

INTRODUCTION

Kitāb al-‘Uqūd fi Taṣārīf al-Luġa al-‘Ibrāniyya and Its Place in the Karaite Grammatical Tradition

The Karaite grammatical tradition developed between three main centres. It originated in Iraq and Iran, where Karaite schools of grammar existed in Iṣfahān, Tustār and Baṣra.¹ Some grammatical fragments in Judaeo-Persian survive from this period, which include fragments of a grammatical commentary to difficult places in the text of the Bible.²

In the 10th century the tradition travelled to Jerusalem,³ where the majority of extant Karaite grammatical works were composed. Initially, Jerusalem grammarians remained loyal to the grammatical tradition developed by their Eastern predecessors. Early Jerusalem grammars, such as the grammatical commentary on the Bible entitled *al-Diqduq (Grammar)*⁴ by an eminent Karaite scholar Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ as well as anonymous treatises on the Hebrew verbs and nouns,⁵ belong to the same layer of grammatical tradition as the remains of grammatical writings of Eastern Karaites.

The Karaite grammatical tradition attained new heights and reached the apogee of its development in the first half of the 11th century in the works of Abū al-Faraj Hārūn ibn Faraj, a pupil of Ibn Nūḥ. Instead of the grammatical commentaries typical of earlier scholars, Abū al-Faraj Hārūn produced systematic and comprehensive descriptions of Biblical Hebrew, inspired by the Baṣran tradition of Arabic grammar. The most important grammatical compendia composed by Abū al-Faraj Hārūn are *al-Kitāb al-Muštamil ‘alā al-Uṣūl wa-l-Fuṣūl fī al-Luġa al-‘Ibrāniyya (The Comprehensive Book of General Principles and Particular Rules of the Hebrew Language)* and its epitome *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī fī al-Luġa al-*

¹ Khan (2000a:9–10).

² Edited in Khan (2000b).

³ Khan (2000a:5).

⁴ Edited in Khan (2000a, 2012).

⁵ Edited in Khan (2000b, 2004).

ʿIbrāniyya (*The Sufficient Book on the Hebrew Language*).⁶ These differ from previous grammatical texts not only in format but also in significant elements of the grammatical theory, and form a new, scholarly layer of the Karaite grammatical tradition.⁷

At the end of the 11th century Karaite grammatical works began to be written in Byzantium. They were part of the Karaite Byzantine literary project during which former Byzantine students of the Jerusalem academy composed books in Hebrew based on their notes taken while studying Judaeo-Arabic Karaite texts.⁸ One such text is a grammatical description of Hebrew of a practical nature entitled *Meʿor ʿAyin* (*Light of the Eye*).⁹ After the destruction by the Crusaders of the Karaite centre in Jerusalem,¹⁰ Byzantine grammarians became the main representatives of the Karaite school of Hebrew grammar.

The Karaite creativity in the field of grammar eventually came to a halt in the 12th century, when the grammatical views of the Karaites gave way to the teachings of the Spanish school of Hebrew grammar. Thus, the main source of the grammatical alphabets in Yehudah Hadassi's encyclopaedia *Eškol ha-Koḥēn*, composed in 1148, is the *Seḫer Moznayim* by Abraham ibn ʿEzra.¹¹ However, Karaite linguistic ideas and terminology continue to appear in Byzantine grammars and Bible commentaries at least until the end of the 13th century.¹²

One text stands at the cross-roads of these lines of development, namely, *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd fī Taṣārīf al-Luġa al-ʿIbrāniyya* (*Book of Rules regarding the Grammatical Inflections of the Hebrew Language*).¹³ Composed in Jerusalem in the middle of the 11th century by an anonymous contemporary of Abū al-Faraj Hārūn, this grammar was commissioned as an abridgement of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfi*. Yet instead of merely condensing *al-Kitāb al-Kāfi*, the author of *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* produced the first Karaite pedagogical grammar,

⁶ Edited in Khan et al. (2003).

⁷ Khan (1997); Khan et al. (2003:xxvi–xxix).

⁸ On this project see Ankori (1959:189, 416–417).

