 914.]

נסב, vb. to take (G), be taken, married (Gt)
TgSong 1:14; 4:12
[DNWSI 734; DQA 157; DJA 66; DJPA 352; Cook 179; DJBA 756; DSA 530; DCPA 266; SL 923; MD 302.]

נסי, vb. to test (D)
TgSong 7:9. The Yemenite recension has two attestations in this verse because they misread the synonymous verb נָסָס as the adverb נַכַּן “then” and add this supplemental verb.
[DJPA 354 #2; Cook 179; DJBA 758 #1; DSA 532; DCPA 267; SL 925; MD 301 #1.]

ניסיון, n. m. See ניסי

נסך, vb. to pour out (G, D)
TgSong 1:14 (three times); 4:15; 5:1 (in the majority of manuscripts against Paris 110’s נסב “to take”)
[DNWSI 735 #1; Vogt 228; DQA 157; DJPA 354 #2; Cook 180; DJBA 759; DSA 533; DCPA 267; SL 926 #1.]

نظֵי, vb. to pierce (G)
TgSong 2:2
[DQA 158; Cook 181; DSA 536. RH Jastrow 921.]

נפל, vb. to fall (G)
TgSong 1:14; 2:7. A minority of manuscripts (including Paris 110) additionally have the bat qol “falling” from heaven in 2:14 and 4:1 against the testimony of most manuscripts, which have נפק “to go out.”
[DNWSI 741 #1; Vogt 228; DQA 158; DJPA 356; Cook 181; DJBA 761; DSA 537; DCPA 268; SL 931; MD 303.]

renched, vb. to go out (G), to bring out, send out (C)
עפריר, n. m. See

נפש, n. f. soul, life, self
TgSong 1:8; 2:15; 4:12; 5:6; 6:12; 8:1
[DNWSI 744; DQA 159; DJA 66; DJPA 355; Cook 181; DJBA 770; DSA 541; DCPA 270; SL 938; MD 285.]

נץ, n. m. hawk
TgSong 2:14
[DQA 159; Cook 182; DJBA 771 #4; DSA 545; SL 938.]

נצב, vb. to plant (G)
TgSong 1:16
[DNWSI 749 #1; DQA 159; DJA 66; DJPA 358; Cook 182; DSA 541; DCPA 271; SL 938; MD 305.]

נצח, vb. to be victorious (D)
TgSong 4:4
[DNWSI 751 #1; Vogt 231; DQA 160; DJA 66; DJPA 359; Cook 182; DSA 542; DCPA 271; SL 939.]

נצחון, n. m. victory
TgSong 5:15
[DJPA 359 (targumic); Cook 182; DSA 543; DCPA 271; SL 940.]

נטף, n. f. sheep, lamb
TgSong 4:3. Many manuscripts have נטף, which may be “lamb” or the adjective “clean, pure.” Note that it occurs in the collocation נטף עמר “wool of a lamb” as in Dan 7:9; note also נטף עמר in TgIsa 1:18.
[DNWSI 758 #2 (nagyh); Vogt 232 (נקא); ChW 2:127; DJBA 775 (נקא); DSA 546; SL 946.]

נטק, vb. to attach (G)
TgSong 7:2 (in two western manuscripts). See נקבט.
[DJBA 773; SL 696; MD 230 (LG)].

נטק, adj. clean, pure
TgSong 4:3. See the note at נטף “sheep, lamb.”
[DNWSI 757 #4; Vogt 232 (נקא); DQA 160; DJA 66; DJPA 360; ChW 2:127; DJBA 775; DSA 546; DCPA 272; SL 942; MD 286.]

נירוס, n. m. See

נרד, n. m. nard
TgSong 1:12. < Hebrew text. This is the only targumic attestation.
[DQA 161; DCPA 273 (nargis); SL 951; MD 286.]

נַרְקִיס, n. m. narcissus [Gk.]
TgSong 2:1
[Gk. νάρκισσος (Krauss 2:367). DNWSI 760; DJBA 778; SL 951; MD 286 (nargis < Arab?).]

נַשִּׁין, n. f. See נַשָּׁה

נָשָׁה, vb. to kiss (G)
TgSong 1:2. < Hebrew text.
[DQA 161; DJPA 362; Cook 184; DJBA 779; DSA 552; DCPA 273; SL 954; MD 307.]

נָחַת, vb. to give (G)
TgSong 1:11 (twice); 7:13
[DNWSI 766; Vogt 234; DQA 161; DJA 66; DJPA 362; Cook 184; DJBA 780; DSA 554; DCPA 274; MD 307.]

סָב, vb. to declare ritually unclean (D)
TgSong 7:3
[DJPA 364; Cook 185; DJBA 782 #1; DSA 557; DCPA 275 #2; SL 974 (שִׁבְעָה).]

סָבָה, n. m. See סָבָה

סָבָה, n. f. See סָבָה

סָבָב, n. m. elder
TgSong 5:15; 6:2; 8:14
[DNWSI 1099 (שֵׁב); Vogt 310 (שֶׁב); DQA 246 (שֶׁב); DJPA 364; Cook 185; DJBA 782; DSA 572; DCPA 275; SL 959; MD 308.]

סָבָל, vb. to bear (G)
Sabra, n. m. logic
TgSong 7:7
[DNWSI 774 #1; Vogt 235; DJPA 365; Cook 186; DJBA 783 #1; DSA 560; DCPA 276; SL 962 #1; MD 316.]

Səḇer, n. m. logic
TgSong 5:10
[With the meaning “logic”: DJPA 365; DJBA 785; SL 965; MD 324. With
the meaning “hope,” see also DQA 163; DSA 562 #1; DCPA 277.]

Səḏər, vb. to bow down, worship (G)
TgSong 1:6
[DNWSI 775 #1; Vogt 235; DJPA 366; Cook 187; DJBA 786; DSA 563; DCPA 277; SL 966; MD 318.]

Səgôr, n. m. enclosure
TgSong 2:14. This is an LJLA term also attested in TgJob 38:16.
[Jastrow 953; ChW 2:146.]

Səgən, I. vb. to be many, much (G)
TgSong 1:5 (with the majority of manuscripts; Paris 110 has שֵׂגֶּה “to change,
be different”), 16; 6:11. The attestation at 7:3 in three manuscripts may
actually be a tertiary meaning in JBA “to shut” (DJBA 787). The other
manuscripts have ספר in the D-stem, “to fence in.” Otherwise, it is a scribal
error.
[DNWSI 1108 #1 (סג); Vogt 310 (שָגָא); DQA 246 (שָגָא; DJA 67; DJPA
367; Cook 187; DJBA 786 #1; DSA 565; DCPA 278 #1; SL 967; MD 317.]

Səgən, II. adj. many, numerous
TgSong 1:16; 2:12; 8:7
[DNWSI 1108 #3 (סג); Vogt 310 (שָגָא); DQA 246 (שָגָא; DJA 67; DJPA
367 (שָגָא); Cook 187; DJBA 787; DSA 566; DCPA 278; SL 968; MD 309.]

Səgˁon, n. f. See סגיאו

Səgˁon, n. f. abundance
TgSong 1:2; 5:10. This is an LJLA form also attested in TgPs 22:26; 37:11;
51:3; 69:17; TgProv 13:23. See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.5.2.
[Cp. DJPA 367 (סָגוֹן); Cook 187 (סָגוֹן); DJBA 788 (סָגוֹן; DSA 566 (סָגוֹן; SL 968 (סָגוֹן.]

Səgar, n. f. leprosy
TgSong 1:12
[Cook 188.]

Səgalôl, adj. round
TgSong 7:3. This is also attested in TgEsth I & II 1:6; Tg2Chr 4:2, 5; 9:18.
[DQA 163; ChW 2:144.]
סָגָר, vb. to enclose (G)
TgSong 1:9; 2:14 (twice)
[Vogt 236; DQA 163; DJPA 368; Cook 188; DJBA 788; DSA 567; DCPA 279; SL 970; MD 318.]

סָדָר, I. vb. to set in order, arrange (D or C)
TgSong 1:8, 11
[DQA 164 (“to follow, come next”); DJPA 369; Cook 188; DJBA 789; DSA 568 #1; DCPA 280; SL 972; MD 318.]

סָדָר, II. n. m. order (of the Mishnah)
TgSong 1:2; 5:10
[DQA 164; DJPA 368; Cook 188; DJBA 799 (סֶדֶר); DSA 570; SL 972; MD 325.]

סָדָדוֹ, n. f. testimony
TgSong 3:10
[DNWSI 1113 (šhdw); Vogt 312 (שָׂהדו); DQA 247 (שׂהדו); DJPA 570 (שׂהדו); Cook 188; DJBA 790; DSA 571; DCPA 280; SL 973; MD 310.]

סָדָר, n. m. moon
TgSong 1:1; 6; 6:10; 7:3
[DQA 247 (שׂדֶר); DJPA 369, 172 (צרד); Cook 189; DJBA 800; DSA 223 (צרד); DCPA 108 (שָׁד); SL 974; MD 329 (sira).]

סָאָבָה, n. f. defilement
TgSong 5:3. This is attested in roughly half of the manuscripts.
[DJPA 364, 369; Cook 185; DSA 558 (סָסָבָה); DCPA 275 (סָסָבָה).]

סָבָר, vb. to bear, carry (Quad)
TgSong 1:10; 2:6 (twice)
[DJPA 369; Cook 189; DJBA 791 #2 (archaic); DSA 562; DCPA 280; SL 998 (סָבָר).]

סָגָר, vb. to fence in (D)
TgSong 7:3. See the note at סָגָר vb.
[DQA 164; DJPA 369; ChW 2:157; DSA 572; DCPA 281; SL 975.]

סָוָם, adj. red
TgSong 5:1
[DJPA 370; Cook 190; DJBA 794; SL 981; MD 322.]

סָוסִי, n. m. horse
TgSong 1:9–10; 6:8
[DNWSI 795 (sssh); DJPA 371; Cook 190; DJBA 794; DSA 574 (סָוסִי); DCPA 283; SL 986; MD 322.]
**סוּף, vb.** to come to an end, perish (G)
TgSong 2:7
[Vogt 237; DQA 164; DJA 67; DJPA 371; Cook 190; DSA 575; DCPA 283; SL 987; MD 323.]

**סוּף, II. n. m.** end
TgSong 5:12; 8:13 (twice)
[DNWSI 796 #2 (sp); Vogt 237; DQA 164; DJA 67; DJPA 371; Cook 190; DJBA 795; DSA 575 #1; DCPA 283 #1; SL 987; MD 323 #1.]

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**סַחֵרוֹת, adv.** all around
TgSong 3:3. This is attested in two manuscripts; all others have the preferred חזרוֹת.
[DQA 165; DJPA 372 (one attestation); Cook 191; DJBA 797.]

**סַחֵר, vb.** to surround (G), surround, move around, lead around (C)
TgSong 2:6; 3:2–3; 7; 6:5; 7:3; 8:9
[DNWSI 782 #1; DQA 165, 247 (שָׂחֵר); DJPA 372; Cook 191; DJBA 798 (“to beg”); DSA 578; DCPA 284; SL 994 (“to beg”); MD 320 #2.]

**סָחוֹת**
This is attested in most Yemenite manuscripts (and Sperber) for the westernسفיה in TgSong 3:2. See סוף.

**סֵטִים, vb.** to turn aside (G)
TgSong 2:2 (most western manuscripts); 7:11
[DQA 165, 247 (שֵׂטִים); DJPA 372; Cook 192; DJBA 798; DSA 580; SL 995; MD 323.]

**סֵטְיוֹת, n. f.** apostasy
TgSong 7:1
[Cook 192.]

**סֵטֵר, n. m.** side
TgSong 1:9; 2:14 (twice); 4:16 (twice); 5:13; 8:3
[DNWSI 1124 #3 (שֵׂר); Vogt 312 (שֵׂר); DJPA 373; Cook 192; DJBA 801 (סיָר); DSA 582; DCPA 284; SL 997; MD 326.]

**סֵתוֹנָה, n. m.** misery
TgSong 8:14
[ChW 2:145. RH Jastrow 975.]

**סִירָוֹר, n. m.** See סיר

**סִילָוֹת, n. m.** thorn
TgSong 2:2. There are many variants concerning the * and 1.
סים, vb. See סמי

ס_pemb, n. m. total amount
TgSong 1:11
[DJPA 377; Cook 194; DSA 588.]

סכל, vb. to look at (Dt)
TgSong 2:9; 5:12 (twice); 8:14 (twice)
[DNWSI 785 #1; Vogt 315 (שם); DQA 166; DJPA 377 #2; Cook 194 #1; DJBA 810 #1; DSA 586; DCPA 287 #2; SL 1010 #2.]

סכם, vb. to agree (C)
TgSong 8:13
[DJPA 378; DJBA 810; DSA 587; DCPA 288. RH Jastrow 991.]

סלו, n. m. See סילוא

סלק, vb. to come up, go up (G), remove (D), offer up, cause to ascend (C), withdraw, be removed (Dt)
[DNWSI 788 #1; Vogt 237; DQA 166; DJA 68; DJPA 379; Cook 195; DJBA 812 #1; DSA 592; DCPA 288; SL 1013; MD 332.]

סמי, vb. to make blind (D)
TgSong 5:7
[DJPA 381; DJBA 818; DSA 595; DCPA 289; SL 1017; MD 332 #1.]

סמך, n. m. support
TgSong 5:15
[DQA 167; DJPA 382 #2; Cook 196; SL 1019.]

סמל, n. m. See סמואל

סנה, n. m. enemy
TgSong 2:14
[G Ptc. DQA 249 (שמים); DJPA 571 (שמות); Cook 197; DJBA 821; DSA 599; DCPA 190 #1, SL 1022; MD 313.]

סנדל, n. m. sandal [Gk.]
TgSong 7:2
[Gk. σάνδαλον (Krauss 2:399). DJPA 383; ChW 2:175; DJBA 821; DSA 598; SL 1022; MD 313.]

שנדהדית, n. f. Sanhedrin [Gk.]
TgSong 4:1, 9; 5:12; 6:2; 7:5; 8:13
םֶסֶגֶון, n. m. dark color (?) [< Pers.]
TgSong 7:2
[Related to Pers. gwawn (ILS 137)? DNWSI 780 (swsgwn); DJPA 384; Cook 197; DJBA 823 (תַּשׁוּרָה “illness”); SL 1025.]

מָסָדָו, vb. to sustain, feed (G)
TgSong 2:5; 3:6; 8:2
[DNWSI 795; Vogt 238; DQA 167; DJPA 384; Cook 197; DJBA 823; DSA 600; DCPA 191.]

כַּעַדוּד, n. f. meal
TgSong 8:2
[DJPA 385; ChW 2:177; DJBA 823.]

פש, n. m. See פש

פשאמר, n. f. See פשאמר

סֶפֶר, n. m. sapphire
TgSong 1:11; 5:14 (Yemenite recension)
[BH HALOT 764. DQA 167; DJPA 387 (סֵפֶר); DSA 605.]

סֶפֶר, I. n. m. scribe
TgSong 1:2; 2:4; 3:3 (most manuscripts); 5:10; 7:5, 13–14; 8:9
[DNWSI 798 #2; Vogt 239; DQA 168 #2; DJA 68 #2; DJPA 386 #2; Cook 199; DJBA 828 #1; DSA 606; DCPA 292 #1; SL 1035; MD 314.]

סֶפֶר, II. n. m. book
TgSong 5:10; 7:13
[DNWSI 799 #3; Vogt 238; DQA 168 #1; DJA 68 #1; DJPA 387 #3; Cook 199 #1; DJBA 807 (ספרא); DSA 607; DCPA 286 (ספרא); SL 1035; MD 329.]

סקַפָה, vb. to befall (Dt)
TgSong 1:6
[Cook 200.]

סֶרֶו, vb. to stink (G), make to stink (C)
TgSong 1:12 (twice)
[DJPA 389; Cook 201; DJBA 1046; DSA 611; DCPA 292; SL 1046; MD 336 #1.]

סֶרֶק, n. m. fruitless (trees) [Heb.]
TgSong 2:3
סתו, *n. m.* winter
TgSong 2:11
[DNWSI 1198; DQA 249; DJPA 390; Cook 201; DJBA 809; DSA 613; DCPA 293; SL 1051; MD 330.]

SPARENT

סתיו, *n. f.* See פתי

סות, *vb.* to close up (G)
TgSong 3:5
[DQA 168; DJPA 390; ChW 2:192; DJBA 833; DSA 613; DCPA 293.]

عبرד, *vb.* to make, do (G), be done (Gt)
[DNWSI 806 #1; Vogt 241; DQA 170; DJA 69; DJPA 391; Cook 202; DJBA 836; DSA 615; DCPA 294; SL 1054; MD 2 (ABD).]

عبرד, *n. m.* servant
TgSong 5:14
[DNWSI 816 #2; Vogt 243; DQA 171; DJPA 391; Cook 202; DJBA 839 #1; DSA 617; DCPA 296; SL 1060; MD 3 (abda).]

عبرור, *n. m.* See עיברא

عبرר, *I. vb.* to cross, transgress (G)
TgSong 1:9; 2:15; 3:5–6; 5:15
[DNWSI 821 #1; DQA 171; DJPA 394; Cook 203; DJBA 840; DSA 619; DCPA 297; SL 1064; MD 4 (ABR).]

عبرר, *II. vb.* to intercalate (D)
TgSong 7:5
[DJPA 394; DJBA 840. RH Jastrow 1038.]

عبرר, *III. emph.* עיברא, *n. m.* other side (of the Jordan River)
TgSong 5:4
עגל, n. m. calf
TgSong 1:5, 12, 14; 2:17; 5:4
[DNWSI 823 #5; DJPA 393; Cook 209 (עגל); DJBA 851 #1; DSA 620; DCPA 299 #3; SL 1066; MD 340 #1.]

עד, prep. until, up to; conj. while
[DNWSI 825 #7; Vogt 245; DQA 172; DJA 69; DJPA 395; Cook 204; DJBA 842; DSA 622; DCPA 299; SL 1069; MD 6 (ad).]

עד, conj. See לא עד

עד, prep. before
TgSong 2:7. Two western manuscripts and the Yemenite recension spell as עדלא. On the prepositional use in the same context, note the variant in TgPs 78:9.
[DJA 69; DJPA 396; Cook 205; DJBA 844; DSA 8 (עדלא); DCPA 300; SL 1069; MD 8 (adla).]

עדב, n. m. See עדו

עדו, n. m./f. deed
[DNWSI 829 #1; Vogt 247; DQA 173; DJPA 397 (עדו); Cook 204 (עדו); DJBA 844 (עדו); SL 1069 (עדו).]

עדי, vb. to turn aside (G), remove (C)
TgSong 1:10 [twice]; 5:3
[DNWSI 829 #1; Vogt 247 (עדוי); DQA 173; DJA 69; DJPA 396; Cook 204 #1; DJBA 844; DSA 624; DCPA 301; SL 1070; MD 6 (ADA).]

