Journal of Hebrew Scriptures

Volume 14, Article 9 DOI:10.5508/jhs.2014.v14.a9

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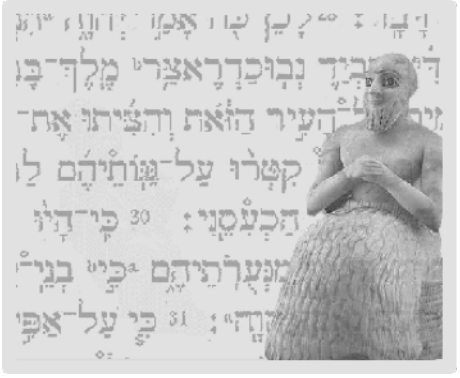

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THE BIBLICAL HEBREW FEMININE SINGULAR *QAL* PARTICIPLE: A HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

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The Biblical Hebrew participle exhibits both nominal and verbal characteristics, and so it is not surprising that the participle, as a whole, has a wide range of use often determined by syntax.[1] The use of the Hebrew participle never appeared to be fully static, as it shifted in important ways from Biblical Hebrew to Mishnaic Hebrew, and finally into Modern Hebrew.[2] The usages and development of the participle are made possible by its dual characteristics.

This article argues for a similar phenomenon regarding the form of the feminine singular (hereafter fs) *Qal* active participle. The fs *Qal* active participle (hereafter ptc) presents a peculiar paradigmatic scheme, exhibiting six morphological features in four syntactic environments: an absolute form terminating in both *-â* and *-elet/alat* (rarely *-t*); an *-elet/-alat* ending in construct form; a suffixed form terminating in *-C_3t-*; and the appearance of *a* (for etymological *i*) between C_2 and C_3 with the addition of a suffix. Thus the following six forms appear in Biblical Hebrew (hereafter BH): *qōṭəlâ, qōṭēlâ, qōṭālet, qōṭelet, qōṭalt-*, and the rare *qōṭalt*. This variegated combination raises questions concerning the genesis of

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[1] Cf. B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §37.

[2] See, e.g., A. Gordon, "The Development of the Participle in Biblical, Mishnaic, and Modern Hebrew," *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 8/3 (1982), 1–59; J. W. Dyk, *Participles in Context: A Computer-Assisted Study of Old Testament Hebrew* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994); T. Muraoka, "The Participle in Qumran Hebrew with Special Reference to Its Periphrastic Use," in T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde (eds.), *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, Held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 188–204; M.S. Smith, "Grammatically Speaking: The Participle as a Main Verb of Clauses (Predicative Participle) in Direct Discourse and Narrative in Pre-Mishnaic Hebrew," in Muraoka and Elwolde (eds.), *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages*, 278–332; T. Notarius, "The Active Predicative Participle in Archaic and Classical Biblical Poetry: A Typological and Historical Investigation," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 47 (2010), 241–69.

these elements, and how they came to exist in combination as preserved in BH. This article seeks to address these forms of the *Qal* fs active ptc and the evidence which bears on the ptc's formation.[3]

To do so, this study will be divided into three sections. The first section will address the arrangement of feminine morphemes found on the base of BH fs ptcs, and will argue for one Proto-Hebrew (hereafter PH) form terminating with *-t* (**qōṭiltu*). The variation between the morphemes *-t* and *-â* in the absolute will be explained in the second section, suggesting that the absolute forms with *-â* were secondarily formed from **qōṭiltu* by influence from the nominal system's overarching preference for that same ending. The final section will consider the Masoretic vocalization of the *Qal* fs ptc with a pronominal suffix, arguing that **qōṭiltu* was reformed after segolization by analogy with *qeṭel* nouns and word final *-elet*, aided by the complex relationship between *sĕgōl* and *pataḥ/ḥîreq*.

Before beginning, a few preliminary remarks on the ptc are necessary. Previous scholarship has commented on several facets of the ptc's nature in varying degrees. The active ptc in general, and the *Qal* form in particular, show a remarkable number of idiosyncrasies on the formal, semantic, and morphological levels.

As a whole, the *Qal* ptc is formally distinct from other members of the BH nominal system.[4] Though other nouns with an initial long vowel made their way into BH, they remain rare,[5] and proportionally the pattern *qōṭēl* dominates.[6] In contrast to the BH nominal system, which prefers the morpheme *-â* in the absolute,[7] the ptc prefers *-t*.[8]

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[3] If not always indicated, the ptc in view is always the active ptc, unless otherwise noted. Furthermore, when the segolate endings are mentioned or cited as *-elet*, it is understood that the phonetically conditioned *-alat* in the vicinity of gutturals is also included.

[4] When speaking of the "nominal system," I include both substantives and adjectives, as BH does not morphologically distinguish these; see P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006), §86; *GKC* §79a. This is generally the case in Semitic; see E. Lipinski, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 80; 2d ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 2001), §34.1. An important (partial) exception is Akkadian; cf. note 48 below.

[5] See H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1922), §61pβ–wβ for these forms.

[6] J. Fox (*Semitic Noun Patterns* [HSS, 52; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 237, 287) explains that the PS G-stem active ptc, **qāṭil*, is the only reconstruction exhibiting the pattern **CVCvC* (where "*V*" represents a long vowel, and "*v*" a short vowel). Accordingly, Lipinski (*Semitic Languages*, §29.7) notes that when not derived from a ptc, the *CVCvC* pattern is rare outside of Arabic. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (2 vols.; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1908), §126.

[7] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §89e; *GKC* §80c.

[8] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §50g; *GKC* §80e.

Many studies focusing on the semantic characteristics of the ptc have drawn attention to the semantic complexity of the ptc in general and the *qōṭēl* pattern in particular. For instance, Kedar-Kopfstein notes the *qōṭēl* pattern has acquired a great degree of plasticity, as an array of semantic stratification is detectable between two poles: *qōṭēl* as a substantive and *qōṭēl* in verbal function.[9] Moreover, the presence of primary nouns, denominatives, and nouns within the *qōṭēl* pattern connected with the derived stems distinguish *qōṭēl* from ptcs of the other stems.[10] In analyzing verbal and nominal connections to the ptc in general, Dyk stresses that the syntactical environment in which the ptc occurs is determinative for that ptc's function (and for reanalysis, where permissible).[11] Andersen and Forbes similarly argue for a complex understanding of the ptc's semantic characteristics. Their study, which investigates the semantics of the ptc by focusing on *mēt*, concludes that " . . . this word, whatever we want to call it, is sometimes verbal, sometimes nominal, sometimes both at once, and sometimes indeterminate."[12] Taking into account the nature of the adjective class in general, Cook argues that the ptc and stative should be properly classified as adjectives because of their nominal and verbal characteristics.[13]

At the morphological level, cases of pretonic lengthening of *i* in the *status absolutus* of nominalized forms occur (e.g., *qōṭēlâ*) in place of the expected vowel reduction (e.g., *qōṭəlâ*).[14] Garr specifically states that nominalized (contextual) forms of the ptc (as well as pausal forms) can show pretonic lengthening of *i,* a result of a combination of factors.[15] Revell, specifically examining the ptc, has concluded that variation in the vocalization of the *Qal* fs ptc may

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[9] B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "Semantic Aspects of the Pattern *Qōṭēl*," *Hebrew Annual Review* 1 (1977), 155–76 (156). N.B.: Kedar-Kopfstein argues that *qōṭēl* represents a simple nominal pattern.

[10] Ibid., 155.

[11] Dyk, *Participles in Context*, 208–12.

[12] F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, "The Participle in Biblical Hebrew and the Overlap of Grammar and Lexicon," in S. Malena and D. Miano (eds.), *Milk and Honey: Essays on Ancient Israel and the Bible in Appreciation of the Judaic Studies Program at the University of California, San Diego* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 209.

[13] J. Cook, "The Hebrew Participle and Stative in Typological Perspective," *JNSL* 34/1 (2008), 1–19.