⁹ Edited in Zislin (1990).

¹⁰ See Ben-Sasson (1976:1); Ben Shammai (1996:221); Erder (2003:233).

¹¹ Bacher (1896:69–74). See also Khan et al. (2003:xxx–xxxi); Maman (1996a:95–96); Zislin (1990:20).

¹² See Charlap (2005:88, 100).

¹³ On this grammar see Vidro (2009, 2011, 2013).

a concise description of Hebrew morphology and syntax prepared specifically to cater for the level of knowledge and the learning needs of students at the beginning of their study of the Hebrew language. Whereas the syntactical chapters of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* closely follow the material in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, its core, constituted by chapters on the verbal morphology of Biblical Hebrew, is an independent composition that significantly expands the material available in predating grammars. The author draws on both Harunian and early grammars, and develops new approaches to verbal systematisation in order to produce a full account of the verbal system of Hebrew. This account is made suitable for beginners by a gradual manner of presentation and the use of various didactic techniques intended to stimulate understanding and ease learning.

Although *Kitāb al-Uqūd* was not the most widely known or copied Karaite grammatical work, and even the name of its author did not survive, it was instrumental in the transmission of the Karaite grammatical tradition to Byzantium. Indeed, the scholarly grammars of Abū al-Faraj Hārūn were, to the best of my knowledge, never translated from Judaeo-Arabic into Hebrew, and quickly became inaccessible to Byzantine Karaites. In contrast, *Kitāb al-Uqūd* served as a basis for a grammatical compilation in Hebrew entitled *Me'or 'Ayin*.¹⁴ The author of *Me'or 'Ayin* fully adopted the grammatical and pedagogical system of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* and incorporated the majority of the material contained in this source. Composed at the end of the 11th century, *Me'or 'Ayin* became one of the sources of *Eškol ha-Koḥer*¹⁵ and was still copied at the beginning of the 13th century.¹⁶ Hence, Karaite grammar in the shape given to it by the author of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* was still studied in Byzantium even after Spanish grammar became predominant in the 12th century.

It may not be a coincidence that a pedagogical grammar such as *Kitāb al-Uqūd* rather than one of the in-depth scholarly grammars of Abū al-Faraj Hārūn served to disseminate the teachings of the Karaite school of grammar in Byzantium. It appears that

¹⁴ Vidro (2011:22, 156–163, 182).

¹⁵ Zislin (1990:20–21).

¹⁶ Zislin (1990:10).

this work of a more practical nature was better suited to meet the requirements of Byzantine scholars. A similar phenomenon is observed in Rabbanite linguistics, where the grammatical masterpiece of Yonah ibn Janāḥ, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, was effectively replaced by its more practical adaptation *Seḫer Miḫlol* by David Kimḥi, which became the main vehicle for the dissemination of Ibn Janāḥ's ideas.¹⁷

Apart from occupying a unique position within the Karaite grammatical tradition, *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* is also important for its grammatical theory and didactic techniques.¹⁸ It contains important data on the Karaite method of verbal classification called the 'method of symbols', which fills the gaps in our understanding of the nature and purpose of this method as well as the stages of its development.¹⁹ Extensive verbal paradigms, numbering just below 100, provide an opportunity to study the author's theory of verbal derivation and to evaluate it by viewing the material in *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* against the background of earlier and contemporaneous grammars.²⁰ An important innovation of the author are his rules of derivational relations, i.e., statements describing general conditional relations between different verb forms. The rules, unique to *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* and *Me'or ʿAyin*, are a device of paradigm reconstruction and a learning facilitation technique.²¹ Last but not least, being a pedagogical work *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* allows us a glimpse into the Karaite tool-box for teaching Hebrew grammar, which contained such instruments as mnemonics, algorithms of parsing, model analyses of biblical passages, and others.²²

Description of Manuscripts

To the best of my knowledge²³ *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* is preserved in four copies held in the second Firkovitch Collection in the National Li-

¹⁷ EJ², art. *Linguistic Literature, Hebrew* (13:33).

¹⁸ For an analytical study of *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* see Vidro (2011).