עד, n. m./f. time
This is usually in the temporal construction (– עד) “in the time” > “when.”
[DNWSI 830 #2; Vogt 247; DQA 174; DJPA 402; Cook 205; DJBA 851; DSA 624; DCPA 301; SL 1073; MD 341.]

עד, n. m. flock
TgSong 1:7; 4:2; 6:6
[DJPA 397; Cook 205; DJBA 845; DSA 625.]

עובד, n. m. deed
[DQA 174; DJPA 397; Cook 205; DJBA 845; DSA 618; DCPA 302; MD 342.]
עובר, n. m. fetus
TgSong 7:3
[DJBA 846.]

עוד, adv. again
TgSong 2:11 (This is attested in majority of manuscripts in contrast to Paris 110’s תוב;)
TgSong 6:12; 8:6
[DNWSI 831 #5; Vogt 248; DQA 175; DJPA 398; Cook 205; DJBA 846;
DSA 626; DCPA 302; SL 1077.]

עול, n. m. yoke [Heb.]
TgSong 7:7. This occurs in most Yemenite manuscripts. This is the only Aramaic attestation. The western recension has the Aramaic ניר.
[BH HALOT 827 (ועל); RH Jastrow 1050.]

עולים, n. m. youth
TgSong 2:13; 4:13; 5:15; 6:10
[DNWSI 854 (ʿlym); DQA 181 (עלים); DJPA 399; Cook 206; DJBA 847;
DSA 640; DCPA 303; SL 1102 (עלם)].

עולשין, n. m. pl. endives
TgSong 2:9. See Phonology and Orthography 2.1.1.1.

עוף, n. m. bird
TgSong 4:5
[Vogt 249; DQA 176; DJPA 399; Cook 207; DJBA 848; DSA 627; DCPA 304; SL 1083.]

עז, n. m./f. See עפי

עוק, vb. to pressure, oppress (C)
TgSong 2:14 (twice); 5:7 (twice)
[DQA 176; DJPA 400; Cook 207; DJBA 848; DSA 627; DCPA 304; SL 1084; MD 137 (HWQ #1).]

עורב, n. m. raven
TgSong 5:11
[DJPA 400; Cook 207; DJBA 849; DSA 661 #2 (عرب); DCPA 305; SL 1086; MD 346.]

עז, n. m. goat
TgSong 1:8
[DNWSI 875 (ʿnz); Vogt 249; DJPA 401; Cook 209 (ʿז); DJBA 852; DSA 630; DCPA 305; SL 1089; MD 353 (ʿnẓ).]
עזקה, n. m. See עזקה

עוזרה, n. f. Temple courtyard [Heb.]
TgSong 4:11
[BH HALOT 812; RH Jastrow 1062. DJA 70; ChW 2:208; DJBA 850.]

עזרת, I. vb. to enwrap (G)
TgSong 5:10
[DJPA 402; Cook 208; DJBA 850; DSA 631; DCPA 306; SL 1093; MD 13 (ATP).]

עזרת, II. n. m. bosom
TgSong 2:6
[Cook 208; DSA 631. With the meanings “garment,” “fold,” or “curved part”: DJBA 112 (איטפא); DCPA 306; SL 1094; MD 13.]

עיבור, n. m. intercalation
TgSong 7:5. This is spelled as עיבור in a number of western manuscripts, a form that likely led to a metathesis of the ר and ו in some Yemenite manuscripts. Sperber further confuses the ר with a ג and erroneously has עבורי “deeds” without any manuscript evidence.
[DJPA 402; ChW 2:200; DJBA 850. RH Jastrow 1065.]

عبر, n. m. See עבר, III.

עיגול, n. m. See עיגול

עז, n. m. See עז

עז, n. m. See עז

עэтажה, n. f. signet ring
TgSong 8:6 (twice). Note the same phrase in the TgPsJ version of Exod 28:11, 21; 39:14. See עндексה.
[DNWSI 836 (zqdh); Vogt 249 (עתק); DQA 176 (עתק); DJPA 401 (עתק); Cook 208 (עתק); DJBA 853; DCPA 305 (עתק); SL 1090 (עתק); MD 348, 354.]

עיסף, n. m. See עיסף

עינ, n. f. eye; spring
TgSong 1:15, 16; 2:6; 5:2 (attested in a few manuscripts). 7, 12; 8:10, 14
[DNWSI 839 #1, #2; Vogt 250; DQA 177; DJA 70; DJPA 403; Cook 209; DJBA 855, 857 #2; DSA 632–33; DCPA 306; SL 1097; MD 15.]
עליה, prep. upon; עליי, prep. from over
TgSong 1:10, 16; 2:5–6; 3:1, 10; 5:15
[DNWSI 852 (ʿlwy); DQA 180; DJPA 404, 315; Cook 212 (ʿללי); DJBA 854, 855; DSA 637 (עללי); SL 1100 (أمل); MD 350.]

עורבה, n.f. grape
TgSong 1:14; 7:8–9; 8:2
[DNWSI 874 (ʿnb); DJPA 412 (ענבה); Cook 214 (ענבה); DJBA 857; DSA 646 #1 (ונב); DCPA 314 (קט); SL 1114 (מלמל); MD 353.]

עיסק, only in the construction עיסק על, prep. because of, concerning
TgSong 2:15; 3:3
[DJPA 407; Cook 210; DSA 649.]

עיקר, n.m. root
TgSong 4:12
[DNWSI 883 #2 (ʿqr); Vogt 268 (עקר); DQA 186 (עקר); DJPA 405; ChW 2:239; DJBA 859; DSA 659; SL 1132.]

עיר, vb. to wake up (G, Gt)
TgSong 5:2 (twice); 7:10. The use of the G with this meaning is only attested here and perhaps TgJob 41:2.
[DQA 176 (עיר); DJPA 400 (עיר); Cook 211; DJBA 848 (עיר); DSA 628; DCPA 304 #1; SL 1098; MD 10 (AUR).]

עיב, vb. to delay (transitive) (D); to tarry, delay (intransitive) (Dt)
TgSong 2:7; 3:5; 8:4
[DNWSI 842; DJA 70; DJPA 405; Cook 211; DJBA 860; DSA 634 (from Onqelos).]

על, prep. upon, over; against; concerning
[DNWSI 844 #7; Vogt 251; DQA 177; DJA 70; DJPA 406; Cook 211; DJBA 862; DSA 635; DCPA 307; SL 1099; MD 349.]

על, prep. See מ

עלל, n.f. burnt offering
TgSong 4:1; 5:1; 7:13
[DNWSI 851 (ʿlwh); Vogt 258; DQA 180 #1; DJPA 408; Cook 211; DSA 637; DCPA 309 #1; SL 1106.]

עללי, prep. See עלל

עללו, vb. to enter, go in (G), cause to enter, bring in (C)
עָלָם, n. m. world, age

עָמָה, I. n. m. people, pl. nations, Gentiles

עָמָה, II. prep. with

עָמָד, n. m. pillar

עָמָר, n. m. wool

עָנָן, n. m. cloud

עָנִין, vb. to respond (G)

עָנִין, n. m. matter of concern

עָנָן, n. m. cloud
עֶשֶׁרִי, adj. See עֵשֶׁר

עֶסֶק, vb. to be occupied (with), study (G)
[DQA 189 (עשֶק); DJPA 414; Cook 215; DJBA 873; DSA 649 #2; SL 1120; MD 29 (ASQ).]

עֶסֶר, num. See עֶשֶׁר

עֶסֶרִים, num. See עֶשֶׁר

עֵפֶר, n. m./f. foliage
TgSong 1:16; 2:2. Several Yemenite manuscripts have the spelling עֵפֶר, עֵפֶר.
[Vogt 267; DQA 176 (עֵפֶר), 2:458; ChW 2:232; SL 1083 (עֵפֶר); BH HALOT 860 (Ps 104:12 only).]

עֵפֶר, n. m. dust
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 879 #1; DQA 186; DJPA 414; Cook 216; DJBA 875; DSA 652 #1; DCPA 316; SL 1124 #1; MD 32 (apra).]

עֵפר, vb. to press, squeeze (G)
TgSong 1:14
[DJPA 415; Cook 216; DJBA 876; DSA 655; DCPA 317; SL 1127; MD 33 (ASR).]

עֵפר, vb. to be bound (Dt)
TgSong 3:6. Without vowels, the form could be a Gt or Dt, but the analogous context is vocalized as a Dt in TgMic 7:20.
[DJPA 415; Cook 217; DSA 657 #2; SL 1129; MD 34 (AQD). BH HALOT 873.]

עֵקֶדָה, n. f. distress
TgSong 8:14
[DNWSI 881 #2 (ʿq); DQA 186; DJA 72; DJPA 415; Cook 216; DJBA 878; DSA 628 (עֵקֶדָה); DCPA 317; SL 1133; MD 34 (aqta).]

עֵקֶדֶד, n. f. binding (of Isaac)
TgSong 1:13
[DJPA 416; ChW 2:236. RH Jastrow 1105.]

עֵקֵק, n. m. precious stone
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension.
[ChW 2:238.]

עֵקרָב, n. m. scorpion
TgSong 2:6
עקרָה, n. f. barren female
TgSong 4:2; 6:6
[DJPA 417; Cook 217; DSA 660; DCPA 318; SL 1133; MD 33 (aqarta).]

עָרָב, I. vb. to be mixed (Dt)
TgSong 3:5
[DNWSI 885 #3; Vogt 268; DQA 186; DJPA 417; Cook 217 #2; DJBA 879; DSA 661 #4; DCPA 319 #3; SL 1133 #2; MD 35 #2 (ARQ)].

עָרָב, II. vb. to be (?) sweet (D)
TgSong 2:14. < Hebrew text. This occurs in the PPTc (?) form מסְרָב; the root occurs in the underlying Hebrew as an adjective.
[BH HALOT 879 #3 attested here and Prov 20:17. DJPA 417. RH Jastrow 1110 #2.]

עָרְבּוֹב, n. m. mixture (of people)
TgSong 1:12. See Lexical Stock 5.4.2.
[DQA 187 (עריב); DJPA 418 (עריבוב); DSA 661 (“blemish”; see also 662. ערבוב); DCPA 319 (“commotion”). Cp. ערבוב “(banned) mixture” in Cook 211; DJBA 860 #1; RH Jastrow 1075 and ערבב “swarm” in Cook 218.]

עָרָבלָא, n. m. mixed-multitude
TgSong 1:9. This is attested in the western recension. The Yemenite recension has ארבליא “Arabs.” The verbal root means “to sift, confuse.” Note TgOnq Exod 14:3, the likely source, though the speakers are different in the two texts. The normal gloss for the noun ערבילא refers to a “sieve.”
[DQA 187 (n.); CHW 2:243; Cook 218 (vb.); DJBA 163 (vb. & n. ארבליא); DCPA 320 (vb.); SL 1135 (vb. & n.).]

עָרָק, I. vb. to flee (G)
TgSong 3:5; 4:6 (twice); 8:12, 14 (twice)
[DNWSI 1035 #1 (qreq); DQA 188; DJPA 420; Cook 219; DJBA 883; DSA 666; DCPA 321; SL 1142; MD 38 #1 (ARQ)].

עָרָק, II. n. m. precious stone
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the margin of one Yemenite manuscript. It is not attested elsewhere.

עָשָׂרִי, num. tenth
TgSong 1:1. Most Yemenite manuscripts spell עָשָׂרִי.
[DQA 185; DJPA 421; Cook 215; DJBA 884; DSA 650; DCPA 315; SL 1119.]

עָשָׂר, num. ten
عشורי, *num.* twenty
TgSong 1:1, 11; 5:13; 7:9; 8:11–12
[DNWSI 893 #5; Vogt 269; DQA 188; DJA 72; DJPA 421; Cook 215
(עָשָׂר; DJBA 884; DSA 650 (עָשָׁר); DCPA 316 (עָשָׁר); SL 1121 (עָשָׁר); MD 30 #1 (asar).]

עששית, *n. f.* light [Heb.]
TgSong 5:14. This is the only Aramaic attestation.

עתד, *vb.* to station oneself; be prepared (Dt)
TgSong 2:9, 16; 5:1, 15; 8:2, 9 (twice)
[DNWSI 897; DJPA 422; Cook 220; DSA 669; DCPA 322; SL 1146; MD 44 (ATT).]

עתידי, *adj.* indicates the distant future
[DNWSI 897; Vogt 271; DQA 189; DJPA 422; Cook 220; DJBA 884;
DSA 669 (עץ); DCPA 322; SL 1147; MD 358 (עידי).]

עתיק, *adj.* old
TgSong 7:10; 8:2
[DNWSI 898 (at); Vogt 271; DJA 72; DJPA 422; Cook 220; DJBA 885;
DSA 670; DCPA 322; SL 1147; MD 43 (atiga).]

פ

פּוֹלָחָן, *n. m.* work, worship
TgSong 2:17; 8:6
[Vogt 274 (פּוֹלָחָן); DJPA 435 (פּוֹלָחָן); Cook 222; DSA 683 (פּוֹלָחָן); DCPA 332 (פּוֹלָחָן);
SL 1163; MD 367 (pulhāna).]

פום, *n. m.* See פּוֹמ
part. irreal particle
TgSong 8:4
[Cook 222; DSA 688 (BH = פֶּן).]

bridal litter [etym. uncert.]
TgSong 1:16. This occurs in the form פֶּן, as in TgPsJ Deut 32:50. The Yemenite recension spells פורייה in TgJob 8:16.
[Usually thought < Gk. φορεῖον (Krauss 2:434). ChW 2:290 (פורייה); DJA 426; DJBA 891 #2 (פורייה); SL 1170; MD 368 (puria). Note the BH hapax (Song 3:9) אַפִּרְיוֹן HALOT 80 and the RH אפיריין Jastrow 108 (forms occur with and without the א.)]

deliverance, redemption
TgSong 2:12; 7:13
[DQA 295; DJA 73; DJPA 427; Cook 223; DJBA 893; DSA 709; DCPA 342; SL 1172; MD 369.]

to increase (G) < נפש
TgSong 1:16; 6:11. This is an LJLA term only attested here; it occurs in construction with סגיי "increase and multiply." For the derivation, note TgOnq Gen 1:22, 28; 9:1, 7.
[ChW 2:258; Jastrow 1149.]

topaz
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[BH HALOT 924; DSA 679 (< Heb).]

fattened (animal)
TgSong 4:5
[DNWSI 908 #2 (phalt); DJA 429; Cook 224; DJBA 897; DSA 679; DCPA 327.]

unleavened bread
TgSong 2:9
[DJPA 429; Cook 224; DJBA 897; DSA 679; DCPA 327; SL 1181; MD 360.]

to depart, die (Gt)
TgSong 1:1; 7
[DNWSI 908 #1; DQA 190; DJPA 429; Cook 224; DJBA 897; DSA 679; DCPA 327; SL 1183; MD 369.]

elephant
TgSong 5:14; 6:8; 7:5
[DQA 190; DJPA 431 #2; ChW 2:262 #3; DJBA 900 #1; SL 1186.]

See
פָּרוֹשֵׁה, n. m. explication

TgSong 5:11

[DQA 195 (Parosh); DJPA 432; Cook 225; DJBA 904; DSA 711 (Parosh).]

פָּרִי, n. m. pl. fruit

TgSong 8:2

[DQA 194 (firi); DJA 73; DJPA 446; Cook 225; DJBA 903 #1; DSA 703; DCPA 329; SL 1151; MD 371 (pira).]

פָּלָג, I. vb. to divide (D)

TgSong 2:17; 8:11 (some manuscripts have a form that appears to be in the G-stem based on orthography)

[DNWSI 911 #1; Vogt 272; DQA 191; DJA 73; DJPA 433; Cook 225; DJBA 908; DSA 681; DCPA 329; SL 1193; MD 373.]

פָּלָג, II. n. m. half, piece

TgSong 2:11. < TgQon Gen 15:17.

[DNWSI 912 #3; Vogt 273; DQA 191; DJA 73; DJPA 436; Cook 225; DJBA 910 #1; DSA 681; DCPA 330; SL 1194; MD 360.]

פָּלָגו, n. f. half

TgSong 2:11

[DNWSI 914; DQA 191; DJA 73; DJPA 434; Cook 225; DJBA 911; DSA 682; DCPA 331; SL 1194; MD 361.]

פָּלָח, vb. to worship, serve (G)

[DNWSI 914 #1; Vogt 273; DQA 191; DJPA 435; Cook 226; DJBA 912; DSA 683; DCPA 331; SL 1196; MD 374 (PLH).]

פָּלִיטְיָה, n. f. open place, wide street [Gk.]

TgSong 3:2. Note that the LXX of this verse has πλατείας.

[Gk. πλατεία (Krauss II: 456). DNWSI 915 #1 (platy); DJPA 435; SL 1199.]

פָּלָל, n. m. region, district [Akk.]

TgSong 2:2; 3:11; 6:9; 7:12

[Akk. pilku (Kaufman 83). Cook 226. BH HALOT 933 #2.]

פָּמָה, n. m. mouth; לע פָּמָה, prep. according to

Paris 110 usually spells this word defectively; the other manuscripts usually have פָּמָה. Note that western dialects spell פָּמָה, and eastern dialects spell פָּמָה. [DNWSI 916 #1; Vogt 274; DQA 192; DJPA 437, 407; Cook 222; DJBA 889; DSA 687; DCPA 333; SL 1165; MD 368.]
פָּרָמִילִּים, *n. f. pl.* household (of angels) [Lat.]
TgSong 1:15
[Lat. *familiaria* (Krauss 2:463); SL 1204 (Hebrew); ChW 2:271. RH Jastrow 1185.]

פָּנְלִים, *vb.* to turn in a direction (Gt)
TgSong 6:1
[DNWSI 920; DQA 192; DJPA 438; Cook 226; DJBA 914; DSA 688; DCPA 334; SL 1205; MD 374.]

פָּנְקִים, *vb.* to indulge (D), be delighted (Dt)
TgSong 5:1; 6:2: 8:5
[DJPA 438; Cook 226; DJBA 915; DCPA 334; SL 1207; MD 375.]

פָּסְחָה, *n. m.* Passover
TgSong 1:1; 2:9
[DNWSI 922; DQA 193; DJA 73; DJPA 439; Cook 227; DJBA 917; DSA 691; DCPA 335; SL 1219 (Hebrew).]

פָּסָל, *n. m.* idol [Heb.]
TgSong 2:15
[BH HALOT 949; RH Jastrow 1198. ChW 2:278; DSA 692.]

פָּסֵק, *vb.* to cease, depart (from someone) (G)
TgSong 1:1, 13; 2:11
[DNWSI 923 #1; DJPA 441; Cook 228; DJBA 919; DSA 693 #1; DCPA 336; SL 1212; MD 375.]