[14] The behavior of pretonic *i* varies, as noted by J. Blau, *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew: An Introduction* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), §3.5.7.6.2.

[15] W.R. Garr, "Pretonic Vowels in Hebrew," *VT* 37/2 (1987), 129–53 (144–45). Garr argues that between segments, pretonic *i* > *ə*, and specifically, such reduction takes place when *i* follows a heavy syllable. However, Garr concludes that pretonic *i* can be affected by " . . . a number of phonological, syllabic, prosodic, and morphological factors which together determine the outcome in any particular form and context" (ibid., 147–48).

reflect the development of a noun or a verb (where syntactically permissible).[16] Noteworthy is Revell's observation that ptcs from other stems (and plural ptcs) do not show the sort of semantically conditioned variation as seen in the *Qal*.[17]

These studies have all stressed, in one way or another, the eclectic and unique nature of the *Qal* ptc. It is formally unique, it displays complex semantic characteristics, and its (fs) Masoretic vocalization has been influenced by a combination of semantic and syntactic factors in some instances. For these reasons, the fs *Qal* ptc merits examination in its own right.

Notably, few studies have directly focused on the form of the *Qal* fs ptc in particular even though its paradigmatic combination rivals its semantic complexity. Even so, the problematic nature of the form of the *Qal* fs ptc in regard to its feminine morphemes has been parenthetically highlighted in some cases. For instance, Kedar-Kopfstein considers *yôledet* and *yôlədâ* to be remnants of an attempt at semantic differentiation.[18] Commenting on the distribution of the forms with the feminine morphemes, Geiger states that those with *hê* are frequent only in prophetic texts, and then he makes the following concession: "Semantische, syntaktische oder lexikalische Regelmäßigkeiten finde ich nicht, auch keinen eindeutigen diachronen Bezug."[19]

This study will initially address the alternation of the feminine morphemes *-t* and *-â* in the absolute state. Behind the explanation for this variation developed below is the notion that the ptc has a susceptibility to be formally influenced by other morphological classes (i.e., verb and noun). Not only is this susceptibility suggested by the *Qal* fs ptc's morphological combination, but such a notion has been implied to lie behind the Masoretic vocalization of the ptc in several cases. Returning to Revell's study mentioned above, among his conclusions he observes that *ʾōkēlâ/yōledet* may result from a nominal development, whereas *ʾōkəlâ/yōladt* may

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[16] E.J. Revell, "*ʾOBED* (Deut 26:5) and the Function of the Participle in MT," *Sefarad* 48/1 (1988), 197–205 (205). For example, within a clause the feminine singular *Qal* ptc with the morpheme *-â* could be vocalized in the manner of a noun (with *ṣērê*) or verb (with *šĕwāʾ*). Similarly, the rare *qōṭalt* ptcs are homonyms for the *Poʿel* perfect, and the reading tradition understood the ptcs with the *ḥîreq compaginis* either verbally or nominally (ibid., 198–203).

[17] Ibid., 199.

[18] Kedar-Kopfstein, "Semantic Aspects of the Pattern *Qôṭel*," 158.

[19] G. Geiger, "Schreibung und Vokalisierung des Partizips im Biblischen Hebräisch," *LASBF* 57 (2007), 346–47, cf. 371. Geiger echoes this sentiment later in G. Geiger, *Das hebraïsche Partizip in den Texten aus der judaïschen Wüste* (STDJ, 101; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 54. Though discussing the ptc as a whole, the assertion made in Dyk, *Participles in Context*, 208 is nonetheless noteworthy: "The morphological form of the participle itself gives little indication as to its function within a specific context . . . "

result from a verbal development.[20] This variation is restricted by the ptc's context which must permit such developments (i.e., allow for a noun or a verb).[21] Outside of BH, another comparable instance of influence upon the ptc is attested. Akkadian, which morphologically differentiated adjectives and nouns in the masculine plural, formed the ptc with the adjectival endings in the masculine plural: *pārisūtum* (nominative) and *pārisūtim* (oblique). Yet when used as a noun, the masculine plural could have the nominal endings: *pārisū* (nominative) and *pārisī* (oblique).[22] In these Akkadian cases, the ptc's shape is based on its use as an adjective (*pārisūtum/pārisūtim*) or a noun (*pārisū/pārisī*). Taken together, these examples show that the ptc's form may be influenced in the direction of a verb (*ʾōkəlâ/yōladt*) or noun (*ʾōkēlâ/yōledet* and *pārisū/pārisī*).

The ptc's form, then, was susceptible to influence from members of other grammatical classes (the noun and verb) when the ptc's semantic and syntactic roles intersected with that influencing class. Given the cases of influence above and the semantic complexity of the ptc, it is not entirely surprising that variation occurs among the *Qal* ptc's feminine morphemes. The challenge concerning the feminine morphemes is to explain the variation between *-t* and *-â* as a case of influence which stemmed from a combination of semantic and syntactic factors which facilitated that influence. That is, can one explain the alternation of the feminine morphemes *-t* and *-â* in the *Qal* fs ptc as a result of influence from the nominal system (as in some cases of the Masoretic vocalization of the BH

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[20] Revell, "*ʾOBED*," 205. Importantly, Revell suggests that this development took place at the end of the biblical period. Cf. also Garr's comments on the lengthening of *i* in nominalized (contextual) forms of the ptc above.

[21] For example, Revell ("*ʾOBED*," 199) states that, " . . . the preservation or reduction of this vowel is conditioned semantically. Where a *qal* participle marked as f.s. by *qameṣ-he* occurs in a context which clearly requires a noun, the vowel of the penultimate syllable is maintained as *ṣere*. In other situations, the form was perceived as a verb, so the penultimate vowel is reduced to *shewa*, following the pattern typical of similar verb forms when not in terminal position." Revell (ibid., n. 10) emphasizes the nature of this semantic conditioning: "It must be stressed that the basis of this conditioning is semantic, not syntactic." Importantly, however, is that the context of the ptc dictated the possibility of these developments. Revell (ibid., 205) states this in his summary: "The difference arose because participles of these forms were evidently treated as verbs unless they stood in a position in which (in terms of syntax) a noun was required."

[22] J. Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (2d ed.; Winona Lake, Ind., Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 195; W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Analecta Orientalia, 33; 3d ed. with W.R. Mayer; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1995), §61K. Cf. also R. Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian: A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 210–11.

ptc and the Akkadian ptc) or verbal system (as in some cases of the Masoretic vocalization of the BH ptc)? If so, what linguistic environment allowed this influence? As stated above, this article argues that the nominal system influenced the ptc's form. But before making this case, the PH form of the *Qal* fs ptc needs to be addressed. Consequently, all subsequent reconstruction will depend on, and be controlled by, the PH form.[23]

I. THE PROTO-SEMITIC MORPHEMES *-*TU* AND *-*ATU* AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PH AND BH FS PTC

Several options exist for explaining the alternation between BH *qōṭelet* and *qōṭəlâ*/*qōṭēlâ* in the absolute. A cursory examination seems to suggest reconstructing two PH forms: **qōṭiltu* and **qōṭilatu*. Such a reconstruction would reflect a complex Proto-Semitic (hereafter PS) gender marking system where **-atu* and **-tu* alternated within the language.[24] Alternatively, one could argue for an organic relationship between the PS morphemes **-atu* and **-tu*, and consequently, between their BH reflexes *-â* and *-t*. Such a relationship between **-atu* and **-tu*, where **-tu* developed from original **-atu,* falls under the larger theory of PS vowel elision.[25] From this perspective, the original feminine morpheme was **-atu,* and accordingly the original form of the PS fs G-stem ptc was **qāṭilatu*, which eventually yielded the form with the morpheme *-t* in the absolute through the elision of **a*. A final possibility is that the PH ptc was **qōṭiltu*, and the form with the morpheme *-â* developed later from this antecedent PH form.