¹⁹ See Vidro (2011:27–52, 65–102) and Vidro (forthcoming).

²⁰ See Vidro (2011:114–141).

²¹ See Vidro (2011:143–163).

²² See Vidro (2011:165–177, 2013).

²³ On my reconstruction of *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* see Vidro (2009, 2011:5–7).

brary of Russia in St. Petersburg and in the Cairo Genizah collections worldwide.

Copy 1

The first copy of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* is represented by BL Or. 5565E, fols 13r.–14v. The manuscript is on paper, 18 × 14.5 cm, 21 lines per page. The text is in Judaeo-Arabic written in Hebrew Oriental (Palestinian) semi-cursive script of the early 12th century. The fragment is well preserved and easily legible. Hebrew words that are the subject of discussions are fully vocalised with Tiberian signs. In cases where a word form is cited within a biblical quotation only the pertinent word but not the entire verse is vocalised. In Judaeo-Arabic diacritical dots are only marked on the letters *š* and *ṣ*, but not on *ג*, *ד*, *כ* and *ח*.

The pages are ruled. The left margin is kept even by means of extended letters, slanted lines and by splitting the article *al-* from the rest of the word. On the lower margin of fol. 14v. one finds a horizontally written catchword and the word *קובלת*, indicating that the copy was checked against a prooftext.²⁴ Omitted words are written in the interlinear space or in the margin with a bow indicating the place of the insertion. In one case a word written at the end of a line and repeated at the beginning of the next line is struck through with a horizontal double line. The fragment uses dots as punctuation marks. Thematic boundaries are marked by a large blank space.

Copy 2

The second copy of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* consists of FEA I 2581 (7 folios), and FEA I 2591 (110 folios). The manuscripts join directly and FEA I 2581 constitutes a part of the first quire of the copy. The copy is on paper with 19 lines per page.²⁵ The copy is composed of thirteen quires, of which the second quire is a quaternion and the rest are quinions, the regular composition of quires in manuscripts written in the Orient.²⁶ The text is preserved in

²⁴ Beit-Arié (2012:99–100).

²⁵ The size of a page could not be determined as I presently do not have access to the originals of this copy.

²⁶ Beit-Arié (1981:48).

consecutive folios. FEA I 2591 has major lacunae between fols 30v.–31r., and 39v.–40r. The rest of the text is well preserved and easily legible.

The text is in Judaeo-Arabic written in Hebrew Oriental (Egyptian) semi-cursive script of the late 12th–early 13th centuries. The spelling of Hebrew forms generally conforms to the Masoretic text (henceforth, MT) with some deviations in *scriptio plena* vs. *scriptio defectiva*. Most Hebrew examples (mainly verb forms) are fully or partially vocalised with Tiberian signs. In cases where a word form is cited within a biblical quotation only the word under discussion but not the entire verse is vocalised. The vocalisation was added by the scribe at the time of copying, as is demonstrated by the fact that in one instance a misvocalised word is stricken out and the correctly vocalised form is the next word on the line (FEA I 2591, fol. 20r.). The vocalisation is not always in accord with the Tiberian Masoretic norm.²⁷ Accents are rarely found and are only used to mark stress or highlight that a form is pausal. At times Tiberian vowels are used to vocalise ambiguous Arabic verb forms, e.g. יִלְקֵי vs. יִלְקֵי (FEA I 2591, fol. 34r.). In Judaeo-Arabic diacritical dots are marked only on the letters $\dot{\text{z}}$ and $\dot{\text{v}}$.

Dots and *soph pasuqs* are used as punctuation marks with *soph pasuqs* marking more significant breaks. Large blank spaces are left at the boundary of thematic sections. This is similar to the marking of *setuma* paragraphs in biblical manuscripts. Chapter headings are laid out in short indented lines of even length. Forms with pronominal suffixes are arranged in four column tables supplied with indented headings.