פָּסְרָד, *vb.* to command, order (G, D), be commanded (Dt)
TgSong 1:14; 2:4: 3:4
[DNWSI 932 #1; DQA 193; DJPA 442; Cook 228; DJBA 924; DSA 697; DCPA 337; SL 1220; MD 376.]

פָּסְדוֹד, *n. m.* commandment
[DQA 193; DJPA 432; Cook 228; DSA 698; DCPA 338.]

פָּרָוָנִים, *n. m.* sapphire [Pers.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the western recension.

פָּרָוָה, *n. f.* curtain
TgSong 3:10
[DQA 194 (Persian); DJPA 445; Cook 228; DSA 704 (Persian); SL 1242. Note BH פָּרָוָה HALOT 968.]

פָּרָיִים, *n. m.* See פָּרָיָה
פריק, n. m. redeemer, savior (referring to the Messiahs of David and Ephraim)

TgSong 4:5; 7:4. This is attested in the ketib of TgHos 13:4; in LJLA, it is attested in TgEsth I 2:5, TgLam 5:8, Tg1 Chr 19:12, TgPsJ Lev 25:25.

[ChW 2:299 (פָּרִיקָה).]

פרנס, vb. to support (Quad), to be supported, maintained (QuadT)

TgSong 1:7–8, 10; 6:2; 7:3 (twice)
[DNWSI 940 #1; DJPA 448; ChW 2:292; DJBA 935; DSA 704; DCPA 341; SL 1243.]

פרס, vb. to spread, pitch (a tent) (G)

TgSong 1:9 (several western manuscripts have הַפְּרִשׂ); TgSong 3:2, 7, 10 (several western manuscripts have הַפָּרִשׂ); 7:8
[DNWSI 940 #1; Vogt 276; DQA 194; DJPA 449; Cook 229 #1; DJBA 935 #2; DSA 705 #1; SL 1244 #2; MD 380.]

פרסם, vb. to reveal (Quad), be exposed (QuadT)

TgSong 2:17 (on this form, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.1.1); 5:10
[DJPA 449; DJBA 936. RH Jastrow 1234.]

פרום, vb. to redeem, save (G), be redeemed, saved (Gt)

TgSong 2:8; 4:5; 7:4, 9, 13–14; 8:4, 14
[DNWSI 943 #2; Vogt 277; DQA 194; DJA 74; DJPA 450; Cook 229; DJBA 937; DSA 708; DCPA 341; SL 1250; MD 380.]

פרקטון, n. m. pool, stream works

TgSong 7:5. This is an LJLA term also attested in TgQoh 2:6; TgPsJ Gen 14:3; Num 21:34; 24:6.

[ChW 2:300. Perhaps related to SL 1252 (בְּחַסַכְתָא) < פָּרָכָת, so CAL (9 Dec 2014); this is not entirely convincing.]

פרשׂ, vb. to spread out (G)

TgSong 1:9; 3:10. This is attested in several western manuscripts; others have the synonymous verb פְּרִשׂ (פְּרִשׁ). Alternatively, these attestations may be the verb פָּרֵשׁ, I. used in an uncharacteristic manner.
[DNWSI 944 #1; DQA 194 (פריש); DJPA 449 (פריש); Cook 229 #1 (פריש); DJBA 935 #2 (פריש); DSA 705 #1 (פריש); SL 1244 #2 (פריש); MD 380 (פריש). BH Frisch HALOT 975.]

פרש, I. vb. to separate (G), clarify (D), be separated (Gt), be clarified (Dt)

TgSong 1:1, 11; 2:5 (this is attested in the Yemenite recension and one western manuscript; the western recension has פָּרֵשׁ "to interpret"), 17; 4:12; 7:8. The orthography does not distinguish between the Gt and Dt in this root.
פרש, II. n. m. horseman
TgSong 1:9 (twice); 6:8

פרש, n. m. navel
TgSong 7:3. Other than one JLA variant of שור “umbilical cord” (TgEzek 16:4), this is an LJLA term also attested in TgJob 3:10; 40:16; TgPsJ Num 11:31.

פרת, n. m. horseman
TgSong 1:9 (twice); 6:8

פרת, n. m. navel
TgSong 7:3. Other than one JLA variant of שור “umbilical cord” (TgEzek 16:4), this is an LJLA term also attested in TgJob 3:10; 40:16; TgPsJ Num 11:31.

פשר, vb. to interpret (G or D)
TgSong 2:5. The form מנסה is either a G Inf or D Ptc. This is attested in the western recension; the Yemenite recension and one western manuscript have פרש I. This root in the meaning “interpret” usually refers to dreams.

פתגם, n. m./f. word, utterance, matter [Pers.]
[Pers. patigāma (ILS 242–43). DNWSI 948; Vogt 978; DQA 196; DJPA 454; Cook 230; DJBA 945; DSA 714; DCPA 343; SL 1263; MD 367 (pugdama).]

בפתגם, adv. by the edge of
TgSong 2:16. This is attested in the western recension. Two manuscripts have – דכפתגם, as in TgPsJ Num 21:24. The Yemenite recension has the form – דלפתגם, which is the standard targumic rendering of the Hebrew לפי.

פתור, n. m. table
TgSong 4:16

פתור, vb. to open (G)

פתיט, n. f. plaza
TgSong 3:2. This occurs in the absolute plural form פטיות. This LJLA form is also attested in TgLam 2:11, 12; TgPs 118:5; Tg2Chr 29:4; 32:6. At is translating "plazas" HALOT 1212. Most Yemenite manuscripts have the form פטיות, which is likely a transcriptional error or a misspelling of סטיו מosaic pavement" (Jastrow 972) attested in TgPsJ Lev 26:1, which may itself be from the Greek στοά “roofed colonnade, piazza, cloister,” Edward M. Cook, p.c. fall 2015.
צָאֵף, n. m. See בֵּילָאר

צָבֵּה, n. f. will, desire
TgSong 6:4
[DNWSI 956; Vogt 280; DQA 198; DJA 75; DJPA 457; DJBA 950; DSA 720; DCPA 346; SL 1270; MD 389.]

צָבַּה, adv. See צָבָּה

צָבֵּי, vb. to desire, be willing (G)
TgSong 2:12 (most western manuscripts); 5:4, 6, 9
[DNWSI 957 #1; Vogt 280; DQA 198; DJA 75; DJPA 457; Cook 232; DJBA 950; DSA 719; DCPA 346; SL 1271; MD 388 #1.]

צָבֻּה, vb. to drench, moisten (D), be drenched, moistened (Dt)
TgSong 5:2 (This is a Dt in western recension, a D P/tc in most Yemenite manuscripts.); 8:2 (This is attested in a few Yemenite manuscripts; otherwise, the manuscripts have the Dt of צָנָה “to be set aside, hidden,” the latter making more sense in context.)
[DNWSI 958 #1; Vogt 280; DJPA 457; Cook 232; DJBA 951; DSA 720 #2; DCPA 347 #1; SL 1272; MD 388 #2 (§BA).]

צָדֵר, vb. to be desolate (G), make desolate (D, C)
TgSong 3:5 (three times)
[DJPA 458; Cook 233; DSA 722 #1; SL 1274 #1.]

צָדִיק, adj. righteous person, righteous
[DNWSI 963 #3 (sdaq); DQA 198; DJPA 458; Cook 233; DJBA 952; DSA 724; DCPA 347; SL 365 (חָמָן); MD 385.]

צָדֵק, I. vb. to declare justified (C)
TgSong 6:5
צדק, II. n. m. righteousness, merit [Heb.]
TgSong 3:6. This is attested in one Yemenite manuscript. See also צדקא.
[BH HALOT 1004; RH Jastrow 1263. DNWSI 962 #2; DCPA 348.]

צדקא, n. f. righteousness, merit
TgSong 2:8 (Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript have צדקא); 3:6 (most Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript have צדקא). 7:6
[DNWSI 964; Vogt 281; DQA 199; DJPA 458; Cook 233; DJBA 952; DSA 724; DCPA 348; SL 367 (צדקא); MD 165 (zidqa).]

צדקא, n. f. righteousness, merit
TgSong 2:8; 3:6. Both attestations are in most Yemenite manuscripts and one western manuscript. Western manuscripts have צדקא in both instances. LJLA form also in TgPs 11:7; TgProv 1:3; 2:9; 8:8, 15; 16:12, 13; 25:5; 31:9; TgRuth 2:13; TgQoh 2:21; 7:15.
[ChW 2:317.]

צוה, n. f. thirst (i.e. zeal?)
TgSong 6:7. This is attested in roughly half of the western manuscripts (including Paris 110); the others have the synonymous צוה. See Phonology and Orthography 2.2.4.3. The Yemenite recension likely has the original form צוה, "dazzling, clarity," which underwent a series of graphic errors in the west, leading to צוה.
[DNWSI 964 (צוה); DJPA 459; Cook 233; DJBA 953; DSA 725 (צוה); DCPA 349 (צוה; MD 386 #5 (צוה).]

צים, n. m. neck
TgSong 2:5; 4:9; 5:7
[Vogt 281; DQA 199 #2; DJPA 460 (צוה); Cook 234 (צוה); DJBA 954 (צוה); DSA 725; SL 1281 (צוה); MD 386.]

צוה, n. m. See צוה

צוה, vb. to listen, obey (G, C)
TgSong 1:1; 8:13
[DQA 200; DJPA 462; Cook 235; DJBA 957; DSA 730; DCPA 352; SL 1282; MD 392.]

צוה, n. f. thirst (i.e. zeal?)
TgSong 6:7. This is attested in roughly half of the western manuscripts; the others have צוה. The Yemenite recension has the preferred צוה (and note) and צוה.
[DNWSI 966 (צוה, same attestation as צוה); DJPA 462 (unclear); Cook 233 (צוה, variant); DJBA 953 (צוה).]
צוה, *adj.* dazzling, clarity

TgSong 5:14 (The manuscripts are divided as to whether this is masculine plural or feminine plural; the subject seems to be בְּנֵי ("tribes" from the very beginning of the verse; the phrase is syntactically awkward); 6:7 (This is attested in the Yemenite recension; see the note at צִיוֹן.)

[DJBA 958; SL 1283. BH HALOT 1018.]

צונית, *adv.* See צוה

צִיבָר, *adv.* little bit, small amount

TgSong 3:4. Yemenite manuscripts use the form standard in TgJon. The western manuscripts have conjoined words, as is common in the other late dialects. Note also the change from final ח to final ע, a common corruption in JPA that becomes standard in LJLA. See TgRuth 2:7; Tg2Chr 24:24; TgPsJ Gen 19:20. Forms with ח and ע are attested among the manuscripts at TgJob 36:2.

[DJPA 462; ChW 2:311; DSA 730 (צִיבָר); DCPA 353 (צִיבָר).]

ציפון, *n. m.* See צופה

צִיצַי, *n. f.* fringe (of hair)

TgSong 5:2

[DJPA 464; DSA 529 (targumic variant צִיצַת). BH HALOT 1024 (צִיצַת).]

צֵלָה, *n. f.* prayer

[DQA 200; DJA 75; DJPA 464; Cook 237; DJBA 964; DSA 732; DCPA 355; SL 1286; MD 387.]

צֵלָה, *vb.* to be prosperous (C)

TgSong 3:7

[Vogt 282; DQA 200 #1; DJPA 465; Cook 237 #2; DJBA 964 #2; DSA 732; DCPA 355; SL 1287 #2.]

צֵלָל, *vb.* to pray (D)

[DNWSI 967; Vogt 282 (צֵלָל); DQA 200; DJPA 465; Cook 237; DJBA 965 #2; DSA 732 #1; DCPA 355; SL 1287; MD 395.]

צִנִית, *adj.* chaste, modest

TgSong 4:8–12: 5:1

[DJPA 467; ChW 2:332; DJBA 968; SL 1295.]

צָנַה, *vb.* to lay aside, hide (C), be set aside, hidden (Dt)
צער, *n. m.* pain, sorrow
TgSong 8:14
[DQA 201; DJA 75; DJPA 468; Cook 238; DJBA 970; DSA 740; DCPA 357; SL 1296.]

צפרדס, *n. m.* See צפרדס

צפון, *n. m.* north
TgSong 4:16. A minority of manuscripts spell צפן.
[DNWSI 972 #2 (ṣpn); DQA 201; DJA 75; DJPA 468; Cook 238 DJBA 962; DSA 740; DCPA 358. BH HALOT 1046; RH Jastrow 1295 #2.]

צפר, *n. m.* morning
TgSong 2:10; 7:13
[DNWSI 973 #4; DQA 201 #2; DJA 75; DJPA 469; Cook 239; DJBA 971; DSA 742 #1; DCPA 358; SL 1299; MD 394 #2.]

צפריר, *n. m.* morning demon
TgSong 4:6. Reading with the majority of western manuscripts against Paris 110’s צפרדס and Yemenite די. This is an LJLA term which refers to morning in TgPs 73:14; 121:6. It refers to morning demons in TgPsJ Num 6:24.
[Jastrow 1299; ChW 2:335.]

קבל, *vb.* to receive, accept (D), be received, accepted (Dt)
[DNWSI 979 #1; Vogt 284; DQA 203 #1; DJA 76; DJPA 472; Cook 241 #2; DJBA 979 #1; DSA 747 #1; DCPA 360 #1; SL 1311; MD 404.]

קבלת, *n. f.* complaint
TgSong 2:8
[DNWSI 982 (qblh); DQA 203; DJPA 472; Cook 240; DJBA 978; DSA 749; SL 1310.]

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ךביבלה, *n. f.* complaint
TgSong 2:8
[DNWSI 982 (qblh); DQA 203; DJPA 472; Cook 240; DJBA 978; DSA 749; SL 1310.]

ךבלי, *vb.* to receive, accept (D), be received, accepted (Dt)
[DNWSI 979 #1; Vogt 284; DQA 203 #1; DJA 76; DJPA 472; Cook 241 #2; DJBA 979 #1; DSA 747 #1; DCPA 360 #1; SL 1311; MD 404.]
לָכֵּ֖ל, prep. See לָכָּל

לָכֵּ֖ב, vb. to affix, establish (G)
TgSong 4:9 (twice); 6:5; 7:2 (some western manuscripts have different verbs, including בָּאָּֽב, “to attach” and בָּאָּֽב, “to arise, stand”), 5, 14; 8:3
[DNWSI 983 #1; DJPA 473; Cook 241; DJBA 980; DSA 750; DCPA 361; SL 1312.]

לָכֵּ֖ב, vb. to be buried (Gt)
TgSong 8:5
[DNWSI 983 #1; DQA 204; DJA 76; DJPA 473; Cook 241; DJBA 982; DSA 751; DCPA 362; SL 1313; MD 404.]

לָכְדֵּ֖ישׁ, adj. holy
TgSong 1:3, 15; 2:5; 4:12
[DNWSI 995 #3 (qds); Vogt 286; DQA 204; DJPA 474; Cook 242; DJBA 984; DSA 760; DCPA 362; SL 1316; MD 399.]

לָכִּ֖ד, n. m. nape of the neck
TgSong 1:10 (twice)
[DNWSI 986; DQA 204; DJPA 474; Cook 242; DJBA 984; DSA 753; DCPA 363; SL 1317.]

לָכְדָּ֖ם, vb. to rise early (C)
TgSong 7:13
[DNWSI 986 #1; DQA 205; DJPA 475; Cook 242; DJBA 984; DSA 753; DCPA 363; SL 1317; MD 405.]

לָכְדָּ֖ם, prep. before; מָן לָכְדָּם, prep. (from) before
[DNWSI 988 #3; Vogt 286; DQA 205; DJA 76; DJPA 478 (קְדַם); Cook 242; DJBA 985 (ארִּיאֶץ); DSA 755–56; DCPA 364 (בְּלֵּֽךְ); SL 1318; MD 406.]

לָכּוֹ֖ם, adj. first
TgSong 1:1; 6:4. On the forms, see Morphology 3.3.4.
[DNWSI 992; Vogt 290; DQA 205; DJA 77; DJPA 475; Cook 242; DJBA 986; DSA 757; DCPA 375; SL 1319; MD 399.]

לָכִּ֖מְתָּן, n. m. pl > adv. in the form מָן לָכִּ֖מְתָּן, (from) long ago, previously
TgSong 1:13; 2:10; 3:3
[DNWSI 987 #2 (qdm); DQA 129 (לָכִּ֖מְתָּן); DJPA 315 (לָכִּ֖מְתָּן); Cook 243; DSA 757 (לָכִּ֖מְתָּן).]

לָכְּדֵ֖מה, prep. in the phrase מָן לָכְּדֵ֖מה, previously
TgSong 1:12; 2:17; 7:6
[DNWSI 991 #1 (qdmh); Vogt 289 (לָכְּדֵ֖מה); DQA 206; DJA 77; DSA 758; DCPA 2:345 (לָכְּדֵ֖מה).]
כֶּדֶר, vb. to be dark (G), become dark (Gt) [Heb.]

TgSong 1:5, 6. Note that the place name "Kedar" occurs in the underlying Hebrew of 1:5.
[ChW 2:346; DJBA 987 (one uncertain, disputed attestation); MD 405 (in Pan‘el). BH HALOT 1072; RH Jastrow 1318 #2.]

כָּשֵׁש, I. vb. to make holy (D), be made holy (Dt)

TgSong 1:1; 5:3 (in the majority of manuscripts, but not Paris 110)
[DNWSI 993 #1; DQA 206; DJPA 477; Cook 243; DJBA 987; DSA 759; DCPA 363; SL 1320; MD 405.]

כָּשָׁש, II. n. m. holiness, Holy One, holy thing

[DNWSI 994 #2; DQA 206; DJA 77; DJPA 476; Cook 243; DJBA 989; DSA 760; DCPA 364 #1; SL 1325; MD 406.]

קָהל, n. m. congregation

TgSong 7:8
[DNWSI 997 #2; DJPA 477; Cook 243; DJBA 989; DSA 761; DCPA 363; SL 1321.]

כָּדוֹד, n. m. See כֶּדֶר, I.

כָּו, vb. to arise, stand (G), confirm, establish, swear (D), make stand (C)

The unusual gloss "to swear" at TgSong 5:9 parallels אַשְׁבֵּעַת לְךָ "I adjure you" from the previous verse.
[DNWSI 997 #1; Vogt 290; DQA 207; DJA 77; DJPA 479; Cook 244; DJBA 992; DSA 762 #1; DCPA 365; SL 1330; MD 407.]

כָּוָר, prep. before

TgSong 1:4 (twice); 9; 2:6, 14, 17; 5:6, 10; 7:12; 8:14 (twice). This only occurs in Paris 110 as an occasional variant of וּפֶרְשָׁה, always with suffixes. In LJLA, it is also attested in TgPs; TgJob; TgQoh; TgChr; TgPsI.
[DJA 78 (נָכִים); DJPA 481 (נִכָּמִים); DJBA 1024 (נָכִים); DSA 758 (נָכִים); DCPA 375–76 usually temporal (נִכָּמִי); MD 401 (quam).]