The extant BH evidence supports the third option, namely a single PH ptc **qōṭiltu*. The distribution of the feminine morphemes on the BH ptc is striking, showing *-t* as the preferred af-

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[23] I emphasize the PH stage for two reasons. First, I do not wish to enter the debate regarding the veracity of Proto-Semitic vowel syncope and its possible relationship to the BH feminine morphemes *-â* and *-t*. Secondly, as argued in section I, the evidence suggests one PH ptc with the morpheme *-t*, from which the form **qōtəlâ* developed (section II). Thus, **qōṭəlâ* is not related to a PS form, but arose secondarily. However, I leave the ultimate origin of the PH form **qōṭiltu* open.

[24] Z.S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History* (AOS, 16; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1939), 38–39; cf. the comments in S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology* (2d ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), §12.32.

[25] For a recent defense of PS vowel syncope, as well as a history of proponents and dissenters, see R.C. Steiner, "Vowel Syncope and Syllable Repair Processes in Proto-Semitic Construct Forms: A New Reconsideration Based on the Law of Diminishing Conditioning," in R. Hasselbach and N. Pat-El (eds.), *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (SAOC, 67; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2012), 365–90.

formative.[26] The following data include instances of the BH fs ptc in the *status pronominalis* (A), *status constructus* (B), *status absolutus* (C), and with the *ḥîreq compaginis* (D), and reveal an uneven combination of the feminine inflectional morphemes. As shown below, stressed **-at* > *-â*, regularly preserved with the addition of a pronominal suffix (*-āt-*) and in construct (*-at*) in BH, leaves no footprint of its existence outside the ptc's absolute state.

A) Regularly, the *status pronominalis* ends with the sequence *-C₃t-* (the *-t* is in all cases a stop):[27] *ʾōyabtî* (Mic 7:8, 10); *ʾōmantô* (2 Sam 4:4);[28] *ləyôladtāh* (Song 6:9); *ləyôladtô* (Prov 17:25); *yôladtekā* (Prov 23:25); *yôladtəkem* (Jer 50:12); *yôʿaṣtô* (2 Chr 22:3); *məbaʿittekā* (1 Sam 16:15); *mêniqtô* (2 Kgs 11:2; 2 Chr 22:11); *mēniqtāh* (Gen 24:59); *sōḥartēk* (Ezek 27:12, 16, 18); *rōkaltēk* (Ezek 27:20, 23).

B) In the *status constructus*, the fs ptc is habitually vocalized with the segolate ending: *yōšebet/yôšebet* (Jer 21:13; 51:35; Mic 1:11-13, 15), *məbōreket* (Deut 33:13), *mêneqet* (Gen 35:8), *miššōkebet* (Mic 7:5), *nōbelet* (Isa 1:30).[29] An exception occurs in Ps 19:8, where the orthography (*mḥkymt*) forces the Masoretic vocalization *-at* (*maḥkîmat*). This exception, however, proves the rule: the construct preserves the segolate ending.

C) The *status absolutus* preserves both the *-elet* and *-â* morphemes. However, the *–elet* forms predominate in the ptc, in contrast to the noun, where *-â* is more common than *-t*.[30] The occurrences of the BH ptc have been enumerated by Geiger.[31] Of particular interest is the distribution he reports of the fs *Qal* active ptc: *qōṭəlâ* occurs ca. fifteen times in context; *qōṭēlâ* sixteen times in context (and fourteen times in pause); *qōṭelet* is the rule in context occurring ca. 120 times (also six times in pause, cf. *qōṭālet*, limited to pause ca. fifteen times); *qōṭalt* is rare, occurring three times.[32]

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[26] Fs ptcs outside the *Qal* are taken into consideration in some instances, as they mirror the *Qal*.

[27] Only roots with strong radicals in the second and third position are under consideration.

[28] *Nûn* was not assimilated at the end of III-*nûn* verbs, due to analogy with forms which retained the *nûn* (*ntn* being an exception); see Blau, *Phonology and Morphology*, §3.3.1.9; see also Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects,* 39. The retention of *nûn* in *ʾōmantô* and in *šknty* (see page 8 below) is likely due to the same phenomenon.

[29] Only a few examples are cited here, especially since this is the obvious rule in BH. Whether a feminine ptc is in the construct state or not is often unclear and becomes a judgment call, since the forms are identical. This confusion is precisely the point being made here: only the segolate ending allows for identical forms in the construct and the absolute.

[30] See notes 7 and 8 above. The ptc *məšārat* in 1 Kgs 1:15 is contracted from *məšāratt*, see *GKC* §94f.

[31] G. Geiger, "Schreibung und Vokalisierung," 346.

[32] Ibid., and for the derived stems, see 358, 369 363, and 366.

The approximate ratio of *-t* to *-â* in the *Qal*, (according to Geiger's count) is just over 3:1.

D) Feminine ptcs with the *ḥîreq compaginis* consistently show the *-t* morpheme, as the Masoretes understood these ptcs to have the *-t* termination in the *qərê*:[33] *ʾōhabtî* (Hos 10:11); *yšbty*, *yōšabtî* (Kətîb), *yōšebet* (Qərê) (Jer 10:17); *yšbty*, *yōšabtî* (K), *yōšabt* (Q) (Jer 22:23); *hyšbty*, *hayyōšabtî* (K), *hayyōšebet* (Q) (Ezek 27:3); *ywšbty*, *yôšabtî* (K), *yôšebet* (Q) (Lam 4:21); *šknty*, *šōkantî* (K), *šōkant* (Q) (Jer 51:13).[34]

The vast majority of the available data within BH indicate that most of the fs participles reflect, synchronically, a base with an original **-t* morpheme. It is compelling to go even further: diachronically, the evidence strongly suggests that there was only one PH ptc which terminated with **-t*. The states of the fs ptc which one would expect to preserve traces of *-at* (*status pronominalis* and *status constructus*) are monolithic (outside of one aberration dictated by orthography): all show the morpheme *-t*. Likewise, those feminine ptcs with the *ḥîreq compaginis* all show *-t*. Factoring in the ptc's unique preference for *-elet* in the absolute, one must consider the possibility that the absolute ptcs with the *-â* ending in the absolute may have another explanation other than a derivation from the **-atu* morpheme. For if there had existed an original PH ptc with the **-atu* ending, one would expect evidence that such an ending existed outside the absolute, particularly in the construct state where original **-atu* is commonly preserved. Yet nothing like the Aramaic construct *məhanzəqat* (Ezra 4:15) occurs in BH, other than the exception in Ps 19:8, where orthography dictated the vocalization of this *Hiphʿil* ptc (*maḥkîmat*). The anomalous *yōladt* (Gen 16:11, Judg 13:5, 7) must also be mentioned in this discussion, as it also shows preference for *-t*.[35] That an **-atu* form would be minimally preserved solely in the absolute state as *-â* strongly suggests that there was no original PH ptc terminating in **-atu*.

An objection to the above proposal may arise specifically from Steiner's nuanced PS vowel syncope rule, where syncope took place in the construct state.[36] Regarding the alternation of feminine end-

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[33] The following citations are drawn from D. Robertson, "The Morphemes -y(-i) and -w(-o) in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 19/2 (1969), 211–23. Where there is a *kətîb*/*qərê*, the consonants are listed first, followed by the *kətîb* (K) and the *qərê* (Q). For comparison, note the passive ptc with the *ḥîreq compaginis* in Gen 31:39: *gənūbətî*.

[34] Bauer and Leander, (*Historische Grammatik*, §77 d') note, "die segolatischen Partt. mit angehängtem *-ī* haben eigentümlicherweise Paenultimadruck . . . " On the retainment of *nûn*, see note 28 above.

[35] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §89j note that this form may be a *lectio mixta*.