Ruling lines cannot be seen on the photograph but the lines are straight and coincide on recto and verso. Catchwords are written horizontally in the left corner of the lower margin on the last page of a quire; signatures are marked by Hebrew letters in the right corner of the upper margin on the first page of a quire. The left margin is kept even with the help of two or three slanted lines, elongated letters, by separating the article *al-* from the rest of the word, or by writing short words twice, at the end of a line and at the beginning of the next.

²⁷ See pp. 9–13.

Omitted letters are inserted between the lines. Missing words and phrases are added in the margin with a bow in the text indicating the place of the insertion or interlinearly, always in the same hand. Single letters are marked as deleted by two dots, one above and one below the letter. Deletions of words are indicated in two ways: by slanted lines above the words or by striking through the words with a single (once double) horizontal line. It appears that at least some of the deletions marked by crossing out were made after the text (or the passage in question) was completed because the correct versions are written above the deleted words or next to them in the margin. In all cases of deletions with slanted lines and in some cases of deletions by crossing out the correct version follows the deleted one in the body of the text showing that the mistake was noticed at the time of copying. Some corrections are made in the text itself by writing over the misspelled word.

Copy 3

The third copy of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* is represented by the following six units:

1. FEA I 2724 (23 folios);
2. FEA I 2594 (1 folio);
3. T-S Ar 31.71 (2 folios);
4. T-S NS 301.64 (1 folio);
5. JTS ENA 2856.25 (1 folio);
6. Budapest: 334 (2 folios).

The text is copied on paper. An intact page of this copy measures 18.5 × 13.7 cm and has 20 lines on each page. Due to the fragmentary nature of the surviving manuscripts, the structure of a quire could not be established. Many pages are rubbed and stained making the text illegible in places; some pages are torn.

The copy is written in Hebrew Oriental (Egyptian) semi-cursive script of the late 12th–early 13th centuries. The layout, spelling and vocalisation of the text, the deletion and correction techniques, as well as the codicological features of the manuscript are the same as in copy 2. However, the manuscripts are very neat with few corrections, and the copy is more carefully vocalised

than copy 2. Some vocalised Arabic forms betray dialectal pronunciation, e.g., the infinitive with pronominal suffixes פִּעֲלָךְ, פִּעֲלֶךָ, פִּעֲלֶהָ, פִּעֲלֶהֶם, פִּעֲלֶהֶן (FEA I 2724, fol. 2v).

Copy 3 of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* belongs together with T-S Ar 5.33, T-S Ar 31.182 and T-S Ar 31.206. These fragments are written in the same hand, on paper of the same size, with the same number of lines per page. The fragments contain remains of a grammatical commentary on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea and Zechariah, of which at least the commentary on Hosea belongs to *al-Diqduq* by Yūsuf ibn Nūh.²⁸ This indicates that copy 3 of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* was transmitted as part of a grammatical-exegetical anthology.²⁹

Copy 4

The fourth copy of *Kitāb al-Uqūd* is fragmentarily preserved in:

1. T-S Ar 31.143 (2 folios);
2. T-S Ar 31.219 (2 folios);
3. JTS ENA 3196.4–5 (2 folios).

The text is copied on paper. An intact page of this copy measures 17.8 × 13.6 cm, with 19 lines per page. The fragments are torn, rubbed and stained but the text is for the most part legible.

The fragments are written in Hebrew Oriental (Egyptian) semi-cursive script of the second half of the 11th–early 12th century. The layout, spelling and vocalisation of the text are the same as in copies 2 and 3. Punctuation marks are not used.

The pages are not ruled and the majority of the lines slant downwards or have a curve in the middle. The copy exhibits a relatively large number of corrections, mainly deletions of incorrectly copied words or phrases that originated by homoioteleuton. Words to be deleted are marked by slanted lines above and corrected versions appear as the next word on the line right after the cancelled phrase showing that corrections took

²⁸ Compare the text in T-S Ar 31.206 with *al-Diqduq* on Hosea published in Khan (2012).

²⁹ It is worth a note that *Me'or 'Ayin* was also transmitted as part of an anthology, together with the *Mahberet* of Menaḥem ben Saruq and the *Tešūbot* of Dunaš ben Labraṭ (Zislin (1990:9–10)).

place in the process of copying. Omitted words are inserted interlinearly. As margins appear to be trimmed, it is impossible to say whether marginal glosses were also used. Extended letters are used to keep the margin.