קָוֵום, n. f. stature, body

TgSong 7:8. < Hebrew text.
[DNWSI 1004; DQA 208; DJPA 481; ChW 2:351; DJBA 999; DSA 767; DCPA 367; SL 1335; MD 408. HALOT 1089.]

כָּורָב, n. m. sacrifice, offering

[DNWSI 1031 (qrbn); DQA 212 (קרבנ); DJA 78 (קרובn); DJPA 484; Cook 245; DJBA 1002; DSA 797 (קרובn); DCPA 367; SL 1343; MD 409.]

כָּוְל, n. m. execution
 kosher, n. m. See קוטו
kosher, n. m. See קוטו
kosher, n. f. See קוטה
kosher, vb. to kill (G, D)
The pluractional distinction between G and D is not evident in TgSong.
[DNWSI 1006 #1; Vogt 293; DQA 208; DJA 77; DJPA 486; Cook 245; DJBA 1006; DSA 769; DCPA 368; SL 1352; MD 417 (QTL)].]

kosher, vb. to be cut short (Gt)
TgSong 2:11
[DJPA 487; DJBA 1007; DSA 772; DCPA 369; SL 1354; MD 87 (G TA)].]

koter, vb. to tie on (G)
TgSong 8:3. This is attested in the Western recension; the Yemenite recension has the synonymous Hebrew verb נשען.
[DQA 209 #2; DJPA 488; Cook 246 #2; DJBA 1008 #1; DSA 774 #1; DCPA 370; SL 1356; MD 88 (GTA)].]

kótrah, n. f. incense
TgSong 3:6; 4:6; 16–5:1; 5:5; 6:2; 8:14. The manuscripts are divided—though usually internally consistent—concerning the orthography. Paris 110 is always defective while other manuscripts spell קטורה.
[DJPA 485 (קטרה); Cook 245 (קטרה); DSA 775.]

koterín, n. m. See מתרגין
kotión, n. m. inner chamber [Gk.]
TgSong 3:4
[Gk. κείτων (Krauss 2:528). DJPA 489; DJBA 1011; DCPA 370; SL 1361. RH Jastrow 1357.]

kotión, n. m. plucking (fruit)
TgSong 2:12. Several manuscripts have the form קטונית. This is the only Aramaic attestation with this meaning.
[ChW 2:356; DJBA 1011 (juice). RH Jastrow 1357.]

kotión, n. m. covenant
TgSong 2:17
[DNWSI 1008 #1; Vogt 294; DQA 209; DJPA 490; Cook 247; DSA 767 (ק위원); DCPA 370 (ק위원); SL 1361.]
קינאיה, n. f. zeal, jealousy
TgSong 7:6; 8:6. Most manuscripts are spelled as in JLA, SA, and CPA. The listed form is also attested in TgJob; TgProv; TgQoh; TgPsJ, perhaps with a vocalization as in Syriac. See Morphology 3.2.3.2.

Ko’ol, n. m. wood, tree [Akk.]
TgSong 1:17; 4:14
[Akk. qišată “forest” (Kaufman 86). DJPA 491; DJBA 1014; DCPA 371; SL 1364; MD 411.]

קיס, n. m. See קין

קירה, n. f. See ק PyTuple

קיס, n. m. sound, voice, rumor
[DNWSI 1010 #1; Vogt 295; DQA 209; DJPA 492; Cook 248; DJBA 1016 #1; DSA 777; DCPA 373; SL 1367; MD 400.]

קל, vb. to burn (of serpents) (G)
TgSong 1:9; 2:6, 14
[DJPA 493; Cook 248 #2; DJBA 1017; DSA 778; SL 1369 #1; MD 413.]

קלילה, adj. quick, few, little
TgSong 2:9, 17; 8:8, 13
[DNWSI 1011; DQA 209; DJPA 493; Cook 248; DJBA 1018; DSA 779; DCPA 374; SL 1370; MD 400 (qalia.).]

קלס, vb. to praise, extol (D) [Gk.]
TgSong 4:7; 6:9 (several Yemenite manuscripts mistakenly have קלס “to kill”)
[Gk. καλῶς (CAL, accessed 9 April 2015). DJPA 494; DJBA 1021; DSA 780; DCPA 375; SL 1373. RH Jastrow 1379.]

קלע, vb. n. m. sling
TgSong 8:5. This is attested in two western manuscripts. See אֵל.
[JPA SYAP 33:53; 57:21; ChW 2:366; JBA Schøyen bowl 25; SL 1373.]

קלף, vb. to peel (D)
TgSong 7:6
[DJPA 495; Cook 249; DJBA 1021; DSA 780; SL 1374; MD 413.]

קרית, adj. See קדמ

קמי, vb. to close (eye) (G)
This particular meaning is limited to non-Targumic JPA. [DJPA 496; Cook 250; DJBA 1026; DSA 783.]

קדש, n. f. See קנה

קנה, n. m. reed
TgSong 4:14. < Hebrew text. The Yemenite recension and a few western manuscripts have the form קְנַה.
[DNWSI 1014 #1; DQA 210; DJPA 496; Cook 251 (קְנַה); DJBA 1028 קְנַה; DSA 786; DCPA 376 #2 (קְנַה); SL 1383 (קְנַה); MD 400 (qaina). HALOT 1113.]

קני, I. vb. to acquire, buy (G)
TgSong 8:7, 9
[DNWSI 1015 #1; Vogt 295; DQA 210; DJA 78; DJPA 497; Cook 251 #2; DJBA 1027 #1; DSA 785 #1; DCPA 377 #1; SL 1383 #1; MD 413 #1.]

קני, II. vb. to be zealous, jealous (D)
TgSong 7:6; 8:6
[DJPA 497 #2; Cook 251 #1; DJBA 1028 #2; DSA 786 #3; DCPA 377 #2.]

קני, III. n. f. See קנה

קנין, n. m. possession
TgSong 2:12
[DNWSI 1017; DJPA 497 (קְנִין); Cook 251; DJBA 1029 קְנִין; DSA 785 (קְנִין); DCPA 377 (קְנִין); SL 1385; MD 411.]

קְנֶמַן, n. m. cinnamon
TgSong 4:13
[DQA 208 קְנֶמַן; DJPA 497 (קְנֶמַן); Cook 251; DJBA 1000 #2 קְנֶמַן; DSA 787; SL 1337 קְנֶמַן; MD 379 קְנֶמַן.]

קֹמָה, n. m. (appointed) time
TgSong 2:7–8; 7:13–14
[DQA 210; DJPA 500; Cook 252; DJBA 1015 קֹמָה; DSA 793; DCPA 379; SL 1395.]

קַצַּי, vb. to cut down (D)
TgSong 3:5
[Vogt 295; DQA 211; DJPA 501; Cook 253; DJBA 1034 קָצַּי; DSA 793; DCPA 380; SL 1398; MD 414.]

קרב, I. vb. to approach (G), bring near, offer sacrifice (D), be offered as sacrifice (Dt)
On three occasions the G stem is used with D stem meaning: TgSong 1:14; 7:6 (Yemenite manuscripts have יִקְדַּה "to burn"), 13. All three attestations are infinitives.

[DNWSI 1028 #1; Vogt 297; DQA 211; DJA 78; DJPA 502; Cook 253; DJBA 1037; DSA 794 #1; DCPA 380; SL 1400; MD 415.]

קרב, II. n. m. war, battle

[DNWSI 1030 #3; Vogt 298; DQA 212; DJA 78; DJPA 502; Cook 253; DJBA 1038; DSA 796; DCPA 381; SL 1401; MD 415.]

קרוי, vb. to be called (Gt)

TgSong 3:6; 4:15; 5:4; 7:5
[DNWSI 1025 #1 (qr); Vogt 296 (קרוי); DQA 212; DJA 78; DJPA 504; Cook 253; DJBA 1039 #1; DSA 799 #1; DCPA 382; SL 1406 #1; MD 414 #1.]

קריב, adj. near

TgSong 4:3
[DNWSI 1031 #9 (qrb); DQA 213; DJA 78; DJPA 505; Cook 254; DJBA 1042; DSA 797; DCPA 383; SL 1407; MD 402.]

קריה, n. f. city

TgSong 3:2, 5; 4:8; 5:4, 7; 7:6, 12
[DNWSI 1033; Vogt 298; DQA 213; DJA 78; DJPA 505 (קריה); Cook 254; DJBA 1043 #1 (קרייתא); DSA 800; DCPA 383; SL 1410; MD 412 #3 (qiriata).]

קריצה, n. f. dawn

TgSong 3:6; 6:10
[DJPA 506; DSA 801 (קרימת); DCPA 383.]

קרשי, adj. harsh

TgSong 1:7
[DNWSI 1038 (qśh); DQA 214; DJPA 508; Cook 255; DJBA 1049; DSA 805; DCPA 384 (קרשת); SL 1419; MD 403.]

קרש, vb. to tie on (G) [Heb.]

TgSong 8:3. This is attested in the Yemenite recension; the western recension has the Aramaic verb קֶרַשׁ, likely the original.
[BH HALOT 1153; RH Jastrow 1432. DNWSI 1039; DQA 214; Onq Gen 38:28 variant Jastrow 1432.]
רָאָה, *n. m.* See רֹאַה

רָאָשׁ, *n. m.* See רֶאֶשׁ

רַבּוּ, *adj.* great; *n. m.* leader, prince

[DNWSI 1045 #2; Vogt 301; DQA 216; DJA 79; DJPA 511; Cook 256; DJBA 1052; DSA 808; DCPA 387; SL 1425; MD 417.]

רַבּוּ, I. *n. m.* ten thousand, myriad

TgSong 5:10 (twice); 8:5 (twice), in the construction רִבְּעַת רֹבַעַת “myriad upon myriads” as in Dan 7:10. On the alternation between ר and ר, see Phonology and Orthography 2.2.4.1.

[DNWSI 1052 #3; Vogt 303; DQA 218 #3; DJPA 513; Cook 256 #1; DJBA 1072 (רִבְּעָת); DSA 811 (רְבָּוָת); DCPA 387; SL 1426; MD 428 (ruban, plural only).]

רַבּוּ, II. *n. f.* anointing

TgSong 1:3; 3:6

[DQA 217; DJPA 513; Cook 257 #2; DSA 811 #3.]

רָבָּה, *n. m.* Lord

TgSong 1:1 (twice), 4, 16; 2:3; 5:2; 7:12; 8:6. Some texts consistently have רָבָה; Paris 110 consistently spells without the 하.

[DNWSI 155 (רָבָה); DQA 218 (רַבּוּ); DJPA 513; Cook 257 #1; DJBA 1072 (רבנה, רַבּוּ); DSA 809; DCPA 388; SL 1429 (רָבָה)].

רָבִּים, I. *vb.* to produce, cause to grow (D)

TgSong 5:13 (twice)

[DNWSI 1052 #1; Vogt 302; DQA 218; DJPA 514; Cook 257 #1; DJBA 1056 #1; DSA 810; DCPA 388; SL 1427; MD 422.]

רָבִּים, II. *vb.* to be anointed (Dt)

TgSong 1:3

[DJPA 514 #2 (targumic); Cook 257 #2; DSA 810 #5.]
רבי, n. f. See ריבה

רבי, adj. fourth
TgSong 1:1
[Vogt 303; DQA 218; DJPA 514; Cook 258; DJBA 1057; DSA 814; DCPA 389; SL 1428; MD 36 (arbiaia).]

רבן, n. m. scholar
TgSong 4:9; 6:5
[DJPA 514; DJBA 1053; DSA 809; DCPA 389; SL 1429.]

רביעו, n. f. one-fourth
TgSong 1:14
[DNWSI 1058; DJPA 515; Cook 258; DSA 814.]

רגג, vb. to desire (G, D)
TgSong 2:3. The manuscripts are divided as to whether this is G or D.
[DNWSI 1059; Cook 259; DCPA 390; SL 1431; MD 423 #1.]

רגז, n. m. wrath
TgSong 1:6, 9 (twice), 13; 3:4
[DNWSI 1059 #2; Vogt 304; DQA 218; DJPA 515 (רגוז); Cook 259; DJBA 1062 (ריגזא); DSA 816; DCPA 390 (ܙ); SL 1444; MD 428.]

רגיג, adj. desirable
TgSong 5:11, 16. < PPtc
[DQA 218 (ܪ); ChW 2:404; DJBA 1059; DSA 1433; MD 424.]

רגל, n. f. foot
TgSong 5:3 (this is attested in most manuscripts, not Paris 110); 7:2
[DNWSI 1060 #2; Vogt 304; DQA 219; DJA 79; DJPA 516; Cook 259; DJBA 1073 (דיגרג); DSA 817; DCPA 399 (ܓ); SL 1434; MD 235 (ligra).]

רדיר, vb. to plow (G)
TgSong 1:10. This is attested in a minority of manuscripts (including Paris 110); other manuscripts have the comparable Hebrew verb חרש.
[DNWSI 1061 (rdʾ); DJPA 517 #2; Cook 260; DJBA 1060 #2; DSA 818 #1; DCPA 391 #2; SL 1437; MD 425 #2.]

רדיד, n. m. plating, hammered metal
TgSong 2:5
[DJPA 517 (targumic); Cook 260 (vb.).]

רדף, vb. to pursue (G)
TgSong 1:9; 2:14 (twice)
דָּרָה, I. vb. to run (G)

דָּרָה, II. n. m. drinking trough [Akk.]

דָּרָה, I. n. m. relief

דָּרָה, II. n. f. spirit, wind

דָּרָה, n. m. pomegranate

דָּרָּא, vb. to be emptied out (QuadT)

דָּרָּא, n. m. love

דָּרָּא, adj. beloved (one)

דָּרָּא, n. f. love
TgSong 4:9 (The Yemenite recension is corrupt in this verse and does not have the word). This LJLA form is also attested in TgQoh 9:1 and the Medieval Tobit text.

[Cp. DNWSI 1070 #1 (ḥrmh); DJPA 521 (ḥrmh); ChW 2:417; DJBA 1070 (ḥrmh); SL 1457 (ḥrmh); MD 426 (ḥamta).]

רחם, vb. to love (G)

TgSong 1:3–4 (twice), 8; 4:13; 5:1

[DNWSI 1068 #1; DQA 221; DJA 79; DJPA 521; Cook 263; DJBA 1068; DSA 827 #1; DCPA 396; SL 1455; MD 426 (RHM).]

רבחים, n. m. pl. mercy

TgSong 1:13; 5:4, 8, 15; 6:1; 8:4, 5, 7, 9–10

[DNWSI 1069 #3 (ḥrm); Vogt 307; DQA 222; DJPA 521; Cook 263; DJBA 1069 (ḥرم); DSA 828; DCPA 397; SL 1456 (חלמה meaning 4); MD 419 (rahma).]

רחמים, n. m. Merciful One

TgSong 5:8

[DNWSI 1071; DJPA 522; Cook 263; DJBA 1069; DSA 828; DCPA 398; SL 1457; MD 419.]

רחית, vb. to trust (G)

TgSong 4:4

[Vogt 308; DQA 222; DJPA 522; Cook 263; DJBA 1070 #1; DSA 829 #1; DCPA 398; MD 427 (RHS).]

רוחק, vb. to keep oneself away (Dt)

TgSong 1:4

[DNWSI 1072 #1; DQA 222; DJPA 522; Cook 263; DJBA 1071; DSA 830; DCPA 398; SL 1458; MD 427 (RHIQ).]

רט, n. m. See רוח, II.

רטיב, adj. moist, fresh

TgSong 2:1

[DJPA 522; Cook 264; DJBA 1072; DSA 831; SL 1459; MD 420.]

רובה, n. f. girl

TgSong 1:8. A minority of manuscripts have the form רעים.

[ Cp. DJPA 513 #4 (רעה); DJBA 1057 #1 (רעה); DSA 811 #1 (רעה); MD 418 (רבקה). RH Jastrow 1473 (רבקה).]

רבה, n. m. See רעים, I.

ריבון, n. m. See רבי, II.
ריווח, *n. f.* See רווח, II.

ריווח, *n. m.* scent
TgSong 1:12 (twice); 4:6, 11, 13; 7:9, 14
[Vogt 308; DQA 223; DJPA 523; Cook 265; DJBA 1075 #1; DSA 432 #1; DCPA 399; SL 1461; MD 432.]

ריח, *n. m.*
*[scent]*
TgSong 1:12 (twice); 4:6, 11, 13; 7:9, 14
[Vogt 308; DQA 223; DJPA 523; Cook 265; DJBA 1075 #1; DSA 432 #1; DCPA 399; SL 1461; MD 432.]

ריח, *n. f.* See רווח, II.

רימון, *n. m.*
*[scent]*
TgSong 1:12 (twice); 4:6, 11, 13; 7:9, 14
[Vogt 308; DQA 223; DJPA 523; Cook 265; DJBA 1075 #1; DSA 432 #1; DCPA 399; SL 1461; MD 432.]

ריקני, *adj.*
*[empty]*
TgSong 3:5. This is attested in the western recension; it is not attested in the Yemenite recension due to parablepsis. It occurs in the form ריקני, a feminine singular form also attested in TgIsa 29:2. In LJLA, it occurs in TgRuth 1:21; 3:17; TgPsJ Gen 1:2.
[ChW 2:422. Cp. DQA 223 (ריקון); DJPA 523 (ריקון); Cook 265 (ריקון); DJBA 1078 (ריקון and fem. ריקנית); DSA 815 (ריקון); DCPA 400 (ריקון); SL 1462 and fem. ריקנית; MD 435 (ריקאן and fem. pl. ריקניות).]

ריש, *n. m.*
*[head, top, beginning]*
TgSong 3:5. This is attested in the western recension; it is not attested in the Yemenite recension due to parablepsis. It occurs in the form ריקני, a feminine singular form also attested in TgIsa 29:2. In LJLA, it occurs in TgRuth 1:21; 3:17; TgPsJ Gen 1:2.
[ChW 2:422. Cp. DQA 223 (ריקון); DJPA 523 (ריקון); Cook 265 (ריקון); DJBA 1078 (ריקון and fem. ריקנית); DSA 815 (ריקון); DCPA 400 (ריקון); SL 1462 and fem. ריקנית; MD 435 (ריקאן and fem. pl. ריקניות).]

רכב, *vb.*
*[to mount, ride (G)]*
TgSong 2:9; 6:8 (twice, a third time is added in the Yemenite recension as a mistake for the Greek word דוכוסין “leader”).
[DNWSI 1075 #1; DJPA 524; Cook 266; DJBA 1083; DSA 834; DCPA 402; SL 1466; MD 434.]

رسم, *adj.*
*[high]*
TgSong 3:7. This is not attested in the Yemenite recension.
[DNWSI 1077 #2; DQA 223; DJPA 525; Cook 267; DJBA 1085; DCPA 403; SL 1470; MD 421.]