[36] Specifically, "The thesis of this article is that at least one short open-syllabic vowel was deleted in Proto-Semitic construct forms of nouns and adjectives, as long as the deletion did not violate Proto-Semitic syllable constraints . . . " (Steiner, "Vowel Syncope," 367). It should be noted that

ings in the construct and absolute, Steiner sees the situation as explicable at the PS stage where **-t* developed from **-at* through syncope in the construct state, with the alternation of absolute *-â* and construct *-t* in a few BH nouns providing evidence of this rule.[37] Free variation between *-â* and *-t* in the absolute (including the ptc), along with rare cases in the construct, are a later development arising from analogical leveling according to the "law of diminishing conditioning."[38] Put in the context of the BH *Qal* ptc, Steiner's hypothesis suggests *a* in original **-at* of the (G-stem) ptc (but this can probably extend to all stems) was syncopated in the construct, and the free variation of *-â* and *-t* in the absolute resulted from analogical leveling.

Taken systematically, it appears that the synchronic data above suggest a different relationship between the variation of *-â* and *-t* in the absolute fs ptc than that put forth by Steiner's hypothesis. The ratio of the clearly preferred *-t* to *-â* in the absolute fs ptc, in combination with the nominal system's overarching preference for *-â* to *-t* in the absolute, suggests the opposite scenario: the ptc's distinctive preference for *-t* in the absolute was, in some cases, rebuilt with the *-â* morpheme through analogy with the nominal system. It is quite difficult to see how the nominal system, with its heavy inclination for *-â*, could have analogically influenced a ptc with the morpheme *-at* (already preferred by nouns) to the far less favored *-t*.[39] Put another way, if the original fs ptc morpheme was **-at*, and if PS syncope in the construct state gave rise to the morpheme *-t*, how can one account for the small fraction of *-â* < **-at* in the absolute ptc, particularly in light of the preference for the morpheme *-â* < **-at* in BH? The answer, suggested here, is that the PH fs ptc terminated in *-t* and that the absolute forms with *-â* were secondarily formed by influence from the nominal system's overarching preference for that same ending.[40]

Thus, the BH evidence suggests the ptc at the PH stage was fixed in one form terminating in *-t*. Consequently, those absolute ptcs which terminate with *-â* are not original to PH and must be accounted for in another manner. Narrowing the perspective to the

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Steiner does not suggest that vowel syncope took place only in the construct state (ibid., 368).

[37] Ibid., 373.

[38] See ibid., 374, cf. 369. Steiner invokes the G-stem ptcs, by which I suspect he must mean only active ptcs of the strong root. I see no reason why the ptcs of the derived stems cannot be included here as well.

[39] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §97Fa (cf. 89d), by suggesting that the segolization of the feminine endings arose in the construct state and having sometimes spread to the absolute, implies the distinctiveness of the *Qal* ptc: the segolate ending appears in the absolute as the rule. Cf. notes 7 and 8 above. See also section II below, where the specifics of the analogy are discussed.

[40] This does not necessarily rule out PS syncope regarding the ptc's feminine morpheme before the PH stage. Cf. note 23 above.

Qal fs active ptc, the PH form is preserved in the Masoretic Text in the absolute and construct as *qōṭelet*, in pause as *qōṭālet*, and with a suffix as *qōṭalt-*.[41] The significance of this conclusion concerning the PH ptc's form cannot be overemphasized, as it completely controls and governs the following analysis.

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE BH *QŌṬƏLÂ* FORM

The pausal and suffixed forms of the *Qal* fs ptc with the *-t* morpheme lead to another issue: the quality of the vowel between the second and third radicals. Since the BH *qōṭelet* form shows *a* in this position, *GKC* proceeds with caution when classifying the form *qōṭelet*, stating that it may belong to the **qātil* class if its ground form **qōṭalt* goes back to an original *qāṭilt*.[42] On comparative grounds, one would expect the original vowel between the second and third radical to be *i*.[43] Internally, reflexes of an original *i* occur in Hebrew III-*ʾālep* roots, which typically take the form *qōṭēʾt: haḥōṭēʾt* (Ezek 18:4)*, yōṣēʾt* (Judg 11:34; cf. *yôṣēt* in Deut 28:57), *nōśēʾt* (Esth 2:15, construct; cf. *niśśēʾt* in Zech 5:7); cf. *kəmôṣəʾēt* (Song 8:10), *nōśəʾēt* (1 Kgs 10:22).[44] Furthermore, at least four III-

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[41] Comparative evidence shows both forms. Not surprisingly, some Semitic languages show the G-stem ptc with the *-at* termination, e.g., Classical Arabic *qāṭilatun* and Biblical Aramaic *ʿābədâ*. According to Segert, the Phoenician *khnt* "priestess" must be *kōhinōt* (derived, presumably, from **qātil*) since the *nûn* did not assimilate to the following consonant; see S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich: Beck, 1976), 87. In Phoenician *nûn* did assimilate at the end of a word: *ʾdt* < *ʾadōnt*, but cf. BH *ʾōmenet/ʾōmantô* against *ʾĕmet/ʾămittô* (Ps 91:4). See W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 40–44 for details on the behavior of *nûn* in the NWS dialects. Both Akkadian (*qāṭiltum*) and Ge'ez (*qāṭəlt*) have the morpheme *-t*, as in BH. Two observations concerning the Akkadian G-stem fs ptc *pāristum* are worth noting. It behaves anomalously in the bound and suffixed forms: *pārisat* before nouns, *pārista-* before pronominal suffixes; see Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, 195. The situation in Akkadian contrasts with Hebrew: an unexpected *-at* appears in the bound form with the expected *-t* in the absolute. Instead of an anomaly in a contextual form, it occurs in the bound form. The Akkadian form with a suffix is similar to Hebrew, retaining *-C_3t*.

[42] *GKC* §84^{a}s.

[43] Note Ugaritic *qrʾit* in addition to the G-stem fs ptcs in note 41 above.

[44] *GKC* §94f attributes the forms with reduced *i* to analogy with *qəṭēl* nouns. Notice that these ptcs also exhibit the *-t* inflectional ending. Cf. the III-*ʾālep* words, which, despite occasionally displaying the *-t* morpheme (e.g., *ḥaṭṭāʾt, millēʾt, maśśēʾt, nəkōʾt*), appear to prefer the *-â* morpheme (as expected in the nominal system): *bərîʾâ, dāʾâ, ḥăṭāʾâ, ḥāṭṭāʾâ, ḥemʾâ, ṭəmēʾâ, ṭumʾâ, ləṭāʾâ, məlēʾâ, marʾâ, maśśāʾâ, məšōʾâ, mattəlāʾâ, nəbûʾâ, nəbîʾâ, nəkēʾâ, pēʾâ, ṣəmēʾâ, ṣimʾâ, qinʾâ, qərîʾâ, śinʾâ šōʾâ, təbûʾâ, təlāʾâ*. In this regard, note that in Mishnaic Hebrew, III-*ʾāleph* ptcs may show the *-h* morpheme: *yôṣəʾâ*; see M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic*

yôd verbs provide evidence of an original *i* between the second and third radical in the form *qōṭîyâ: bôkîyâ* (Lam 1:16)*, hômîyâ* (Isa 22:2)*, pōrîyâ* (Ps 128:3)*, ṣôpîyâ* (Prov 31:27).[45] In addition, the plurals of the *Qal* ptc (both fem *qōṭəlôt* and *qōṭəlîm*) may provide evidence of original *i*. Because pretonic *a* typically lengthens,[46] particularly in nouns, the reduction to *ə* in the feminine plural further suggests that the fs base for the feminine plural was not **qōṭalt*, but rather **qōṭilt*.

Therefore, though *ā* appears in pause and *a* in suffixed forms, internal BH evidence from the *qōṭē't* and *qōṭîyâ* forms, as well as the deduction made concerning the base from which the feminine plural *Qal* ptc is formed, is in accord with the comparative data, demonstrating that the original vowel between the second and third radicals was in fact *i*.[47] Additionally, if the assertion made below that a direct organic relationship exists between the *qōṭelet* and *qōṭəlâ* forms is accepted, the form *qōṭēlâ* also provides evidence that the original vowel was *i*. Thus the PH *Qal* fs active ptc of the strong root was **qōṭiltu*.