The Vocalisation of the Manuscripts

The vocalisation of the manuscripts generally follows the Tiberian tradition. However, a number of vocalisations in copies 1–4 disagree with the standard Tiberian Masoretic norm. Some deviations can clearly be attributed to the author on the basis of intertextual evidence, others could be either authorial or scribal. The manuscripts exhibit elements of the non-standard Tiberian vocalisation and features of the Babylonian pronunciation.

*Non-standard Tiberian Vocalisation*³⁰

1) The consonantal character of *waw* is marked by a *dagesh*, e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): מְבָרְכוּ fol. 20v., מְכָיו fol. 22r., קוּ, יְקוּ, יצו fol. 77v.;

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): מְשִׁלְיָיו fol. 19r., מְשִׁלְיָיו fol. 19v.

2) *Mappiq* in the consonantal *heh* is placed under rather than inside the letter, e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): מְשָׁקָה fol. 28r., מְשָׁפָרָה fol. 37v.

3) If a guttural comes after a *yod* or a *waw*, the furtive *pataḥ* is more often than not marked on the *yod* and the *waw*, e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): מְנִיחַ fol. 24v., הַנְּנֹעַ fol. 47v.

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): מְנִיחַ fol. 4v., שִׁיחַ fol. 10r., הַרְוֹעַ fol. 10v.

Whenever a guttural is not preceded by a *mater lectionis*, the furtive *pataḥ* is marked directly on the guttural.

4) *Segol* and *šere* sometimes interchange, e.g.:

³⁰ On the non-standard Tiberian vocalisation see, for example, Diez-Macho (1963:25); EJ², art. *Masorah* (13:642–644); Eldar (1978:148–165); Morag (1959, 1972:38–39); Sáenz-Badillios (1993:92–94).

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): מְזַרְה fol. 17r., הַשְּׁקֵתֶךָ fol. 28v., יַעֲזֹרָה fol. 54r., מְתַעֲנֶה fol. 67v., מְשׁוֹשָׁה fol. 70r., אֲתָן fol. 93v.; but יַחֲמָה fol. 36v., הַעֲשֵׂה fol. 78v.;³¹

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): הַשְּׁקֵתֶךָ fol. 13r., but יַחֲמָה fol. 21v.³²

This vocalisation is certainly scribal because the author clearly distinguished between verbal forms with a *šere* and a *segol*:

ואעלם אן מְזַרְה ישראל מצאף ואלמכרת מְזַרְה

Take note that מְזַרְה ישראל (Jer. 31:10) is conjoined and the disjoined form is מְזַרְה. [FEA I 2591, fol. 18v.]

ואעלם אן אדא ראית תְּצַוֶּה תְּצַוֶּה פאן אלדי בתלתה נקט מצאף ואלדי בנקטתן מכרת.

Take note that when you find תְּצַוֶּה and תְּצַוֶּה, the form with a *segol* is conjoined and the form with a *šere* is disjoined.

[FEA I 2591, fol. 27r.]

5) *Pataḥ* and *qamaṣ* sporadically interchange, e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): הַשְּׁיבֵנִי fol. 12r., זְרִיתֵנִי fol. 19r., מְכָה fol. 21v., שׁוֹשְׁתָּנִי fol. 70r.; but נְגִיחַ fol. 16r.;

JTS ENA 3196 4.r (copy 4): יִצָּא.

6) The simple *shewa* interchanges with *ḥataṣh pataḥ* especially on the future prefix *aleph* but also on other initial *alephs* and in some other cases,³³ e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): חֲכָמָה fol. 2v., עֲרָבִים fol. 3v., אֲשִׁיבְךָ fol. 13r., אֲגַלֶּה fol. 25v., אֲדַבֵּר fol. 30v., אֲלֶה fol. 39v.;

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): אֲצַוֶּה fol. 6r., אֲתַחֲרֶה fol. 8r.;

T-S Ar 31.143r (copy 4): אֲדוֹשֶׁם,³⁴ חֲזִיקָה.