רמון, *n. m.* See רומן

רמי, *vb.*
*[to throw (G)]*
TgSong 8:5 (twice; Paris 110 has דמי “to be like, resemble,” in the first instance)
[DNWSI 1077 #1; Vogt 308 (דמי); DQA 224 #2; DJPA 525; Cook 267; DJBA 1085 #1; DSA 837 #1; DCPA 403 #1; SL 1471; MD 435.]

רעוא, *n. f.*
*[will, pleasure, favor]*
[DNWSI 1079 (רעוא); Vogt 308 (רעוא); DQA 224 (רעוא); DJJA 80 (רעוא); DJPA 527 (רעוא); Cook 268; DJBA 1089 (רעוא); DSA 843 (רעוא).]

רעי, *I. vb.*
*[to be pleased (Gt or Dt)]*
TgSong 8:14
 RBI, II. vb. to shepherd (G)
TgSong 4:5
[DNWSI 1080 #1; DQA 224 #1; DJPA 527 #1; Cook 268 #2; DJBA 1090 #1; DSA 844 #2; DCPA 405 #1; SL 1480; MD 421 (raia).]

RBI, III. n. m. shepherd
TgSong 1:8. On the form, see Morphology 3.2.3.3.
[DQA 224 (רעה); DJPA 527; Cook 268; DJBA 1090; DSA 844 (רעיה); SL 1480; MD 420 (raia).]

RIM, vb. to grumble (Dt)
TgSong 2:15
[DQA 225; DJPA 528; Cook 269; DJBA 1090; DSA 844; SL 1481; MD 421 (RAM, RUM).]

RQI, n. m. heaven, sky
TgSong 1:4–5, 11–12, 14
[DNWSI 1084; DJPA 529; Cook 269; DJBA 1094; DSA 851; SL 1489; MD 437 (rqih).]

RWS, n. f. permission, authority
TgSong 2:9; 4:12; 8:3, 9
[DNWSI 1085 (ר"ש); DQA 225; DJA 80; DJPA 530; Cook 270 #1; DJBA 1095 #2; DSA 853 (;'>א"ש); DCPA 407 #2;.]

RWS, adj. / n. m. wicked (one)
TgSong 1:9 (twice), 12; 2:14–15; 3:5; 6:8; 8:5
[DNWSI 1087; DQA 225; DJPA 530; ChW 2:440; DJBA 1095; DSA 855; DCPA 407; SL 1491.]

RWS, n. m. sweet-smelling plant
TgSong 4:13–14
[ChW 2:440; DJBA 1083 ("fiber"); SL 1493 ("fiber").]

RWS, n. f. chariot
TgSong 1:9; 6:12
[DJPA 78 (רותר); Cook 270; DSA 856 (from Onqelos).]

RWS, n. m./f. trembling
TgSong 2:5. This is either an emphatic masculine form or an absolute feminine form:
[DJPA 531 (רותר fem.; רותר mas.); Cook 271 (רותר mas.); DJBA 1096 (רותר fem.); SL 1494 (רותר fem./mas.); MD 438 (ritit). Verbal root:
DNWSI 1089; DQA 226; DSA 857; DCPA 408.]
Onomatopoeia, vb. to recoil, withdraw (G)
TgSong 2:5
[DJPA 531; DJBA 1097; DSA 856; SL 1495 #2 (“dislocate”); MD 437 (RTA)].

שת, n. f. See שפרה

שפרה, n. f. See שפרה

שפר, n. m. reward [Heb.]
TgSong 2:3. This is attested in about half of the manuscripts (including Paris 110); other manuscripts (including the Yemenite recension) have the Aramaic אגר.
[BH HALOT 1331; RH Jastrow 1576. DNWSI 1135 #4.]

שמאל, n. m. left, left hand
TgSong 1:9; 8:3. The Yemenite recension usually spells סמל.
[DNWSI 1162 #1 (šm); DJPA 571; Cook 196 (סמל, שמל); DJBA 1188; DSA 595 #1 (ספ); DCPA 289 (ספ); SL 1020 (ספ); MD 332 (smallaf). BH HALOT 1332.]

שפר, n. m. hair
TgSong 5:2 (twice). The Yemenite recension usually spells ספר.
[Vogt 316; DQA 249; DJPA 571; Cook 198 (סר; DJBA 1189; DSA 602 (סר; DCPA 291 (סר; SL 1028 (סר; MD 315 #1 (sara). BH HALOT 1344.]

שפרה, con. pl. See שפרות, n. f. lip
TgSong 4:3, 11; 5:13. The Yemenite recension usually spells שפרה.
[DNWSI 1181 (šfr); DJPA 376 (סרה; Cook 198 (סר; DJBA 1188 (סרה; DSA 604, 919; DCPA 286 (סרה; SL 1036 (סרה; MD 329 (sipra). BH HALOT 1346.]

שפרות, n. f. lip

שַּעַר, n. m. teak
TgSong 1:17; 3:9. The Yemenite recension spells שָׁעַר. See Phonology and Orthography 2.1.1.1.
[DJBA 1108 (שָׁעַר); SL 1507 (שָׁעַר); MD 439 (שָׁעַר).]

שָׁאֲלָה, vb. to ask (G)
TgSong 3:3; 7:13; 8:10
[DNWSI 1095 #1; Vogt 316; DQA 227; DJA 81; DJPA 532; Cook 271; DJBA 1098; DSA 859; DCPA 409; SL 1497; MD 441 (שָׁאֲלָה).]

שָׁאַר, vb. to remain (Gt)
TgSong 2:17–3:1; 5:1; 8:11
[DNWSI 1098 #1; Vogt 317; DQA 227; DJPA 533; Cook 272; DJBA 1134 (שָׁאַר); DSA 860; DCPA 422 #2 (שָׁאַר).]

שָׁאַר, n. m. remnant, remainder
TgSong 4:1; 6:5, 8; 8:13
[DNWSI 1098 #2; Vogt 317; DQA 227; DJA 81; DJPA 533; Cook 272; DJBA 1100; DSA 861 (שָׁאַר); SL 1554 (שָׁאַר).]

שֵׁבָה, n. f. Sabbath
TgSong 1:1 (twice)
[DNWSI 1107 (שֵׁבָה); DJA 81; DJPA 539 (שֵׁבָה); Cook 272; DJBA 1108; DSA 870; DCPA 415 (שֵׁבָה); SL 1507; MD 444 (שֵׁבָה).]

שֶׁבֶט, n. m. agate [Heb. < Akk.]
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[BH HALOT 1383. DSA 862 (< Heb.).]

שֶׁבֶט, n. m. sapphire
TgSong 5:14
[Cook 272; DSA 862 (שֶׁבֶט from Onqelos).]

שֶׁבָח, vb. to praise (D)
TgSong 1:1 (4 times), 15; 2:3, 13; 5:2
שבה, *n. m.* praise; the best (when in construct)

TgSong 4:14; 5:10; 7:13

[DQA 227; DJPA 534; Cook 273; DJBA 1101 #1; DSA 862; DCPA 410; SL 1500; MD 446 #2 (ŠBA), 450 (ŠHB).]

שבט, *n. m.* tribe

TgSong 2:15; 3:6, 8; 5:4 (twice), 14; 8:11–12 (twice).

[Vogt 318; DQA 228; DJPA 534; Cook 281; DJBA 1102; DSA 863; DCPA 416 (šaba); SL 1501; MD 459.]

שבים, *n. f.* See שביה (י)

שביעי, *adj.* seventh

TgSong 1:1

[DQA 229; DJPA 535; Cook 273; DJBA 1103; DSA 867; DCPA 411; SL 1503.]

שביע, *I. vb.* to adjure (C)

TgSong 2:7; 3:5; 5:8; 8:4

[DNWSI 1102 #2; DQA 229; DJPA 535; Cook 273; DJBA 1103; DSA 865 #1.]

שביע, *I. num.* seven

TgSong 1:11; 3:5

[DNWSI 1102 #6; Vogt 318; DQA 229; DJA 81; DJPA 535; Cook 274; DJBA 1104; DSA 866 #2; DCPA 416 (šaba); SL 1504; MD 438 (šaba).]

שביעי, *num.* seventy

TgSong 1:2; 2:17; 4:10; 7:3

[DNWSI 1103 (ib‘m); DQA 229; DJPA 535; Cook 274; DJBA 1104; DSA 867 (šaba); DCPA 416 (šaba); SL 1504.]

שבכ, *vb.* to be forgiven (Gt)

TgSong 1:1, 5

[DNWSI 1104 #1; Vogt 318; DQA 230; DJA 81; DJPA 536; Cook 274; DJBA 1104; DSA 867; DCPA 411; SL 1504; MD 447.]

שבה, *vb.* to look upon, pay attention (C)

TgSong 2:9; 8:14

[DJPA 537; DJBA 1108; SL 1508 (< Arab.).]

عدل, *vb.* to struggle (Dt)

TgSong 3:6. < TgOnq Gen 32:24ff.

[Cook 275. Cp. דעל: DNWSI 1112 #2; Vogt 320; DJA 82 #2; DJPA 538. If this is a polysemous root rather than a homonymous one, note the following
with the meaning “to persuade, flatter”: Cook 275; DJBA 1112; DSA 874; SL 1514.]

שָדוּר, vb. to send (D)  
TgSong 2:8  
[DNWSI 1112 #1; Vogt 320; DJA 82 #1; DJPA 538; Cook 276; DJBA 1112 #1; DCPA 414; SL 1514; MD 450.]

שֹׁוָם, n. m. gem [Heb.]  
TgSong 5:14. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.  
[BH HALOT 1424 #1. DSA 876 (< Heb.).]

שְׁבוּעִין, num. See שביעי

שֹׁוָה, adj. only in the form ובשוה adv. equally  
TgSong 2:17. The Yemenite recension spells ובשׁוּי.  
[DQA 231 (שׁוּה); DJPA 539 (שׁוּה); Cook 276 (שׁוּה); DJBA 1118 (שׁוּה); DCPA 419 (משועה); SL 1517 (משועה); MD 440 (šuia).]

שָׁוִי, vb. to put, place (D)  
TgSong 1:14; 2:17; 3:10; 5:4; 6:12; 8:6  
[DNWSI 1116 #1; Vogt 320 (שׁוּי); DQA 231; DJA 82; DJPA 540 (שׁוּי); Cook 276; DJBA 1117; DSA 878; DCPA 418; SL 1524; MD 451.]

שָׁוִי, adv. See בשוי

שׁוֹלְטון, n. m. See שלטון

שׁוֹלְטון, n. m. dominion  
TgSong 7:11. A few manuscripts treat this as a G Ptc of שלט “to rule over.”  
[DNWSI 1142 (שׁלטון); Vogt 328 (שׁלטון); DQA 235 (שׁלטון); DJPA 540; Cook 277; DJBA 1119; DSA 899; DCPA 419 (משעילה); SL 1528; MD 454.]

שֹׁמָש, n. m. name, reputation  
Two Yemenite manuscripts have the construct form שני וישמש in forms without sufformatives.  
[DNWSI 1155 #1 ( ثنائي); Vogt 330 ( ثنائي); DQA 237 ( ثنائي); DJA 83 ( ثنائي); DJPA 555 ( ثنائي); Cook 277; DJBA 1153 (ثنائي); DSA 907; DCPA 426 (ثنائي); SL 1569 (ثنائي); MD 454 #1 (ثنائي).]

שׁוֹף, vb. to grind (G)  
TgSong 1:14  
[DJPA 541; Cook 277; DJBA 1122 #1; SL 1532; MD 455.]

שׁוֹר, I. vb. to jump (G or D)
The consonantal ו does not show an orthographic distinction between the G and D in the Pf 3ms, and the context does not assume a pluractional sense in TgSong.

[DQA 232; DJPA 540 (שוחר); ChW 2:436; DJBA 1116 (שוחר); DCPA 421 #1; SL 1535; MD 456.]

II. n. m. wall

TgSong 3:7 (some read בשום “with a name;” Yemenite omits); 5:7; 8:10

[DNWSI 1190 #1 (ṣr); Vogt 321; DQA 232; DJA 82; DJPA 542; Cook 278; DJBA 1124 #1; DSA 884 #2; DCPA 422; SL 1535; MD 456.]

n. m. cypress [Akk.]

TgSong 1:17; 3:9. The spelling שורבָּן is only attested in the Yemenite recension, and not consistently. These are the only targumic attestations.

[Akk. šurūnu (CAD Š/3, 349). DJBA 1124; SL 1535; MD 457.]

Abs. pl. n. f. See שטוה

vb. to inundate (G)

TgSong 4:12

[DJPA 545; Cook 280; DJBA 1129; DSA 888.]

n. m. See שבט

n. f. captivity

TgSong 5:7. This occurs in the form שבייה; most manuscripts have the form שבי. The feminine form is more frequent in the Palestinian targum tradition, as opposed to the masculine שבי.

[DQA 228 (שבי;); DJPA 535 (שבייה; DSA 864 (שבייה;); DCPA 411 (שבייה;); SL 1503. Cp. masculine שבי: DNWSI 1101 #2; DQA 228; DJPA 534; Cook 273; DJBA 1132 (שבי;); DSA 864; SL 1502; MD 459.]

vb. to be delivered (QuadT) [Akk.]

TgSong 3:6

[Akk. šizzabu (Kaufman 105). DNWSI 1119 (ṣbz); Vogt 322; DQA 233; DJPA 546; Cook 281; DJBA 1133; DSA 888. Cp. DCPA 417 (דשבע); SL 1521 (ופוצה); MD 454 (SWZB).]

Abs. pl. n. f. row, line

TgSong 1:11; 5:13

[DJPA 547 #2; ChW 2:471; DJBA 1134 (“branch, opinion”); MD 459 (“opinion”). RH Jastrow 1560 #3.]

n. m. See שום

n. m. See ש💁‍♂️, II.
שִׁמְשָׁן, n. m. See שָׁמֵש, II.

שִׁנוֹה, n. f. sleep
TgSong 5:2
[DNWSI 1175 #3 (שֵׁנָה); Vogt 337 #2 (שֵׁנָה); DQA 240 #2 (שֵׁנָה); DJPA 560 #2 (שֵׁנָה); Cook 288 (שֵׁנָה); DJBA 1137; DSA 364; DCPA 427 #2; SL 1581; MD 462 #2.]

שִׁנֵּבּוֹד, n. m. See שִׁנֵּבּוֹד

שִׁפֹּלְיָן, n. m. pl. base, lower edge
TgSong 1:4
[DQA 241; DJPA 562 (שִׁפֹּלְיָן); Cook 290 (שִׁפֹּל); DJBA 1138 (שִׁפֹּל); DSA 922 (שִׁפֹּל); DCPA 448 (שִׁפֹּל); SL 1585 (שִׁפֹּל); MD 462 (שִׁפֹּל).]

שִׁיטָן, vb. to destroy (Quad), be destroyed (QuadT) [etym. uncert.]
TgSong 1:13; 8:4
[Concerning the possible Akkadian derivation, see Kaufman 104. Vogt 322 (שִׁיטָן); DQA 233; DJPA 548; Cook 282; DJBA 1139; DSA 883 (שִׁיטָן) and 890 (שִׁיטָן); DCPA 421 (שִׁיטָן); SL 1607 #2; MD 462 #2.]

שִׁיקָר, n. m. See שִׁקר

שִׁיר, n. m. song [Heb.]
TgSong 1:1 (twice); 4:11
[DJPA 548; ChW 2:477; DCPA 428 (< Heb.). BH HALOT 1481; RH Jastrow 1568.]

שִׁירָה, n. f. song [Heb.]
[DJPA 548; DSA 891; DCPA 428 (< Heb.); J. Payne Smith 575 (in a gloss of the biblical book “Song of Songs”). BH HALOT 1483; RH Jastrow 1568.]

שִׁירִי, n. f. See שִׁיר, II.

שִׁירִי, n. m. chain mail
TgSong 6:8. The form with ג– is also attested in TgPsJ Num 11:26; TgEsth II 6:10 and derives from BH. Note that two western manuscripts additionally have the Hebraic plural ג–.
[ChW 2:519; BH HALOT 1655. Cp. עֶשֶׁר: DQA 244; Cook 293; SL 1607 #2; MD 463 #2.]

שִׁת, num. six
TgSong 1:1, 2; 5:10
שִׁיחְנוֹן,  num. sixty
TgSong 3:7; 6:8

שָׁכַינָה,  n. f. Divine Presence [Heb.]
[RH Jastrow 1573. DJPA 550; Cook 284; DJBA 1145; DSA 895; SL 1557; MD 465 (“dwelling”).]

שָׁכֵן,  vb. to make dwell (D)
TgSong 3:10

שָׁלָהוּבִי,  n. f. flame
TgSong 2:5

שָׁלֵחַ,  vb. to send (G), be sent (Gt)
TgSong 1:8; 2:7; 4:12; 5:1; 6:2

שָׁלֵט,  vb. to rule over (G)
TgSong 2:6; 7:11 (see also שלטן; 8:9 (twice, Yemenite omits by parablepsis), 12 (three G Ptc, unless the noun שליט” “ruler”)

שָׁלֹט,  n. m. ruler
TgSong 6:9; 8:8. Some manuscripts have the form שלטן.
[Vogt 328; DQA 235; DJPA 540; Cook 285; DJBA 1119; SL 1528; DSA 899; DCPA 432; SL 1462; MD 442.]
שליט, n. m. ruler
TgSong 8:12 (This is attested three times in the form שליט, unless it is a G Ptc of שלט “to rule over”).
[DNWSI 1143; Vogt 328; DQA 236; DJPA 553; Cook 285; DJBA 1149; DSA 899; DCPA 434; SL 1565; MD 442.]

שלים, adj. whole, perfect
TgSong 6:9 (twice)
[DQA 236 (שלם); DJPA 554 (שלם); Cook 285; DJBA 1150; DSA 901; DCPA 419 (ם); SL 1568 (ם).]

שלימו, n. f. perfection
TgSong 5:2. This occurs in the form שלימות, the standard form in LJLA. It is attested 15+ times in TgPs; TgJob; TgProv; TgQoh.
[DJBA 1150. Cp. שלמו in ChW 2:488; DSA 903; DCPA 435; SL 1568.]

שלום, I. vb. to be complete (G), complete (D, C)
TgSong 3:5, 10 (all but one of the western manuscripts are D; the Yemenite recension is C); 7:14
[DNWSI 1144 #1; Vogt 329; DQA 236; DJA 83; DJPA 554; Cook 286; DJBA 1150; DSA 901 #1; DCPA 434; SL 1566; MD 468.]

שלום, II. n. m. peace, welfare
TgSong 1:5; 8:10–11
[DNWSI 1146 #2; Vogt 330; DQA 237; DJA 83; DJPA 554; Cook 286; DJBA 1151; DSA 903; DCPA 426 (ם); SL 1567; MD 467.]