The presence of the BH contextual form *qōṭəlâ* presents a problem in the face of the overwhelming data supporting an original **qōṭiltu* form. However, the *qōṭəlâ* form can be explained as a development from the **qōṭiltu* form. Moreover, as will be seen below, *qōṭəlâ* holds a medial position between the **qōṭiltu* form and the BH *qōṭelet* form.

The key to the *qōṭəlâ* form lies in the nominal system.[48] BH retains a number of nouns with identical or near identical meanings, exhibiting *-â* (occasionally alongside *-t*) in the *status absolutus*, *-t* in the *status constructus,* and *-C_3t-* in the *status pronominalis*.[49] Whether

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Hebrew (Oxford: Claredon, 1927; repr. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 57. Cf. M.P. Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (trans. J. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 130, which states that *-h* is occasionally found in place of *-t* in the ptc, and note Eccl 10:5: *yōṣā'*.

[45] Cf. the plural forms *hōmîyôt* (Prov 1:21) and *'ōtîyôt* (Isa 41:23).

[46] Cf., e.g., *'ôlāmîm* (Ps 77:6) and *gôrālôt* (Jonah 1:7). See Garr, "Pretonic Vowels," 131–38 for details.

[47] The rise of *a* will be addressed in section III.

[48] This is particularly poignant in the case of the ptc, as the adjectival and nominal systems are very close morphologically, particularly in the NWS sphere. Compare the East Semitic sphere, where the Akkadian adjectival system deviates morphologically from the nominal system in the masculine plural in both the nominative (*-ūtum* instead of *-ū*) and the oblique (*-ūtim* instead of *-ī*).

[49] In the following, some forms are attested in all three states, while others are attested in one or two states. The *status absolutus*, *status constructus,* and *status pronominalis* forms are separated by a hyphen, and variations within a state are separated by a backslash. *'ayyālâ / 'ayyelet—'ayyelet; 'arbā'â—'arba'at—'arba'tām; 'ašmûrâ / 'ašmōret—'ašmōret; bûšâ/bōšet—boštî; gəbîrâ—gəberet—gəbirtî; gədērâ/gəderet; dəbēlâ—dəbelet; ḥămiššâ—ḥămēšet; yabbāšâ/yabbešet; lehābâ—lahebet; mô'ăbîyâ/mô'ābît; maḥăšābâ/maḥăšebet—maḥăšebet—maḥăšabtô; məlā'kâ—məle'ket—məla'ktô;*

all of these nominal counterparts are original members of the same morphological class or a combination of bi-forms is not relevant for the discussion at hand.[50] The significance of these nouns is not in their origin, but in their alternation, closely paralleling that of the ptc: *-â* appears in the absolute, at times along with *-t*; *-t* appears in the construct state (*-at* is extremely rare); and *-t* appears with the addition of a pronominal suffix. The appearance of the morpheme *-â* in these nouns where one would expect *-t* is not entirely surprising, since *-â* is overwhelmingly preferred in the absolute.[51] The *status constructus* and *status pronominalis* of these nouns which showed the *-t* morpheme, in combination with absolute counterparts with *-â*, provided a paradigmatic combination in which the ptc's absolute form could be rebuilt through analogy.

The specific syntactical structure from which the analogical influence affected the participle must have been the construct state. Not only is this the environment from which the segolate endings are presumed to have arisen,[52] but the displacement of main accent from the *regens* to the *rectum* likely facilitated the emergence of oxytone **qōṭilâ* (BH *qōṭəlâ*) in the absolute, since the final syllable of the *regens* became proclitic (i.e., original absolute **qōṭíltu* > construct **qōṭilt* > absolute **qōṭilâ* [restructured via analogy with nouns which show absolute *-â* and construct *-t*]).[53] Moreover, the

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milḥāmâ/milḥemet—milḥemet—milḥamtî; mamlākâ—mamleket (cf. *mamlekat* in 2 Chr 21:4)*—mamlaktô; memšālâ—memšelet—memšeltəkā; maʿărākâ/maʿăreket; mappālâ/mappelet—mappelet—mappaltô; maṣṣēbâ/maṣṣebet—maṣṣəbat/maṣṣebet—maṣṣabtāh; merkābâ—mirkebet—merkabtô; merqāḥâ/mirqaḥat; maśʿēnâ/mišʿenet—mišʿantô; mišpāḥâ—mišpaḥat—mišpaḥtî; mattānâ/mattāt* (pause)*—mattənat/mattat; nəḥûšâ/ nəḥōšet—nəḥōšet—nəḥoštî/nəḥuštāh; ʿăṯārâ—ʿăṯeret; ʿăṣārâ/ʿăṣeret—ʿăṣeret; ʿăśārâ—ʿăśeret; qəṭôrâ/qəṭōret—qəṭōret—qəṭortî; šibyâ/šəbît; šəlōšâ—šəlōšet—šəloštām; šiššâ—šēšet; tôkēḥâ/tôkaḥat—tôkaḥat—tôkaḥtî; tôlēʿâ/tôlaʿat—tôlaʿat—tôlaʿtām; tipʾārâ/tipʾeret—tipʾeret—tipʾartî*. Rare variation in the construct is found in *malkat/məleket*, in addition to the examples above. Occurrences of the *-t* morpheme in the absolute and *-at* in the construct occasionally occur, as in (pausal) *ʿaṣṣābet—ʿaṣṣəbat*. Note also *bəhēmâ—behĕmat—bəhemtəkā.*

[50] As with the ptc, I leave the ultimate origin of the *-t* in these forms open (see note 23 above).

[51] Note that these nouns which show variation are, as a whole, infrequent in the nominal system. The nominal system prefers *-â* in the absolute along with its expected reflexes, *-at* in the construct state and *-āt-* with the addition of a pronominal suffix. The ptc's preference is opposite, preferring *-t* in every state, with some appearances of *-â* in the absolute.

[52] See note 39.

[53] It must be stressed that this reformation post-dated the loss of case and **-at*, but predated segolization. Blau (*Phonology and Morphology*, §4.4.6.4), understands anaptyxis in segolate nouns to be early, coterminous with the loss of final short vowels. Blau explains the *Secunda's* failure to show anaptyxis (but see note 77 below), in light of the LXX's tendency to do so, as a phonemic transcription (the *Secunda*) in contrast to the LXX's

construct state is a heavily utilized syntactical environment, one in which the otherwise uncommon feminine segolate endings (PH **-vC$_3$t*) appear most frequently, making this state a common formal point of convergence between the ptc **qōṭíltu* and PH nouns terminating in *-C$_3$t*. Equally important is that the construct state is by definition a nominal syntactic structure. The construct state utilized the nominal aspects of the ptc's semantic nature in a linguistic context where nouns were expected. The ptc, whose semantics overlapped with the nominal system in a number of ways,[54] converged syntactically with those nouns which had the *-t* morpheme in the construct state.

Thus, the construct state provided an environment where the ptc semantically and syntactically intersected with formally similar nouns. This environment, coupled with the shared feminine morpheme *–t,* facilitated formal influence on the ptc. When **qōṭíltu* was placed in construct (**qōṭilt*), it was occasionally restructured on analogy with those nouns which had the *-t* morpheme in the con-

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phonetic transcription. I do not presume anaptyxis to simultaneously coincide with the loss of final short vowels. Instead, I take the *Secunda's* failure to represent anaptyxis to be indicative of the fact that anaptyxis did not obtain in a monolithic manner (e.g., LXX πασχα vs. φασεκ and φασεχ; the LXX's transcription of the personal names Αβδεμελεχ, Αβδεναγω, and Αβδιας). In support of this position, note the comments by Lipinski, *Semitic Languages*, §17.9, 24.9, and 27.19 regarding anaptyxis in Semitic in general, as well as in Hebrew, and A. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. J. Elwolde; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 85. I hold to the following chronology of Hebrew diachronic developments. Case endings were first lost in the construct (see Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 42), then in the absolute before the loss of feminine **-atu* (Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 60). Case was absent from Hebrew by the first millennium (Garr, *Dialect Geography*, 63), and the feminine morpheme *-at* had shifted to *-â* by that same time (Garr, *Dialect Geography*, 94). Since the breaking of final consonantal clusters in nouns by means of an anaptyctic vowel was a post-exilic phenomenon (Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew,* 46; following Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 29ff), there was a period of time between the loss of case vowels and anaptyxis where consonantal clusters existed in Hebrew at the end of qualifying words. BH shows remnants of this tolerance for consonantal clusters at the end of a word (cf. Blau, *Phonology and Morphology*, §2.9.3; *GKC* §10i, 26r, 28d; Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §27db; Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, §20t, and see the sections from Lipinski [immediately above] for Semitic examples in general). Therefore I assume a period in which Hebrew widely accepted consonantal clusters without requiring the immediate onset of anaptyxis.