7) *Ḥataṣh pataḥ* or a vocalic *shewa* are used instead of a different *ḥataṣh* vowel, e.g.:

³¹ The future יַעֲזֹרָה and the imperative יַחֲמָה are hypothetical.

³² The imperative יַחֲמָה is hypothetical. On the use of *ḥataṣh pataḥ* instead of *ḥataṣh segol* see section 7 below.

³³ Only one case of אֲ is found in the manuscripts, namely אֲשִׁפְרֶךָ in FEA I 2591, fol. 37v.

³⁴ This form is hypothetical.

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): אֶלֶּהִים fol. 2r., הֶעֱלָה fol. 52r., הֶעֱמִיד fol. 53r., נֶאֱנַשׁ fol. 54v.;

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): נֶאֱנַשׁ fol. 8v., נֶאֱסָר fol. 8v., יִחַמָּה fol. 21v., אֶחָרֵר fol. 8r.

The use of a simple *shewa* instead of a *ḥataph pataḥ* is a feature of the archaic Tiberian vocalisation.³⁵ It has no bearing on the pronunciation and is connected with the fact that both the vocalic *shewa* and the *ḥataph pataḥ* were pronounced as a short /a/ in the Tiberian reading tradition.³⁶ The interchange of a simple *shewa* with a *ḥataph pataḥ* and the use of an alternate *ḥataph* are found in some Genizah Bible fragments with otherwise Tiberian vocalisation and in some Karaite Bible manuscripts in Arabic script.³⁷

8) *Ḥataph qamaṣ* is used instead of short *qamaṣ*, e.g.:

JTS ENA 3196.5v (copy 4): שְׁמֶרָה, זְכָרָה, קָרָבָה

It should be stressed that all these elements, apart from the vocalisation of the future prefix *aleph* with a simple *shewa*, and the marking of the furtive *pataḥ* on the *matres lectionis*, appear only sporadically.

*Elements of Babylonian Pronunciation*³⁸

1) *Segol* and *pataḥ* sometimes interchange, e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): מְבָרְכֶם fol. 20v., מְדַבְּרָךְ fol. 30r.; וְאֶתְחַנֵּן fol. 75r., וְאֶתְנַפֵּל fol. 75r.; but אֶשְׁקֹנוּ, אֶשְׁקֹכוּ, אֶשְׁקֹה fol. 29r., כָּבֵד פֹּה fols 96r., 102r.;

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): וַיֵּצֵא fol. 4v., מְדַבְּרָךְ fol. 14v.

2) 3ms past forms of *pi'el*, *po'el*, *hitpa'el*, *hitpo'el* and quadriliteral verbs are consistently vocalised with a *pataḥ* on the second radical, e.g.:

³⁵ Diez-Macho (1963:20); EJ², art. *Masorah* (13:643).

³⁶ Morag (1963:160–166).

³⁷ Khan (1987:26–27).

³⁸ On the Babylonian vocalisation see Yeivin (1985) and the literature cited there. For a detailed analysis of elements of the Babylonian reading tradition in *Kitāb al-Uqūd* see Vidro (2011:131–136), of which this section is a summary.

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): בָּרַד fol. 20r., כּוֹנֵן fol. 61r., הִתְהַלֵּךְ fol. 64r., הִתְעַרְעַר fol. 66v.;

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): כּוֹנֵן fol. 12r., הִתְהַלֵּךְ fol. 11r., הִתְבָּרַךְ fol. 11v.

In the Tiberian reading tradition *pataḥ* alternates with *šere* in this position³⁹ whereas in the Babylonian tradition *pataḥ* is the only possible vowel.⁴⁰

3) ms participles of geminated *niph'al* verbs are vocalised with a *pataḥ* in the final syllable,⁴¹ instead of the Tiberian Masoretic *qamaṣ*, e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): נָמַק fol. 47v.