שם, n. m. See שום

ушום, n. f. legal tradition
TgSong 5:10. This is attested in the western recension. The Yemenite recension has ישומם.
[DJPA 556; DJBA 1156 (less common than ישומם). RH Jastrow 1593. Cp. “report, news”: DQA 238; ChW 2:495; DSA 911 (שם); SL 1571.]

שמים, n. m. pl. heaven
[DNWSI 1160 (šmym); Vogt 332; DQA 238; DJPA 557 (שמש); Cook 287; DJBA 1157 (שמש); DSA 907 (שמש); DCPA 420 (שמיין); SL 1572 (שמים); MD 455 #2 (šumā).]

שמע, I. vb. to hear, obey (G), cause to hear (C), be heard (Gt)
[DNWSI 1164 #1; Vogt 333; DQA 238; DJPA 558; Cook 287; DJBA 1158; DSA 909; DCPA 436; SL 1574; MD 469 (ŠMA).]

שמע, II. n. m. report, rumor
TgSong 1:3. This is attested in the western recension; the Yemenite recension has ישומם.
שמעה, n. f. legal tradition
TgSong 5:10. This is attested in the Yemenite recension; the western recension has שמעה.
[DJBA 1161.]

 большим, I. vb. to minister (D)
TgSong 5:10
[DNWSI 1168 #1; Vogt 334; DQA 239; DJA 83; DJPA 559; Cook 287; DJBA 1162; DSA 912 #1; DCPA 437; SL 1576 #2; MD 470 #1.]

 большим, II. n. m. sun
TgSong 1:1, 6–7; 2:6; 6:10
[DNWSI 1168 #2; Vogt 334; DQA 239; DJPA 558; Cook 287; DJBA 1136; DSA 914 #2; DCPA 427 (ן); SL 1576; MD 443 (שָׁמִיָּה).]

שמח, n. f. ban
TgSong 2:16
[DJBA 1163; Syriac (Moriggi bowl 16), verb בָּאָמַד, MD 442 #2 (שָׁמַדְתָּה) and 469 (שָׁמָּה). RH Jastrow 1603.]

shine, n. f. only in the phrase אש דפיה, ivory < “tooth of an elephant”
TgSong 5:14; 7:5
[Vogt 334; DQA 239; DJPA 559; Cook 243; DJBA 1136 (שנה); DSA 915; DCPA 427 (ן); SL 1577; MD 462.]

שמח, I. pl. abs. שנין, sg. emph. שנה n. f. year
[DNWSI 1170 #2; Vogt 336 #1; DQA 239; DJA 83; DJPA 559; Cook 287; DJBA 1183 (שנה); DSA 914; DCPA 427 #1 (ן); SL 1581 #2 (שנה); MD 464 #2 (שנה).]

שמח, II. n. f. See שנה

שינה, vb. to change, be different (G)
TgSong 1:5. This is attested in a minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110. See also גל, I “to be much, many.”
[DNWSI 1175 #1; Vogt 334 (שנה); DQA 240; DJA 83; DJPA 560; Cook 288; DJBA 1164 #1; DSA 914 #2; SL 1579; MD 471 (סִנָּה).]

שדק, vb. to drown (D), be drowned (Dt)
TgSong 1:9 (twice)
[DQA 240; DJPA 561; Cook 288; DJBA 1166; DSA 915; SL 1580; MD 471.]

שעבד, vb. to be enslaved (QuadT)
TgSong 2:12
שָׁעָבָד, n. m. enslavement
TgSong 2:8, 10–11
[DJPA 561; Cook 288; DJBA 1167; DSA 917; DCPA 439.]

שָׁעָה, n. f. moment, hour
TgSong 1:1, 9; 2:3, 15–16; 8:5, 12, 14
[DNWSI 1178; Vogt 337; DQA 241; DJA 83; DJPA 561; Cook 289; DJBA 1168; DSA 917; DCPA 438; SL 1584; MD 464 #3 (šita).]

שָׁעִי, vb. to recount (Dt)
TgSong 5:10
[DQA 241; DJPA 562; Cook 289; DJBA 1167 #1; DSA 918 #1; DCPA 439; SL 1582; MD 438 #1 (š4A)].

שָׁעְעִי, adj. smooth
TgSong 5:12
[Cook 289; SL 1583. Cp. DJPA 562 (שעשע, one Neofiti attestation); DJBA 1137 (שע).]

שִׁפֵּולִים, n. m. pl. See שפולי

שָׁפֵי, vb. to smooth (D)
TgSong 1:8. This is attested in two Yemenite manuscripts in the form שפשך “my soul.” It is an error for שפתי “my soul.”
[DNWSI 1183 #1; DQA 241; DJA 83 #1; DJPA 563; DJBA 1169 #1; DSA 920 #1; DCPA 440; SL 1586; MD 471 #1.]

שָׁפֵיר, adj. beautiful (one)
[DNWSI 1184 #4 (spr); Vogt 337; DQA 241; DJA 83; DJPA 563; Cook 290; DJBA 1170; DSA 924; DCPA 441; SL 1588; MD 444.]

שָׁקִי, vb. to give to drink, irrigate (C)
TgSong 1:14; 4:15
[DQA 243; DJPA 564; Cook 291; DJBA 1173 #1; DSA 925; DCPA 442; SL 1593; MD 473 (ŠK).]

שָׁקֵל, vb. to lift, remove (G)
TgSong 2:15; 3:8. The latter attestation is in collocation with שרי “to lift and thrust” > “to argue.” The collocation is also attested in TgRuth 4:7.
[DNWSI 1187 #1; DQA 243; DJPA 565; Cook 292; DJBA 1174 #1; DSA 926; SL 1595; MD 473 #1.]

שָׁקָר, n. m. lie
TgSong 1:6; 7:1, 6
שרב, n. m. heat

TgSong 1:7; 2:6

[DJPA 566; Cook 293; DCPA 422 #1; SL 1600; MD 463 (ṣirba).]

שרבין, n. m. See שורבין

שרי, I. vb. to dwell, encamp, reside (G), begin (D), cause to dwell (C)

[DNWSI 1192 #1; Vogt 338 (שרב); DQA 243; DJA 84 (given as two roots); DJPA 566; Cook 293; DJBA 1178 #1; DSA 931 #1; DCPA 444 (given as two roots); SL 1604; MD 474 #1 (ŠRā).]

שרי, II. n. f. beam, rafter

TgSong 1:17. Several manuscripts, including all of the Yemenite recension, do not attest this word due to parablepsis. On the form שרתוי, see Morphology 3.2.3.3 and note TgPsJ Num 35:20.

[DNWSI 1193 (šryt); DJA 84 #2; DJPA 566; Cook 293; DJBA 1181 #1; DSA 933; DCPA 445.]

שריון, n. m. See שוריין

שת, num. See שת

שת, vb. to drink (G)

TgSong 8:2

[DNWSI 1198 #1; Vogt 340 (שת); DQA 244; DJA 569; Cook 294; DJBA 1184; DSA 936; DCPA 446; SL 1614 #1; MD 476 #1 (ŠTā).]

שתין, num. See שתין

שתיתי, adj. sixth

TgSong 1:1

[DNWSI 1199; Vogt 340 (שתית); DQA 245; DJA 569; Cook 294; DJBA 1185; DSA 938; DCPA 447; SL 1615 (ŠTā) (_goods).]

שתק, vb. to ally (transitive) (D)

TgSong 1:7. Most Yeminite manuscripts and one western manuscript have Dt forms, but the D is preferred.

[DJBA 1186; DSA 936; DCPA 447; MD 477. RH Jastrow 1539. Cp. שתק
DNWSI 1119; DJPA 543; DCPA 423 (< Syriac); SL 1539.]
תָּוָה, n. m. See תָּוְה

תָּוָה, pl. abs. תָּוָה, n. f. fig
TgSong 1:14; 2:13. Several manuscripts spell תָּטָה.
[DNWSI 1201 (t’nh); DJA 86 (תָּטְה); DJPA 580 (תָּטְה); Cook 300 (תָּטְה); DJBA 1205 (תָּטְה); DSA 939 (תָּטְה); DCPA 454 (תָּטְה); SL 1619 (תָּטְה); MD 486 #3 (tinta).]

תָּעָה, vb. to seek (G)
TgSong 3:2; 5:6 (twice)
[DJPA 574; Cook 295; DJBA 1191; DSA 940; SL 1620.]

תָּבָר, vb. to break, defeat (G), be broken (Gt)
TgSong 1:14; 2:16 (twice)
[DNWSI 1105 #1 (šbr); Vogt 340; DQA 250; DJPA 575; Cook 295; DJBA 1192; DSA 940; DCPA 448; SL 1622; MD 482.]

תָּזָּה, n. m. crown [Pers.]
TgSong 3:11; 5:7. This is attested in the majority of manuscripts. A minority of manuscripts, including Paris 110, have the word בָּכָה “cloak.”
[Pers. tāgā (ILS 266–67). DNWSI 1203 #1; ChW 2:528; DJBA 1193; SL 1623; MD 477.]

תָּזְדָּר, adj. continual; אָזְדְּרָה, adv. continually
TgSong 2:11 (this is attested in one western manuscript; see טָזְדָּר); TgSong 5:12; 7:3
[DNWSI 1204; Vogt 341; DJPA 576; Cook 296; DJBA 1194; DSA 942]

תָּזָה, vb. to regret (G)
TgSong 5:5
[DJPA 576; DJBA 1194 #1; DSA 942; DCPA 449 #1; SL 1625.]

תָּזְבָּה, I. vb. to turn, return (intransitive) (G), reply, cause to turn, return (transitive) (C)
[DNWSI 1114 (שָׁב); Vogt 341; DQA 251; DJA 86; DJPA 576; Cook 296; DJBA 1196; DSA 943; DCPA 449; SL 1625; MD 483.]
II. adv. again
TgSong 2:11. Only in Paris 110; all other manuscripts haveadox.

[DNWISI 1205 #5; DQA 251; DJPA 576; DJBA 1195; DCPA 450; SL 1626; MD 483 #1 (twm.).]

נוֹלֵת, num. one-third
TgSong 8:3. Several manuscripts have three other options: the form י/סשת (either “three” or a western “one-third” DJPA 583 #2), the Hebraic דלתא “door,” or a feminized form of the masculine “door” תרעתא. This clause matches TgPsJ Deut 6:9; 11:20, though most of the manuscripts—including Paris 110—are corrupt in one way or another.

[DJBA 1197 #1; SL 1630 #2. Cp. DJPA 583 (שתלו) and (2# תלתו); Cook 302 (שתלו); DSA 952 (שתלו).]

תִּוָּר, n. m. ox, bull
TgSong 1:10

[DNWISI 1118 #4 (סער); Vogt 342; DQA 252; DJPA 578; Cook 298 #1; DJBA 1199 #1; DSA 945 #2; DCPA 451; SL 1633; MD 483.]

תִּוְרָבִיִּים, n. m. nurse
TgSong 2:6. < TgOnq Num 11:12.
[Cook 298.]

תֹּוָּשְׁבַּה, n. f. praise, hymn
TgSong 1:1 (two to three attestations depending on the manuscript); 4:11; 5:16–6:1

[DQA 259 (ושבחה); DJPA 578; Cook 299; DJBA 1200 (bowls); DSA 863 (ושבחה); DCPA 464 (ושבחה); SL 1673 (ושבחה); MD 484.]

תֹּוָּחַ, prep. under, below; תֹּוָּחָו, prep. (from) below
TgSong 2:15–16; 4:12; 8:5 (three times)

[DNWISI 1209 (תֹּח); Vogt 343 (ותח); DQA 253; DJPA 579, 316; Cook 299; DJBA 1201 (archaic and dialectal); DSA 947; DCPA 452; SL 1637.]

תֹּוָּיבָה, n. f. repentance
TgSong 1:5; 2:16; 5:2; 5:6:1

[DJPA 580 (JBA corruption?); Cook 300; DJBA 1204; DCPA 453 (אשכחם); SL 1641 (אשכחם).]

תֹּוָּים, n. m. twin
TgSong 4:2, 5; 6:6; 7:4. < Hebrew text. The manuscripts sometimes spell תומ, as in the underlying Hebrew.

[DQA 250 (תומ); DJPA 577 ( targumic, תומ); Cook 300; DSA 939 (תומ); DCPA 451 (תומ); SL 1618 (תומ); MD 478 (tauma).]

תֹּוָּגֶה, n. f. See תג (תג)
תַּוֵּנִי, *adj.* See תַוֵּנָא

תִּקְוָה, *n. m.* ornamentation
TgSong 2:17
[DNWSI 1227 (*qwen*); DQA 253 (תקנה); DJPA 581; Cook 300; DSA 961 (תקון). RH Jastrow 1666.]

תְּכָל, *vb.* to bereave (D)
TgSong 4:2; 6:6. PPtכָּלָה > “one made bereft.”
[DJPA 581; Cook 301; DSA 948 #1; DCPA 454 #2; MD 487 #2.]

תְּכָלָה, *n. f.* blue/purple wool
TgSong 3:10
[DJPA 581; Cook 301; DJBA 1207 (תקולה); DSA 949; DCPA 451 (תקולה).]

תְּכָל, *n. m.* snow
TgSong 4:8; 5:10–11, 15
[Vogt 344; DQA 253; DJPA 581; Cook 301; DJBA 1208; DSA 949; DCPA 454; SL 1647; MD 478.]

תְּכָלִית, *adj.* third
TgSong 1:1
[DNWSI 1216; Vogt 344; DQA 253; DJA 86; DJPA 582 (תקולית); Cook 301; DJBA 1209; DSA 952 (תקולית); DCPA 456 (תקולית).]

תְּכָלָמוֹד, *n. m.* Talmud
TgSong 1:2. This is the only targumic attestation.

תְּכָל, *num.* three
TgSong 1:1; 2:6; 5:14; 7:2; 8:3 (see תְּכָלָה)
[DNWSI 1153 #1 (*šš*); Vogt 345; DQA 254; DJA 86; DJPA 583; Cook 302; DJBA 1211; DSA 951 #1; DCPA 457; SL 1651; MD 487.]

תְּכָלִית, *num.* thirty
TgSong 1:1; 2:7
[DNWSI 1155 (*ššm*); Vogt 345; DQA 254; DJPA 1211; Cook 302; DJBA 583; DSA 952 (תקולית); DCPA 457; SL 1651; MD 487.]

תְּמוֹם, *n. m.* Tammuz (June/July)
TgSong 1:7
[DJPA 1213; ChW 2:543; DJBA 584; SL 1651; MD 479.]

תְּמוֹנִי, *adj.* eighth
תמכה, n. f. bitter herb [Heb.]
TgSong 2:9. The only other targumic attestation is TgPsJ Exod 12:8.
[RH Jastrow 1677. DJBA 1213.]

tן, adv. there
TgSong 1:14; 2:9, 17; 3:10; 4:12 (this is attested twice in Yemenite recension; the western recension has "then"); 7:13; 8:2, 14
[DNWSI 1222; DQA 255; DJPA 584; Cook 303; DJBA 1213 (archaic and dialectal); DSA 955; DCPA 458; SL 1653; MD 479. Cp. DNWSI 1219 #3 (tmb); Vogt 345 (תמנה).]

tן, num. eighty
TgSong 6:8
[DNWSI 1164 (šmnm); DQA 255; DJPA 584; Cook 303; DJBA 1213; DSA 955 (תמנה); DCPA 458; SL 1653; MD 488 (tmanan).]

tמר, n. m. palm tree
TgSong 2:12; 7:8. < Hebrew text. These are the only targumic attestations.
[DNWSI 1222 #2; DQA 256; DJA 87 (תמרה); DJBA 1214 (תמרתא); DSA 956 #1; SL 1653 (תמרה); MD 483 (tumaria). BH HALOT 1956.]

תונן, adj. second
TgSong 1:1, 14; 6:11; 8:6
[DNWSI 1223 #2; Vogt 345; DQA 256; DJA 87; DJPA 586; Cook 304; DJBA 1223; DSA 964; DCPA 459; SL 1655; MD 486.]

תפוח, n. m. apple [Heb.]
TgSong 2:5; 7:9. < Hebrew text. These are the only Aramaic attestations.
[BH HALOT 1773 #1. ChW 2:548.]

תפילה, n. m. / f. See תפילין

תפילה, n. m. / f. phylacteries
TgSong 8:3. Several manuscripts spell תפילתא.
[DJPA 588; Cook 304; DJBA 1224 (תפילות); DSA 686; SL 1658 (תפילתא).]

תפנוקין, n. m. pl. delicacies
TgSong 6:2–3; 7:7
[DJPA 588; Cook 305. RH Jastrow 1687.]

תפקידה, n. f. commandment
тки, n. m. doorpost [etym. uncert.]
TgSong 8:3. This is not attested in Paris 110 due to corruption; it is attested in most manuscripts and mirrors the phrase in TgPsJ Deut 6:9; 11:20.

תקף, n. m. strength
TgSong 1:6; 3:4 (western recension); 5:16; 8:7

תקופה, n. f. summer solstice [Heb.]
TgSong 1:7

תקיף, adj. strong (one)
TgSong 1:1; 2:7 (western recension); 3:5, 7 (the Yemenite recension treats this as verb); 4:8; 8:6, 10

תקף, vb. to grow strong, severe (G)
TgSong 1:9; 3:7 (western recension has the better reading as an adjective תקף “strong”); 5:5

תקרכה, n. f. offering, tribute
TgSong 2:17; 4:8

תורי, num. See عشر

תורי עשר, num. See עשר

תורי עשר, num. twelve
TgSong 3:6; 4:16; 5:14 (three times). It is sometimes spelled תורי עשר/ר or תורי עשר.

The text contains definitions and explanations of various Hebrew words along with their translations and usage in the Targum Song. The page also includes references to different manuscripts and editions used for these translations. The text is scholarly in nature, aimed at providing a comprehensive understanding of the Hebrew terms.
תרין, num. m. [DNWSI 1231; Vogt 348; DQA 258; DJA 87; DJPA 591 (תרין); Cook 307; DJBA 1233 (תרין); DSA 964; DCPA 462; SL 1666; MD 490.]

תריתין, num. f., two

תר, n. m. door, gate
TgSong 2:9; 7:5, 14
[DNWSI 1232 #1; Vogt 348; DQA 259; DJA 87; DJPA 592; Cook 259; DJBA 1236; DSA 966; DCPA 463; SL 1670; MD 486 (tira).]

תריש, n. m. topaz [Heb.]
TgSong 5:14. < Hebrew text. This is attested in the Yemenite recension.
[BH HALOT 1798 #2. DSA 966 (< Heb.); SL 1676 (< Heb.).]

תרישי, adj. ninth
TgSong 1:1
[DQA 259; DJPA 593 (תרישי); Cook 307; DSA 967; DCPA 465 (תרישיה); SL 1673 (תרישיה).]