[54] See the studies mentioned on page 3 above. Where one falls regarding the details of these studies is not as important for formal influence as recognizing that formal influence upon the ptc can only come from morphological classes with which the ptc generally overlaps (i.e., nominal and verbal classes). Though studies have shown the ptc is semantically multifaceted, formal influence can only be binary.

struct, but *-â* in the absolute, in accord with the nominal system's preference. In this way **qōṭíltu* could emerge as **qōṭilâ* (BH *qōṭəlâ*) with accent placed on the ultima without leaving any trace of an original **-at* in the *status absolutus* or *status constructus*.[55] This analogical influence derived not only from the construct form shared by the ptc and noun (*-C_3t*), but also from the ptc's semantic convergence with the nominal system. The construct state provided a heavily utilized syntactical environment which facilitated semantic and formal convergence resulting in analogical influence on the ptc.[56] Thus, the absolute **qōṭilâ* was a secondary development from **qōṭiltu* through analogy with nouns stemming from the construct state (i.e., **mamlakt:*mamlakâ* :: **qōṭilt:*qōṭilâ*).

Therefore the formation *qōṭəlâ* occasionally appeared in the absolute on analogy with the nominal system in combination with the ptc's semantic overlap with the noun in a well-utilized syntactic structure.[57] Such a development is not surprising, as the BH ptc

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[55] The form *bō'ērâ*, (Hos 7:4) with penultimate accent, is anomalous; cf. Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §93k; *GKC* §80k. Note also paroxytone *kayyôlēdâ* (Ps 48:7).

[56] It is hardly possible that the ptc influenced the nominal system. If such was the case, the ptcs preference for *-t* in the absolute would remain unexplained, particularly in light of nominal preference for *-â* in the absolute.

[57] Though it is not impossible that the feminine *Qal* perfect verb may have influenced the ptc, it is difficult to demonstrate such influence in the early period. Formal similarities between the *Qal* second feminine singular perfect the PH ptc could have lead to the development of **qōṭilâ* (**qaṭalt:*qōṭilt* :: **qaṭalâ:*qōṭilâ*). However, nominal influence seems more likely for both semantic and formal reasons. The semantic connection between the ptc and the perfect is not as strong as that between the ptc and noun in the early period. In later times, the *vocalization* of the ptc was influenced by the verb, as demonstrated by Revell. However, this influence appears later in the history of Hebrew. Moreover, this verbal influence is predetermined by the older consonantal text, and certain syntactical constructions in the text suggest the verb did not affect the ptc. If **qaṭalâ* had a major impact on the ptc, one would expect the consonants *qṭlh* to occur where a third person feminine perfect could also occur. However, those combinations which could take a third person feminine singular perfect but have BH *qōṭelet* (not *qōṭəlâ*) witness against significant verbal influence. Note, for example, Gen 25:26 (*wəyādô ʾōḥezet* [not **ʾōḥəzâ*] *baʿăqēb ʿēśāw*) and 25:28 (*wəribqâ ʾōhebet* [not **ʾōhəbâ*] *ʾet yaʿăqōb*). Similarly, if *qāṭəlâ* had been a major early influence on the ptc, it is difficult to explain how nominal ptcs of the type *qṭlh* (BH *qōṭēlâ*) occur at all, for one would expect a perfect verb to influence those ptcs which occur in a semantic environment requiring a perfect verb, not a noun. Additionally, the BH ptc substitutes for the perfect (with the auxiliary verb *hyh*) in later BH (Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §37.7.1), though it may be used in past time frames, among others (ibid., §37.6). Formal problems may have hindered verbal influence as well. The highly frequent *qāṭəlâ* has penultimate accent in pause and preserves *-āt-* with the addition of a pronominal suffix, whereas BH *qōṭəlâ*

demonstrates both formal and semantic plasticity as noted in the studies cited earlier.[58] Additionally, Akkadian attests to a similar phenomenon, providing more support for the ptc's potential for (re)formation.[59]

The BH form *qōṭelet* (< **qōṭiltu*) does not preserve original *i* (in the form of *ḥîreq*) between the second and third radical (in any state), but shows *sĕgōl*, *pataḥ*, or *qāmeṣ*.[60] One may find it surprising that the secondary *qōṭəlâ* preserves the expected *i* (as *ṣēre*) in pause and occasionally in context.[61] However, this may be resolved by positing that *qōṭəlâ* developed before **qōṭiltu* > *qōṭelet*, since segolization and analogy were responsible for wiping out *i* (discussed in section III). Therefore, chronologically, *qōṭəlâ* was formed from **qōṭiltu* before segolization, thus preserving the original *i* in some contextual and pausal forms.[62]

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has accent on the ultima (see note 55 above for rare exceptions), and does not preserve *-āt-* with the addition of a suffix. Additionally, it is worthwhile to note that the analogy **qaṭalt:*qōṭilt* :: **qaṭalâ:*qōṭilâ* may be misleading, depending on the phonemic status of the stop/spirant *-t*. Anaptyxis triggered spirantization of the morpheme *-t* in the ptc, but the appearance of *pataḥ* for *šĕwāʾ* in the second person feminine singular *Qal* perfect III-pharyngeals verbs did not. Note that *-t* is a stop in *yāgaʿat* (Isa 47:12), *lāqaḥat* (Ezek 22:12), *pāšaʿat* (Zeph 3:11), *šāmaʿat* (1 Kgs 1:11), *šākaḥat* (Jer 13:25), *śābāʿat* (Ezek 16:28). Spirantized *-t* in the ptc's absolute form differentiates it from the verb. In short, there is a semantic dissonance between the non-finite ptc and the finite perfect that makes influence from the latter on the former difficult to maintain at an early stage. Formal hurdles exist as well. Undoubtedly, the verb did influence the ptc, but only later in the history of Hebrew.

[58] See pages 3ff above. Cf. also note 44 above (end).

[59] See page 5 above.

[60] See the forms on pages 1–2 above. Cf. note 75 below (end).

[61] E.g., *ʾôkēlâ* (Isa 33:14), *bōgēdâ* (Jer 3:8), *bōʿērâ* (Hos 7:4), *zôlēlâ* (Lam 1:11), *yôlēdâ* (Mic 5:2), *ṣōlēʿâ* (Zeph 3:19), *šômēmâ* (Isa 54:1), *šôqēqâ* (Isa 29:8).

[62] Indirectly, one may take the behavior of pretonic *a* as evidence that *qōṭəlâ* could not have developed from a **qōṭaltu* form. If so, one might have expected the pretonic lengthening of *a* > *ā*, as in *ʿōlāmîm* < **ʿālāmīm* and *gōrālôt* < **gawralāt*. For the specific behavior of pretonic *a*, see Garr, "Pretonic Vowels in Hebrew," 131–38. Cf. F.R. Blake, "Pretonic Vowels in Hebrew," *JNES* 10/4 (1951), 243–55 (251).

III. THE ORIGIN OF THE *QŌṬALT-* FORM

Few have offered direct comment on the origin of the *qōṭalt-* forms.[63] Revell specifically addresses the *status pronominalis* of the *Qal* ptc, putting forth the possibility that **ā* may have caused the *pataḥ* to arise with the addition of a pronominal suffix.[64] Else-

[63] E.g., Bauer and Leander (*Historische Grammatik*, §77 d') list some of these forms simply as "Abweichende Formen." *GKC* §84ᵃs (cf. §94j) tentatively connects the form *qōṭelet* to the **qāṭil* class based on affinities with I-*yôd* infinitives, if its ground form **qōṭalt* goes back to an original **qāṭilt*. *GKC* §69c gleans evidence for such a shift from I-*yôd* infinitives, from which a law is drawn: *i* of the stem syllable is changed to *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending. Thus Gesenius' view can be reconstructed as follows: **qōṭilt* > **qōṭalt* > *qōṭelet*. Cf. Blau, *Phonology and Morphology*, §4.3.8.4.13 on the development of the I-*yôd* infinitive: **šibt* > **šabt* (Philippi's Law) > *šebet* (segolization). Though Philippi's Law, by which accented **i* > *a* is not consistent in its manifestations (see Blau, P*honology and Morphology*, §3.5.8.6–3.5.8.10 and E.J. Revell, "The Voweling of '*i* Type' Segolates in Tiberian Hebrew," *JNES* 44/4 [1985], 319–38 [323–324]), one must note that feminine infinitives of initial weak roots show *i* with the addition of a pronominal suffix: I-*nûn gištô* (Gen 33:3) and I-*yôd lidtî* (1 Kgs 3:18), *ridtî* (Ps 30:10), *rištô* (1 Kgs 21:16), *šibtî* (2 Sam 7:5); cf. *da'tî* (Deut 9:24), *qaḥtî* (Ezek 24:25), *lektî* (1 Kgs 2:8). The inflected *qōṭelet* forms never show *i* in the *status pronominalis* (i.e., *qōtalt-*), distinguishing it from these infinitives. Thus such a relationship between the infinitive and *qōṭelet* is suspect.

[64] E.J. Revell, "The Tiberian Reflexes of Short *i in Closed Syllables," *JAOS* 109/2 (1989), 183–203 (193). Specifically, "The presence of original long **ā* (MT *ḥolem*) may have been the cause of the development of *pataḥ* in the closed unstressed non-final syllables of f.s. *qal* participle forms with suffixes . . . " (idem). If **ā* influenced *i* > *a* in closed unaccented syllables in the ptc, it must have been before the Canaanite shift in general and before BH segolization in particular. The Canaanite shift has been placed as early as the fifteenth century (e.g., Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 43–45). A.F. Rainey (*Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used By Scribes From Canaan* [4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 1:48) provides evidence that Canaanite *ā* > *ō* in the Jerusalem scribe's mother-tongue, as the first person singular pronoun in EA 287:66 reads *a-nu-ki* for expected *a-na-ku*. Cf. also Garr, *Dialect Geography*, 31; J. Tropper and J.-P. Vita, *Kanaano-akkadische der Amarnazeit* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 88–89. Notice the ptc from EA 256:9: *sú-ki-ni*, showing the shift *ā* > *ō* in the ptc. Therefore Revell's proposed phonological shift must have occurred quite early, before Canaanite **ā* > *ō*. In light of this, is Revell's shift indigenous to Hebrew only? If not, are other reflexes of this shift detectible elsewhere? The possibility of **ā* influencing the quality of original *i* is particularly problematic if the Canaanite shift was conditioned by accent. If so, **qāṭiltu* > **qōṭiltu,* with **i* in a doubly closed unaccented syllable. Therefore the ptc should show **i* > *a* in all instances before the shift **ā* > *ō*, and thus the preservation of *i* in *qōṭəlâ*/*qōṭēlâ* should not occur at all, if the suggestion made in section II (that the PH ptc **qōṭiltu* gave rise to the secondary *qōṭəlâ*/*qōṭēlâ* after the loss of **-at*) is accepted. (For *ə* in *qōṭəlâ* representing reduced *i* [not *a*], see page 10–11 and notes

where, in an extensive study on **CiCC* formations in Tiberian Hebrew, Revell traces this formation's range of reflexes as they appear in BH,[65] concluding that the development of *i* is conditioned by consonantal sounds, syllable structure, and the relation of the word to surrounding context, and for these reasons there is no need to invoke analogy.[66] If one applies the reflexes of **CiCC* enumerated by Revell to the fs *Qal* ptc *qōṭelet*, naturally affinities exist.[67] Yet a few significant anomalies occur. The ptc *yôʿaṣtô* (2 Chr 22:3) has *pataḥ* in a closed unstressed syllable, where I-*ʾālep*/*ʿayin* segolates show *sĕgōl* (or *ḥîreq*).[68] In stressed open syllables in context, I-*ʾālep*/*ʿayin *CiCC* forms show *ṣērê*,[69] but II-*ʾālep*/*ʿayin* fs *Qal* ptcs do not, e.g., *mōʾeset* (Ezek 21:15, 18), *šōʾelet* (1 Kgs 2:20, 22), *bōʿeret* (Jer 20:9), *gōʿelet* (Ezek 16:45), *ṣōʿeqet* (2 Kgs 8:5). Since *ʾālep* and *ʿayin* form a major extreme suggested by Revell,[70] the ptc's II-*ʾālep*/*ʿayin* anomalies are striking. That the above *qōṭelet* forms do not conform to the conditioning factors enumerated by Revell, but instead show consistent morphology (*qōṭālet, qōṭelet, qōṭalt-*), demonstrates that the ptc's paradigm has been leveled, accounting for the absence of expected phonetic conditioning through analogical leveling.

In light of this analogical leveling, which has overridden the expected outcomes based on conditioning factors of **CiCC* formations, it seems acceptable to consider that the inflected *qōṭalt-* may have arisen not from the early influence of **ā*, but through later (post-segolization) analogical influence. In this regard, it is difficult to overlook the fact that *-C_3elet* of the ptc regularly behaves in every way as do masculine **qaṭl* nouns (e.g., *-C_3elet*/*ʾereṣ*, *-C_3alt*/*ʾarṣ-*, *-C_3ālet*/*ʾāreṣ*), in contradistinction to I-*yôd infinitives* and **qiṭl*

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46 and 62 above). Even if the Canaanite shift was not conditioned, such a suggestion (admittedly couched by Revell in hypothetical language) seems too conjectural to be helpful.

[65] Justice cannot be done to Revell's study in a single footnote, but for the purposes here, Revell finds the following reflexes of **CiCC* in varying degrees: 1) in an open stressed syllable in context—*ṣērê* and *sĕgōl;* 2) in an open stressed syllable in pause—*ṣērê, qāmeṣ, sĕgōl*; 3) in closed unstressed syllables—*sĕgōl, ḥîreq, pataḥ*.

[66] E.J. Revell, "The Voweling of '*i* Type' Segolates," 327; cf. Revell's comments concerning the ptc (ibid. 319–20).

[67] Doing so means comparing **-C_2iC_3t* of the ptc to **CiCC*, and the shared features between these suggests they are comparable, despite the presence of the morpheme boundary in the ptc.

[68] Revell, "The Voweling of '*i* Type' Segolates," 320. This form, however, fits under Revell's study in note 64 above which considers closed unaccented syllables in particular, where Revell states that all **CiCC* nouns, where the vowel is preceded by *ʾālep* or *ʿayin,* show *ṣērê*. See Revell, "The Tiberian Reflexes," 191. Note also that first *ḥêt* nouns show *ṣērê* (ibid.), but notice *sōḥartēk* (Ezek 27:12, 16, 18)

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Revell, "The Voweling of '*i* Type' Segolates," 322.

nouns.[71] For this reason, one may postulate that the inflected *qōṭalt-* was formed on analogy with **qaṭl* nouns, rather than being influenced by **ā*. Given the identical structure and behavior between the ptc's *-C₃elet* and **qeṭel* < **qaṭl* nouns, **qaṭl* nouns likely influenced inflected *qoṭelet* to *qōṭalt-* through analogy after segolization. This analogy has thoroughly spread through the ptc's paradigm.