תרש, num. nine
TgSong 1:11
[DNWSI 1235 #2; DQA 260; DJA 88; DJPA 593; Cook 307; DJBA 1238 (תרש); DSA 967; DCPA 454 (תרש); SL 1674; MD 491 (tša).]

תרשין, num. ninety
TgSong 2:8
[DNWSI 1236 (tš m); DQA 260; DJPA 593; Cook 307; DJBA 1238; DSA 967; DCPA 454 (תרשין); MD 491 (tšin).]
Proper Names

אָבִינואִם, Abinoam
TgSong 1:1 (several western manuscripts spell אָבִינועִם)

אֱבוֹרְהֶם, Abraham
TgSong 1:9; 2:11, 17; 3:6, 8; 5:14; 6:12; 7:6, 9–10

אָדוֹם, Edom
TgSong 7:12

אָדָם, Adam
TgSong 1:1

אָהָרֹן, Aaron
TgSong 1:14; 2:5, 12; 3:3; 4:5; 7:2, 4

אָהִיחָה, Ahijah
TgSong 8:11, 12 (twice)

אֱלִיָּהוּ, Elijah
TgSong 7:6, 10

אֱלִישָׁע, Elisha
TgSong 7:10

אַלְּכֹסֶנֶדֶרֶס, Alexander
TgSong 6:8

אַמְּנָה, Amana
TgSong 4:8

אַנְתָּוָוָכָוס, Antiochus
TgSong 6:3 (attested in one manuscript instead of Alexander)

אָשֶׂר, Asher
TgSong 5:14

אֲסָרָוָו, Assyria
TgSong 5:4

בֵּבֵל, Babylon
TgSong 5:2, 7; 6:2 (twice); 7:6

בּוֹזִי, Buzi
TgSong 7:10

בִּילְשָׁנ, Bilshan
TgSong 7:3. See this lemma in the main glossary.

בֵּנִיָּהוּ, Benjamin
TgSong 5:14; 8:12

בֶּזְּעָל, Bezalel
TgSong 7:2

בָּרָק, Barak
TgSong 1:1 (twice)

גַּבּוּעָה, Gibeon
TgSong 1:1

גָּד, Gad
TgSong 5:4, 14

גָּוָג, Gog
TgSong 8:4, 7, 8

גּוֹזָן, Gozan
TgSong 5:4
Gehenna, TgSong 8:6 (twice)

Gilead, TgSong 4:1; 6:5

Gath, TgSong 2:7

Deborah, TgSong 1:1 (twice)

David, TgSong 1:1 (twice), 8; 3:7; 4:4–5; 7:4–5; 8:11

Dura, TgSong 7:10

Damascus, TgSong 7:5 (One Yemenite manuscript spells ידמשק)

Dan, TgSong 2:15; 5:4, 14

Daniel, TgSong 7:6, 9 (twice), 10

Zebulon, TgSon 5:14

Zerubabel, TgSong 6:2; 7:3

Habor, TgSong 5:4

Horeb, TgSong 2:8; 3:10

Hannah, TgSong 1:1 (twice)

Hananiah, TgSong 7:9 (twice)

Hermon, TgSong 4:8

Hasmoneans, TgSong 6:7, 9

Jabbok (River), TgSong 4:2; 6:6

Judah, TgSong 4:9; 5:7, 14; 6:2 (some manuscripts; less likely than יהודאים “Jews”); TgSong 7:1, 5; 8:12

Jews, TgSong 6:2

Joshua, TgSong 1:1 (twice); 2:16; 3:4, 6

Jochebed, TgSong 4:5; 7:4

Greeks, TgSong 6:8 (several manuscripts spell יווניים)

Joseph, TgSong 5:14

Ezekiel, TgSong 7:10

Divine Name, 70+ attestations

Jacob, TgSong 1:9; 2:15, 17; 3:6; 4:1–2; 5:14 (twice); 6:5–6; 7:6

Isaac
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Most variant spellings concern the מ and ג. This spelling with כ matches Tg1Chr 21:2 and 2Chr 30:5.
against the spelling מנסס in TgPsJ Num 34:11.

פניאס, Pekah
TgSong 5:4

פְּרוּחַ, Pharaoh
TgSong 1:9 (three times); 2:14

זְבָאוֹת, Sebaoth
TgSong 2:7; 3:5. Both attestations of this Hebraism are in an oath formulary.

זֶדֶכְיָה (1), Zedekiah
TgSong 5:7 (one Yemenite manuscript spells זֶדֶכְיָה)

צִוְיָה, Zion
TgSong 3:11; 7:5; 8:5

כֶּדר, Kedar
TgSong 1:5

רָאוֹבֵן, Reuben
TgSong 5:4, 14

רֶבְלוּה, Riblah
TgSong 5:7

רָהְבֹּעַם, Rehoboam
TgSong 8:11–12

רֵמָלִיָּה (1), Remaliah
TgSong 5:4 (most manuscripts—not Paris 110—spell with י as in BH)

שַׁעֲרוֹ, Seir
TgSong 7:12

שֵּׁאלִית, Shealtiel
TgSong 6:2 (attested in four manuscripts—not Paris 110— qualifying Zerubabel, “Zerubabel son of Shealtiel”) (ו)

שָׂעִיר, Shushan (Susa)
TgSong 7:6

שִּׁילָה, Shiloh
TgSong 8:11, 12. Yemenite recension spells both attestations שִּׁילוֹ.

שִּׁילָה, See Shiloh

שִׁלוֹמון, Siloam
TgSong 4:15

שִׁלְמָה, Solomon
20+ attestations

שִׁמְעָן, Simeon
TgSong 5:14
6.0 Conclusions and Implications

6.1 The Language of TgSong

The salient features of TgSong’s language are enumerated below and are organized by the grammatical categories as they appear in the dissertation. The reader is encouraged to utilize the provided cross-references for further discussion and variant readings.

6.1.1 Phonology and Orthography

Phonemic Inventory

TgSong utilizes a consonantal inventory that is common to JLA and the late dialects of Aramaic. The one exception is the use of ש for historic /*š/ with most words that have Hebrew cognates spelled with ש in the Tiberian tradition. Aramaic words with historic /*š/ that do not have Hebrew cognates are spelled with ס. This includes words spelled with ש in BA (2.1.1.1). The unvocalized western manuscripts of TgSong do not allow for a complete vocalic analysis, but the orthographic practice of using יי to indicate the presence of /ay/ diphthongs shows that TgSong maintains diphthongs in a number of environments, and it is most like BA in this regard (2.1.3.1). Some of these diphthongs are also attested in other dialects, notably JPA and Syriac, but BA is the common denominator in all these environments. They include unaccented, open syllables preceding a syllable or word boundary of an accented syllable (e.g. רכין “he brought,” TgSong 3:9), masculine plural endings of participles and stative adjectives of III-weak roots (e.g. ירש “dwell,” TgSong

1. Yemenite manuscripts tend to spell every /*š/ with ש.
1:5), and the 2fs suffix on masculine plural nouns /-ay(i)k/ (e.g. ספראים “your scribes,” TgSong 7:5). The use of vowel letters in TgSong is largely consistent with the practices attested in JLA (2.1.4). This notably includes the use of א for final /ā/ in all but the same exceptions attested in JLA.³

Assimilation

The complete assimilation of the ח of t-stems to a following consonant occurs with a number of verbal roots (2.2.1.1). Some of these are common to the targumim and the late Jewish dialects; others, such as roots beginning with ב (Gt-stem מכתב “written,” TgSong 1:4) and פ (QuadT מפרשים “exposed,” TgSong 2:17), are only attested in JBA. With only a few notable exceptions (see Dissimilation below), TgSong assimilates ח when there is no intervening vowel between it and a following consonant (2.2.1.1). This includes I-ו verbs (e.g. למסופ “to go up,” TgSong 8:5, 8), nouns (e.g. עיזים “goats,” TgSong 1:8), and most pronouns (e.g. אתון “you”). TgSong often attests the partial assimilation of *a/i vowels going to u/o vowels in the vicinity of bilabials (2.2.1.2). While some of these words are attested with a ח in both eastern and western dialects (e.g. גברים “men,” TgSong 4:2), others, such as אין “also” and שבעה “seven” (TgSong 1:11) are unique to western dialects. This partial assimilation may even take a step further in TgSong with the word חמה “heat” (TgSong 1:7), which all other Aramaic dialects spell with an /i/ class vowel. Finally, in contrast to the late dialects of Aramaic, palatalization of a glottal stop ח when preceded by a Palato-alveolar

2. This last example is attested in Syriac and perhaps the ketib of BA, though the ketib may represent a contracted /ê/.

3. In contrast to JLA, TgSong often spells the masculine absolute cardinal numbers with a final ח– instead of ח–.
you shall [not] leave” Cairo Genizah Ms. AA Exod 12:10) is not a regular phonological feature in TgSong.

**Dissimilation**

The resolution of geminated consonants by means of a † occurs in TgSong, but it is limited to a few words. All of them can be attributed to a modeling of BA or JBA forms. They include the nouns איננתהיה “his wife” (TgSong 7:11, JBA and Syriac orthography), איננה “surface, face,” (BA), and אינביה “its fruit” (TgSong 1:16, BA). The 2fs pronoun הר (BA; alternate JBA; Syriac orthography) is also often spelled with nasalization in TgSong.

**Lenition**

Consonantal weakening is not a notable feature in TgSong, and this is largely the case with other targumim as well. The loss of א is occasionally attested in TgSong, but it is a limited feature and only affects a few words. Most of these are likewise affected in JLA and the late dialects, such as איבר ביש “evil” and איבר רиш “head” (2.2.4.2). The weakening of gutturals that often occurs in late dialects is not a feature of TgSong (2.2.4.3). Additionally, the occasional loss of medial ד in קומי “before” is limited to one manuscript (2.2.4.4), and the occasional loss of final consonants, as in אמא “he said,” may reflect later scribal changes (2.2.4.5).

**Segment Process**

TgSong is conservative with its use of prothesis (2.2.5.1). The attestations are primarily limited to loan words which began with consonant clusters that were resolved by prothesis (e.g. איצטלא from Greek στολή “garment, robe,” TgSong 5:10). TgSong sometimes uses א to break up a vocalic juxtaposition in certain III-weak forms (e.g. אסריאו “they made stink,” 1:12), as in JLA and JBA. Similarly, Paris 110 sometimes uses an ע in a similar manner with words from the root סגפ, as in the adjective סגפין “many, numerous”
(TgSong 8:7). This is limited to LJLA and occasional attestations in the Fragment Targum P (2.2.5.2). Finally, the addition of י at the end of certain words attested in western dialects is not a standard feature in TgSong (2.2.5.4).

6.1.2 Morphology

Pronouns

Concerning the independent personal pronouns (3.1.1), the 3ms pronoun is usually היא, but the JBA pronoun היא היא is not uncommonly used as a variant. The 2fs pronoun is attested with and without nasalization, ת(מ)א. The nasalized form is likely due to BA or JBA influence. Neither of these alternate forms, the JBA היא היא or the nasalized ת(מ)א, exhibit any regularity in the manuscripts. It is notable that the only 3mp pronoun in TgSong is אינון, as in JLA; other late dialects (including JPA and certain LJLA texts) often use this and/or היא.כון.

Enclitic pronouns are notably infrequent in TgSong (3.1.2); there is only one attestation (עליכון משבענא “I adjure you,” TgSong 8:4). This contrasts with JLA and most late dialects, which regularly use enclitic pronouns. It is in line, however, with the Palestinian targum tradition, which rarely uses enclitic pronouns.

Pronominal suffixes divide into two groups, Type 1 and Type 2, but they can be discussed together here (3.1.3). The following suffixes are dialectally significant. The 3ms Type 2 suffix with possessive ending has two forms in TgSong, וי– and והי–. The former is used exclusively by Paris 110 and a number of manuscripts from both recensions; it is the

4. The 2ms independent pronoun is only attested twice, both times with the form היא (TgSong 1:16 [twice]).

5. It is worth noting that there is quite a bit of variability with 1cp pronouns. Both the older ארח (as in JLA) and the later form ארח are attested. This may simply be a result of their infrequency in the text.
The suffix of JPA. The latter is more commonly associated with JLA and BA, though it does occur in JBA is well. One notable morphological feature of TgSong is that there is only one 3fs suffix on nouns, זום. This suffix would only have been known from JLA, but in JLA, it only occurs as a Type 2 suffix. The 3fs suffix has uniquely leveled across the paradigms in TgSong. As previously stated, TgSong maintains the diphthong in 2fs suffixes on masculine plural nouns (Type 2). In addition to the standard 3mp suffix זון, there are a number of variant זון forms, but these Hebraic or archaizing variants are limited to a few manuscripts, and their number decreases in the later portions of TgSong. The primary 1cp suffix is נה, but there are several attestations of נ– as well.

The paradigm of demonstrative pronouns is the same as JLA, with three exceptions (3.1.4). First, as in JLA, the proximate masculine singular demonstrative is primarily אמר. An additional demonstrative, אמרי, is attested with time expressions, as in המ קדמה דבר, "previously." Second, Paris 110 uses the JPA form אילין as the proximate plural demonstrative; other manuscripts use אילון (as in JLA). Third, JLA uses the prefix –ה with demonstratives that are being used attributively. The substantive–attributive distinction is not maintained in the feminine singular distal demonstrative, though forms with and without the prefix are attested (the distinction is maintained with the other demonstratives).

**Nouns**

As in JLA and the western dialects of Aramaic, the absolute state of the noun is the unmarked form of the noun (3.2.2). The absolute form of feminine nouns is marked with a final נ– rather than a final נ–. The standard form of the masculine emphatic plural utilizes a

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6. The suffix נ– is still used with the direct object marker and prepositions.
final ס(ך)–, as in JLA and the western dialects. The eastern plural form ש– is primarily limited to lists—which often include words only known from eastern dialects, as in שָׁנָה חֹרְבֻּת יִי, “teaks and cypresses” (TgSong 1:17)—and a few sporadic nouns.

**Numerals**

The following points are notable about the cardinal numbers (3.3.1). The absolute masculine form normally ends in a final ס– instead of a final ה–. In addition to absolute forms of the cardinal numbers, there are a few construct forms used when the B-term of the construct clause is definite. Some manuscripts attest an /u/ vowel in the numeral “seven,” שְׁבֵעַ. These last two features are known from late western dialects. The numeral “ten” and related terms, “-teen” and the like, are spelled with a historic ש.7

One larger number worth noting is “ten thousand,” and it is attested twice in TgSong. The first attestation (TgSong 5:10) uses the form רִבְבוֹן, as in the ketib of BA (Dan 7:10), and the second attestation (TgSong 8:5) uses the form רִיבְבֹּן, as in the qere of BA.

The majority of ordinal numbers occur in the midrash on ten “songs” in TgSong 1:1 (3.3.4). The Yemenite recension tends to use the form that is common for feminine nouns in JLA and the late dialects. The western recension, however, uses the ending ס–. This may be due to BA influence, but while these numerals can be variously parsed, there are congruence issues with either gender or determination.

**Verbs**

TgSong utilizes a series of verbal stems that is common to JLA and the late dialects of Aramaic (3.4.1). There are two exceptions to this. First, there is one attestation of the Haphʾel, הָבִיבְנָה, “to destroy” (TgSong 2:17). Second, there is one Hithpeʾel, וְשָׁתַבְתָּה, “they
were found” (TgSong 6:1). As is the case with all Haph’el and Hithpe’el forms in LJLA, these verbal roots are attested in BA with a –ה prefixed stem rather than an –א prefixed stem.

The perfect conjugation (3.4.2) has a ת– sufformative in the 3fs, 2ms, and 2fs conjugations. There is no final /-ā/ on the 2ms conjugation that one occasionally sees in JLA and earlier dialects. Though the western recension is unvocalized, the Yemenite recension suggests that the 1cs form is vocalized as kotabit, as attested in JLA and JBA.

The preformative in the imperfect third person forms is –י, as in JLA, most other targumim, and the western dialects (3.4.3). Though the attestations are few, the 2fs imperfect form has a final י (as in תסבולי “you bear,” TgSong 7:7) rather than a final ר–. The same form is occasionally attested in JBA and SA, but the TgSong attestations may instead be due to Hebrew influence.⁹

While there are a number of variant forms, the infinitives in TgSong tend to align with those in JLA and earlier dialects (3.4.5). The primary form of the G-stem infinitive is קִטָל (יָמִּ֫לַס), but on two occasions, Paris 110 uses the JPA form לָמַ֫רְפָּק “to redeem” (TgSong 2:8; 7:14). It is notable that the G-stem infinitive of this particular root occurs in this JPA form in roughly half of its LJLA occurrences. With only two exceptions, the derived stem infinitives do not have a –מ preformative. Finally, on two occasions, TgSong utilizes a JBA form of the infinitive when suffixes are affixed (e.g. לָמַרְבְּכִ֫נֵמ “to humble them,” TgSong 6:12).

The morphology of weak verbs in TgSong only exhibits a few features which are dialectally significant (3.4.7). One notable feature is the use of a final ר– on the G-stem

8. Eastern preformatives are regularly attested in TgProv and occasionally in TgEsth II.
9. This same form is attested elsewhere in LJLA. For strong verbs, note TgPs 42:6; TgRuth 2:8; TgEsth I 4:13, 14.
perfect 1cs forms of III-Weak verbs (e.g. צביתי “I desired,” TgSong 5:6). This is unique to JLA.

6.1.3 Syntax

Noun and Noun Phrase Operations

The most striking characteristic of TgSong’s syntax lies in the length of its phrases and clauses. One of the features that contributes to these long phrases and clauses is the targumist’s use of appositional phrases (4.2.1.1). These appositional phrases are often used as a means of describing specific individuals, as in ה לעומת הירבעם “Jeroboam, the sinner” (TgSong 5:4). In the same manner, the targumist sometimes places compound noun phrases in apposition or places multiple elements in apposition, as in הירבעם הכנישתא חביבתי ברתי “my daughter, my beloved, the congregation of Israel” (TgSong 1:15).

TgSong utilizes all three types of genitive constructions that are attested in Aramaic, namely the construct clause, the bare $d$-relation, and the proleptic $d$-relation (4.2.1.1). It is notable that the numerical distribution of these types of genitive constructions in TgSong is quite similar to the distribution in JLA. The construct clause is utilized 68% of the time in TgSong, the bare $d$-relation 26% of the time, and the proleptic $d$-relation 6% of the time. It is possible that the linguistic (usually semantic) constraints that govern genitive constructions in JLA are not consistently adhered to in TgSong, and the use of the proleptic $d$-relation in TgSong is markedly more frequent than in JLA, though still a minority construction.

One of the most notable features of TgSong’s syntax is the targumist’s extensive use of relative clauses (4.2.1.2). In fact, some verses have very little content that is not part of a relative clause. There are times when multiple relative clauses modify the same head noun, and there are other times when relative clauses are embedded within other relative clauses.
These relative clauses allow the targumist to utilize the terminology of the underlying Hebrew to achieve his larger aim of detailing the history of the Israelite people.