The importance of segolization for this analogy may be seen in BH synchronic data. When *-elet*, the most common of the segolate endings,[72] comes from *-alt*, *a* is typically found in the BH inflected forms, but *a* sometimes occurs when the segolate ending comes from *-ilt* or original *ī*.[73] Similarly, **qaṭl* and **qiṭl* nouns merged (via inflected forms),[74] complicating the identification of **qiṭl* nouns.[75] The nature of *sĕgōl* itself facilitated reconstruction.[76] According to Blau, *sĕgōl* appears to be an allophone of *i* or *a* in certain cases, and may represent the cancellation of the opposition *a : i*.[77] Thus, synchronic data indicate that *sĕgōl* was able to absorb *a* and *i*, and therefore the onset of segolization enabled *qōṭalt-* to emerge on analogy with structurally similar *qaṭl-* nouns.

Such widespread reshaping of *qōṭelet* is not surprising if its most formally distinct characteristic (an initial long vowel) is its

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[71] Cf. note 63 (end) and note 75 (end).

[72] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §89g; Cf. *GKC* §89c.

[73] Ibid., §97Fb, 89g. Cf. the *Pi'el* fs ptcs *məkaššĕpâ* (Exod 22:17) vs. *mədabberet* (1 Sam 1:13), and the *Hiph'il* ptcs *kəmabkîrâ* (Jer 4:31) vs. *maḥăzeqet* (Neh 4:11). Forms with *-ēlet*, which one would logically expect as the development of **qōṭilt*, are rare; see ibid., §89h.

[74] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §96Ac, f.

[75] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §96Af; Revell, "The Voweling of '*i* Type' Segolates," 319–20. Note that *qeṭel* nouns typically show *ā* in pause, though a few (originally **qiṭl*) show *e*; cf. Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §96Ac; Revell, "The Voweling of '*i* Type' Segolates," 319. Geiger ("Schreibung und Vokalisierung," 346) finds fs *Qal* ptcs without pausal lengthening in the following instances: Ruth 4:16, Gen 16:8, 1 Chr 7:18, Amos 9:11, 1 Kgs 1:2, and Eccl 7:27. Outside of Gen 16:8 (*bōraḥat*), all have *sĕgōl*. Perhaps these may be considered as evidence of original *i*, but their rarity suggests otherwise.

[76] Significantly, *sĕgōl* is unique to Tiberian Hebrew, as Babylonian *pataḥ* corresponds to both Tiberian *sĕgōl* and *pataḥ;* see Blau, *Phonology and Morphology*, 118; Cf. Revell, "The Voweling of '*i* Type' Segolates," 325–26.

[77] Blau, *Phonology and Morphology*, §3.5.6.2. In this regard, note that among the data contained in Origen's *Secunda* collected by Janssens is a *Nip'al* fs ptc from Ps 89:29: νεεμαναθ for BH *ne'ĕmenet*. Though Tiberian *sĕgōl* is indicated by *alpha* and *epsilon* in transcription, that the *sĕgōl* is represented by *epsilon* whereas the expected segolate ending has two *alphas*, is noteworthy. For νεεμαναθ, see G. Janssens, *Studies in Hebrew Historical Linguistics Based on Origen's Secunda* (Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 164. Additionally, it has been argued that *sĕgōl* is a reflex of **a,* e.g., R.L. Goerwitz, "Tiberian Hebrew Segol: A Reappraisal," *ZAH* 3/1 (1990), 3–10 (8).

most phonemically relevant characteristic.[78] In fact, this may explain why the paradigm of *qōṭelet* was so thoroughly leveled, contrary to **CiCC* formations in general. In other words, the ptc's form allowed reshaping insofar as it was primarily distinguished by its initial unchangeable long vowel.

In short, the morphology of *qōṭelet* is not purely a product of conditioning factors, but also a product of paradigmatic leveling. Such leveling is apparent in those cases where **-C_2iC_3t* of the ptc does not conform to the expected outcome of **CiCC*. Moreover, *pataḥ* in *qōṭalt-* entered the ptc's paradigm via analogy with the structurally similar *qeṭel* nouns. Both segolization and *sĕgōl* created an environment in which *qōṭelet*, on analogy with *qeṭel* nouns, was reformed in the *status pronominalis* to *qōṭalt-*, after the onset of segolization. The ptc's (*qōṭelet*) structure lent itself to paradigmatic leveling, hence it's consistent morphology.[79]

In summary, this analysis has stressed that the forms of the *Qal* fs ptc can be explained from the PH level. The ptc's susceptibility to be influenced by other morphological classes, a phenomenon reflected in both Akkadian and the Masoretic vocalization of BH, lies behind early changes in the ptc's form. Extant BH evidence indicates the existence of one PH fs *Qal* ptc, **qōṭiltu*, from which the two BH forms developed. One BH form was occasionally rebuilt on analogy with the nominal systems' preference for the *-â* morpheme in light of the ptc's semantic and syntactic convergence in the construct state with nouns that had the *-t* morpheme. This form retained traces of **i* in the BH form *qōṭəlâ*/*qōṭēlâ*, and it arose after the loss of **-at* but before segolization. Consequently, it does not reflect an early ptc with the **-at* morpheme. The second BH form, also developing from **qōṭiltu*, underwent segolization

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[78] Cf. note 6, as well as the anomalies in the masculine singular *Qal* ptc in note 79, which may also be permissible especially in light of the initial long vowel.

[79] The consistent morphology of *qōṭelet* can be brought into clear view when compared to anomalies in the *Qal* masculine singular ptc. Original *i* between C_2 and C_3 in the *Qal* ptc has unexpected reflexes on a few occasions in the masculine singular (ultra-short vowels appearing in the place of a *šĕwă'* are not included): *a* for expected *ē* in *'ōbad* (Deut 32:28), *nōṭa'* (Ps 94:9), *rōga'* (Isa 51:15), *rōqa'* (Isa 42:5), *šōsa'* (Lev 11:7) (the appearance of *a* in these forms is typical for nouns, not ptcs; cf. Revell, "The Tiberian Reflexes," 196); *e* for expected *ē* in *môṣe'* (Eccl 7:26), *ḥôṭe'* (Isa 65:20), *nōše'* (Isa 24:2), *rōpe'* (2 Kgs 20:5); *i* for expected *ē* in *tômîk* (*tmyk*) (Ps 16:5) (cf. the orthographic oddity *sōbêb* [*sbyb*] in 2 Kgs 8:21). With the addition of a pronominal suffix, some unexpected developments occur, such as: *i* for expected *ə* in *'ōyibəkā* (Exod 23:4) and *'ōsipəkā* (2 Kgs 22:20); *e* for expected *ə* in *yōṣerəkā* (Isa 43:1) and *nōtenəkā* (Jer 20:4); and *a* for expected *ə* in *'ōhabəkā* (2 Chr 20:7), *gō'aləkem* (Isa 43.14), *gō'aləkā* (Isa 48:17). Note also he personal names *'ōbadyāh* and *'ōbadyāhû*. One might also wish to note *šō'sayik* in Jer 30:16. These are anomalies, whereas *qōṭelet* has become paradigmatically predictable.

yielding *qōṭelet*. Though **CiCC* formations show a complex array of reflexes, *qōṭelet* shows thorough paradigmatic leveling, resulting in consistent morphology. Analogy affected the *status pronominalis*, as *qōṭalt-* was the result of analogical influence from monosyllabic nouns of the same structure aided by the preferred segolate ending *-elet* and the complex relationship of *sĕgōl* to both *pataḥ* and *ḥîriq*. As stressed above, all of these conclusions are largely controlled by the overwhelming BH data which suggest one PH participle with the *-t* morpheme, a preference which runs counter to the nominal system's favored morpheme *-â*.