There are three types of determiners in TgSong worth noting: noun state and determination (4.2.3.1), demonstratives (4.2.3.2), and numerals (4.2.3.3). First, the absolute state is the unmarked form of the noun in TgSong; it is not relegated to a small number of functional uses, as in the eastern dialects. The use of noun states is not a consistent means of indicating (in)definiteness in TgSong, as is the case in certain dialects (absolute for indefinite; emphatic for definite). In addition to a number of agreement errors between attributive adjectives and their head nouns (e.g. מִלַּ֣אֲכַיִּ֣ין קֵדֶשּׁ֩נִים “holy words,” TgSong 2:5), there are places when unspecified entities in comparative clauses are in the emphatic state instead of the expected absolute form (e.g. הָיוּדָּרִים נְנוֹרָ֥ה “shines like fire,” TgSong 5:10). Furthermore, there are places where nouns of different states occur in the same clause in a way that is unexpected, (e.g. רָאָה נְבֵר אֲבֹאֲנָא “a man throws the rock,” TgSong 8:5). Second, in contrast to attributive adjectives, which always follows the noun in TgSong (4.2.2.2), the demonstrative pronouns may precede (e.g. אֵלָה הַאֲוָה “that God,” TgSong 5:10) or follow (e.g. מַתְנַבְּיָא הַאָלִילָּין “these matters,” TgSong 5:2) their head noun. Demonstratives in temporal constructions tend to precede their head noun. Third, concerning the numerals, cardinal numbers (other than “one”) always precede their head noun (e.g. תְמוּנָּה עֲרָשָׁי “eighty rulers,” TgSong 6:8), and ordinal numbers always follow their head noun (e.g. מִקְדֶשׁ קְדִימוּת “first temple,” TgSong 6:4). Also, as stated before, the construct form of cardinal numbers may be used when the phrase is definite (e.g. עֲשָׁרָּה שָׁרוֹת “the ten songs,” TgSong 1:1).
Predication and Verb Phrase Operations

Predicate adjectives are the most common type of copular clauses attested in TgSong (4.3.2.1). The adjectives are almost always in the absolute state. The targumist frequently uses the particle כמא “how” with a declarative statement, as in "O how upright are your deeds" (TgSong 1:15). In such cases, the adjective always precedes the head noun. When predicate adjectives do not appear in these types of declarative statements, the adjective tends to follow the head noun.

Clause Structure

The word order (4.5.1) in TgSong tends to be verb first, whether V-O (e.g. "they rebuilt the temple," TgSong 6:2), V-S (e.g. "the priests pray," TgSong 4:11), or V-S-O (e.g. "the Lord exiled them," TgSong 7:12). One notable exception to this ordering of the constituents occurs when an independent personal pronoun serves as the subject of the clause. In such cases, the verb is usually a participle, and the word order tends to be subject first, whether S-V (e.g. "he makes new," TgSong 5:10) or S-V-O (e.g. "I tie tefillin," TgSong 8:3).

Temporal clauses are notably frequent in TgSong (4.5.3.2). Nearly 40% of the verses begin with some kind of temporal indicator, such as כד “when” or בזמנ “at the time, when.” The majority of remaining verses have a temporal clause elsewhere in the verse. The effect of such temporal clauses, which can be sequential, simultaneous, or instantaneous, is to give the targum a sense of urgency. Events happen immediately, and their results are immediate as well. One of the characteristic particles used in these clauses is the JBA preposition בי used in conjunction with a temporal noun, as in "At that very moment, they turned in repentance" (TgSong 2:16).
Given the rich imagery of the underlying Hebrew, TgSong is marked by a high number of comparative clauses (4.5.3.3). Some of these comparative clauses utilize a simple preposition, as in “they stank like nard” (TgSong 1:12). Others use a verb whose semantics entail comparison, as in “I am compared to the rose” (TgSong 2:2) or “they are like young birds” (TgSong 4:1).

### 6.1.4 Lexical Stock

Broadly speaking, TgSong’s lexicon is largely comprised of common literary Aramaic terms which are dialectally neutral (5.10). A large percentage of the words are attested in all or most of the Aramaic dialects, and while there are a number of words that are specific to eastern Aramaic or western Aramaic, many of these words are likewise attested in JLA.

#### Jewish Literary Aramaic

TgSong’s lexical distribution largely has the specific imprint of JLA, which also attests words more commonly associated with eastern or western dialects. For instance, there are a number of eastern words in TgSong that are also attested in JLA (5.3). These include אתחול “cluster” (TgSong 1:14; 7:8–9), נח “wing” (TgSong 2:15–16), דחיר “heap” (TgSong 5:11), כוזה “cloak” (TgSong 5:7), and שעשוע “smooth” (TgSong 5:12). There are likewise a number of western words in TgSong that are also attested in JLA (5.4.1). These include דריי “because of” (TgSong 1:3; 7:9), נכב in the D-stem “to gather” (TgSong 6:2), חזר in the D-stem “to go around” (TgSong 3:2), ספי “to extinguish” (TgSong 8:7), מישר “very” (TgSong 1:12), סנפל “plain, valley” (TgSong 2:1, 6; 6:2), מיר “rebellion” (TgSong 6:1), מיר “round” (TgSong 7:3), סמאח “defilement” (TgSong 5:3), פיקוד “commandment” (10+ attestations), and ימיעס "delicacies" (TgSong 6:2–3; 7:7).
There are also a number of words in TgSong that are unique to JLA (5.2). These include אלי in the D-stem “to spy” (TgSong 2:6–7), בוע “to rejoice loudly” (TgSong 5:2), מצדה “stronghold” (TgSong 7:5), סנירה “leprosy” (TgSong 1:12), סטיא “apostasy” (TgSong 7:1), ריקני “empty” (TgSong 3:5), שבזיז “sapphire” (TgSong 5:14), and תקרובה “offering, tribute” (TgSong 2:17; 4:8). It is significant that some JLA words used in TgSong reflect specific biblical passages and show how the targumist was often drawing from Onqelos and Jonathan when recounting the history of Israel. This is seen, for instance, in the use of שבשל in the Dt-stem “to struggle” (TgSong 3:6), which recounts Jacob’s night-time struggle in Genesis 32. This is also seen in the targumist’s treatment of תורביין “nurse” (TgSong 2:6) from Num 11:12 and תפקידה “commandment” (TgSong 1:12) from Exod 24:12.

**Western Words**

Words more commonly associated with western dialects are quite common in TgSong, and nearly all of them are attested in JLA or the Palestinian targum tradition (5.4). But it is not only important to note the mere presence of western words in TgSong; rather, the kind of western words attested in TgSong is significant as well. There are a number of content words, like the following nouns and verbs which are not likewise attested in JLA (5.4.2): גלמה “hill” (TgSong 2:8), מוגדל מזגא “tower” (TgSong 7:5), ערבוב “mixture (of people)” (TgSong 1:12), and קמץ “to close (eye)” (TgSong 8:14). Perhaps more significantly, TgSong contains a number of function words—words that tie phrases and clauses together—that are western. It is notable that all of these function words also occur in the targumim of JLA and/or the Palestinian targum tradition (5.4; 5.11). They show a familiarity with and modeling of

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10. The spelling with ו is the unique feature of this word, a word which is more commonly spelled מגדל in other dialects.
certain elements of western syntax, and they include the following: "also, even,"
“for, because,” “like,” “as, just as,” “all around,” and “because of, concerning.” Many of these are quite common throughout LJLA more broadly. Finally, there is one non-Targumic western word attested in TgSong which may indicate a translational tradition that is distinct from JLA and the Palestinian targum tradition. The noun קריצה “dawn” translates the Hebrew שַׁחַר in both of its attestations (TgSong 3:6; 6:10), and this is a standard translational equivalence in other LJLA texts as well.

**Eastern Words**

Eastern words are not as prevalent in TgSong, and with only one exception, all of them are attested in the Babylonian Talmud and/or JLA (5.3). The following eastern words are attested at least five times, and they each contribute to TgSong’s lexicon in significant ways. As previously discussed, the pronoun איהוא “he, it” is a common variant of הוא in TgSong and LJLA more broadly. The noun אורזיל “young gazelle” captures the rich imagery of the underlying Hebrew. The particle בי “in, at” primarily occurs in temporal clauses and gives the text a sense of immediacy; it is notable for its frequency in TgSong. The verb הדר “to return, turn” reflects TgSong’s emphasis on repentance. There is one eastern word that is not attested in either the Babylonian Talmud or JLA in its given form, מטול. It only occurs once in the targum (TgSong 4:13), but it is a characteristically common word in other LJLA texts.

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11. For the attestations in TgSong, consult the relevant sections in Lexical Stock 5.4.
12. This form is unique to JBA and TgSong. Other dialects, notably JPA and Syriac, have alternate forms of the word, as in the JPA ל(י)עוז (DJP A, 398).
13. The Talmudic form is אמטול (DJBA, 140).
**Biblical Aramaic Words**

Words that are exclusive to BA (or would have only been known from BA) are infrequent in TgSong (5.5). What is perhaps most significant is that the targumist exhibits a degree of dialectal sophistication with these words. The targumist uses הָכַל “to be able” (TgSong 7:9) when discussing Daniel and the three young men, as is proper in BA; otherwise, he uses the verb יָכַל. Similarly, other BA words are sometimes used when describing events of the approximate time period portrayed in Ezra and Daniel. The targumist states that the Divine Presence’s abandonment of the Israelite people and their subsequent exile was incited by the sin of ואָשְׁתַּדוּר מְרַד "rebellions and sedition." This is similar to Ezra 4:19 (וְאֶשְׁתַּדוּר מְרַד), the latter word being unique to BA (and QA). Finally, the adverb בָּסָדִים “then” (6:8) is used in the context of the Hasmonean revolution, even though the targumist includes his current adversaries (Christians and Arabs) in the struggle.

**Late Jewish Literary Aramaic Words**

There are two varieties of LJLA words in TgSong. First, LJLA words can have a form that is unique, though the word is known from other dialects (5.6.1). These include אֶדְבָּע “finger” (TgSong 7:8), אִסְרָיִן “chastisement” (TgSong 7:7), 번ב “resentment” (TgSong 2:15; 8:6), מַעְלֵיה “perhaps” (TgSong 2:5; 3:3; 5:8), מִיר “myrrh” (TgSong 4:14; 5:13), and תֶּק "doorpost" (TgSong 8:3). Second, LJLA words can be words that are not attested in any other Aramaic dialect (5.6.2). These include אַנִיסו "oppression" (TgSong 4:2; 6:6), שֵׂרְרָה(ר) "midday demons" (TgSong 4:6), מְרֵי וּכַפָּר "to leap” (TgSong 2:8), מָכָר "palate,” (TgSong 2:3, 5; 5:16), מֵאָב "desire” (TgSong 7:11), and מְפָרִיר "morning demons” (TgSong

14. The scribes, particularly Yemenite ones, tended to change these unique forms and words.
4:6). Given the fact that TgSong’s lexical stock is primarily made up of common (literary) words, it is possible that some of the words in this second group were drawn from literary texts or folkloric traditions that have not survived to this day. It is not necessarily the case that they reflect a language that was currently being spoken.

**Words of Foreign Origin**

The loan words attested in TgSong are similarly distributed among the Aramaic dialects as are the native Aramaic words. Certain words, particularly of Akkadian (5.7.1) or Persian (5.7.5) origin, entered the common lexical stock of Aramaic at an early point. Other words are more commonly attested in particular Aramaic dialects. Throughout all these words, however, the influence of JLA’s lexicon on TgSong’s lexicon is evident. There are a few loan words which deserve additional attention. First, the Greek loan נינפי “bride” (TgSong 4:8–12; 5:1) is not attested in any other Aramaic dialect, though it does occur in Rabbinic Hebrew (5.7.3). It is used to translate the Hebrew (and Aramaic cognate) כַּלָּה. This word choice may simply be due to the targumist’s desire to use a non-cognate for this frequent word. Second, the term ו אוליבנ “frankincense” (TgSong 4:11) is not attested elsewhere in Aramaic (5.7.4). If this word is original to the text of TgSong and is indeed the medieval Latin term *olibanum*, a term that is first attested in the tenth century in Europe, it is quite significant. One must not overstate the implications of a single word, but it could suggest that TgSong should be dated later than has been previously suggested. Third, TgSong 5:14 includes a midrash about Aaron’s breastplate and the jewels therein (5.9). The western recension contains a number of gemstones which are or may be Arabic in origin; the Yemenite recension uses terms from the Hebrew Bible. It is difficult to know which series of gemstones came first, but regardless, syntactical considerations suggest that both lists of
gemstones were secondary to the targum. These Arabic terms are outliers in the targum, and their significance should not be overstated.

6.2 TgSong among the Aramaic Dialects

It is true that the language of TgSong is “mixed” with JLA, western Aramaic, eastern Aramaic, and BA elements, but this dissertation shows that it is usually mixed in a regular way. Later scribal activity has surely muddled the linguistic consistency, but the language is still discernible and analyzable. The mixing is not haphazard, and it is not simply attributable to the targumist’s thorough knowledge of various sources, though that does play a role in some of the linguistic features. How then is the language of TgSong mixed, and where does TgSong fit within the Aramaic dialects?

Every aspect of TgSong’s linguistic makeup, from its grammar to its lexicon, shows a fundamental modeling of JLA. Rather than being a western text that has JLA elements, it is primarily a JLA text—which is itself largely western—that includes certain features more specific to western Aramaic. The language begins with JLA until it diverges for various reasons to include features from other dialects. This is of course complicated by the fact that later copyists, particularly Yemenite ones, tended to replace non-JLA features with JLA ones, but this does not negate the fact that TgSong is primarily modeled on the language of JLA.

In addition to JLA, it is clear that JPA has influenced the targmist in a thorough way, and certain JPA features are pervasive in TgSong. This statement must be qualified, however, to highlight that the features are not simply JPA. Rather, they are Targumic JPA. There is very little linguistic evidence of non-Targumic JPA in TgSong. Instead, in TgSong we see a targum primarily written in JLA but with a number of linguistic characteristics incorporated from the Palestinian targum tradition. It is important to note that one of the few non-Targumic JPA
elements attested in TgSong is the noun קሪה, which may itself indicate a *targumic*
translational equivalence that is unique to LJLA.

Eastern features attested in TgSong are not as fundamental to the targum’s overall
linguistic character, though the features that do occur have an important role to play. The
targumist appears to draw on them “as needed” rather than using them as core linguistic
features of the targum. The BA features attested in TgSong are similar in influence to those
from JBA. Most of them are phonological and morphological features that give TgSong an
older, and perhaps more authoritative sounding, feel.

The influence of other Aramaic dialects on TgSong’s language is minimal. They have
not fundamentally contributed to the linguistic character of the targum, though there are
occasional traces of features that are only attested in non-Jewish dialects.

### 6.3 Implications of this Study

Having established the linguistic character of TgSong, there are a number of broader
implications that can be drawn from this study. First, TgSong’s targumist is self-consciously
writing a targum. In spite of TgSong’s extreme expansiveness, the language shows that the
writer saw himself within a stream of writing targumim. It is primarily written in the
language of the “official” targumim, perhaps harkening back to a more “proper” way of
writing a targum in a time and place when that was not fully appreciated, in the targumist’s
estimation. It is a bold and definitive statement to claim the gravitas of Onqelos and
Jonathan’s language as one’s own. The targumist does just that, and he accentuates the

15. This is in contrast to assertions in the literature which try to qualify the use of the term
“targum” with reference to TgSong. This is not the place to enter into the thorny issue of
genre definition, especially concerning targumim like TgSong which inhabit the fuzzy edges
of any definition. Instead, I am simply stating that the language of TgSong is undoubtedly
targumic, and that was the targumist’s intent.
intended age and authority by utilizing certain BA features, some of which may be akin to modern prayers and religious songs which use “thee” and “thou” but otherwise have very few archaic features. But the targumist was not content to replicate older language. He was aware that writing a targum is not an entirely static affair, and he includes features from the Palestinian targum tradition to augment and complement his primary dialect. The targumist does not stop there, though. He incorporates traditions, details, and linguistic eccentricities (some of which are only attested in LJLA texts) that would have been known and appreciated by his hearers and readers. The result is a targum that is both religiously official and authoritative on the one hand, contemporary and relevant on the other.

Second, while the targumist is quite learned, he does not require the same erudition from his hearers and readers. Every verse in TgSong displays a targumist who can deftly handle a particularly difficult Hebrew text in order to coherently and persuasively retell the history of the Israelite people and instill hope for the future. In the course of doing this, he draws from numerous sources and traditions—from multiple dialects and languages—and incorporates them into the story, not in a “patchwork” kind of hodgepodge, but in a wholly unique work that displays the targumist’s mastery in a way that is remarkably accessible to the common person. The targumist’s vocabulary decisions are a good example of this. The biblical book of Song of Songs is full of colorful imagery and rare terminology. One might expect that the targumist would mirror this creative vocabulary and expand upon it from his broad knowledge of biblical interpretations and rabbinic texts. Instead, he primarily chooses the most familiar and studied corpora, Onqelos and Jonathan, from which to build the lexical stock for the targum. There are, of course, rare words in TgSong, but context often makes these clear. For instance, note the phrase לולַז שְׁמוֹתִי יַעֲרָת כִּבֵּשָׁא “his lips drip the comb of honey.” The word יַעֲרָת only occurs in this passage and BH 1 Sam 14:27 (in the phrase כִּבֵּשָׁא.
While the word is extremely rare, its cooccurrence with דובשא and the similar phrasing as the 1 Sam passage should have made the targumic passage clear. Other rare words, such as the Greek loan נינפי “bride,” are frequent enough that a hearer or reader would eventually grasp the meaning. As such, TgSong is a targum that could be understood and appreciated by both scholar and layman. This is not a text written by scholarly elites for other scholarly elites. It was meant for the common person.

Third, TgSong’s language exhibits a democratization of Song of Songs’ meaning and message. As stated in the previous paragraph, the targum is written in such a way that the distinction between scholar and layman is minimized. The same can be said for its geographic neutrality. The use of JLA as the primary language of TgSong perhaps allows an accessibility that is stronger than would have been the case had it been exclusively written in one of the other regional dialects. With all of the linguistic mixing that takes place in TgSong, it is striking how many linguistic features exclusive to the east or the west are not present in the targum. Rather, the older, more conservative language that incorporates features from disparate dialects does more to unite various Jewish communities in different locales. This is not a targum for Jews in Babylon, and it is not a targum for Jews in Palestine. For that matter, it is also not a targum for Jews of North Africa or Europe. TgSong is meant to have a wider appeal that would provide hope for Jews in every location. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why this particular targum had an enduring effect on so many different Jewish communities.


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