4) fs participles of all middle weak and geminated *niph'al* verbs are vocalised with a *qamaṣ* on the prefix *nun* instead of a *šewa*,⁴² e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): נְכוֹנָה fol. 45r., נְמַקָּה fol. 47v., נְבוּכָה fol. 48v., נְבוּשָׁה fol. 50r.⁴³

5) In the vast majority of *niph'al* verbs the future prefix *aleph* is vocalised with a *hireq*, e.g.:

FEA I 2591 (copy 2): אֶנוּעַ fol. 47v., אֶוְקַשׁ fol. 51r., אֶבְנָה fol. 68v.;

FEA I 2594 (copy 3): אֶמְלִיט fol. 1v.;

FEA I 2724 (copy 3): אֶכְנֶעַ fol. 9r.

Whereas in the Tiberian reading tradition א alternates with אָ in this position,⁴⁴ in the Babylonian tradition א is the only possible form of the prefix.⁴⁵

³⁹ Gesenius (§§52a, 54k); Joüion–Muraoka (§§52c, 53b).

⁴⁰ Yeivin (1985:514, 550, 573, 576, 578).

⁴¹ See Yeivin (1985:622, 624) and compare Yeivin (1985:498) on the vocalisation of some strong *niph'al* participles with a *pataḥ* in the ultima.

⁴² See Yeivin (1985:643).

⁴³ נְבוּכָה and נְבוּשָׁה are hypothetical.

⁴⁴ Gesenius (§51); Joüion–Muraoka (§51b).

⁴⁵ Yeivin (1985:287).

6) Occasionally all four future prefixes of *pa'al* verbs are vocalised with a *segol*:

JTS ENA 3196.4r. (copy 4): יְבַנֶּה, יְבַנֶּה;

JTS ENA 3196.5r. (copy 4): אֶקְרָא, אֶקְרָא, אֶקְרָא, אֶקְרָא;

The Babylonian tradition vocalises all four future prefixes of *pa'al* verbs with a *hireq*.⁴⁶ On the contrary, *Kitāb al-Uqūd* states in line with the Tiberian reading tradition that such verbs have a *segol* on their future prefixes.⁴⁷ The text is, unfortunately, corrupt, but presumably this statement refers only to the future prefix *aleph*. Unless this is a scribal mistake, the vocalisation of all four prefixes אֶקְרָא with a *segol* may be a case of hypercorrection grounded in the Babylonian vocalisation of the four prefixes with a *hireq*.

To sum up, on the whole the vocalisation of the manuscripts agrees with the Masoretic norm but some elements of non-standard Tiberian and Babylonian vocalisations are present. Most elements of the non-standard Tiberian vocalisation are sporadic and none can be shown to be authorial. Most elements of the Babylonian vocalisation are systematic. As I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁴⁸ a number of elements of the Babylonian reading tradition detectable in *Kitāb al-Uqūd* are undoubtedly to be attributed to the author because they are supported by inner textual evidence. Since works on Hebrew grammar were usually based on the Tiberian reading tradition, the Babylonisms in *Kitāb al-Uqūd* must be unintentional and originate in the native substrate pronunciation of the author. Babylonisms are perhaps not surprising in a Karaite text composed in Jerusalem. Considering that the Karaite community of Jerusalem originated with immigrants from Persia and Iraq⁴⁹ and the Persian language was still spoken in this city towards the end of the 10th century,⁵⁰ it is not unlikely that elements of the Babylonian pronunciation of Biblical Hebrew were preserved in the community.

⁴⁶ Yeivin (1985:449).

⁴⁷ See p. 159.

⁴⁸ Vidro (2011:131–133).

⁴⁹ Mann (1935:3).

⁵⁰ Khan (2000a:157).

Notes on the Edition and Translation

The base manuscript for this edition is copy 2 of *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* represented by FEA I 2581 and FEA I 2591. The copy is reproduced with its orthography, vocalisation and punctuation. In places where some ink is visible but the text is no longer legible, the text was amended to the best of my understanding. In rare cases missing text was reconstructed on the basis of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfi* and *Meʿor ʿAyin*. The reconstructed text is included in square brackets. Scribal corrections and additions to the text, whether interlinear or marginal, are included in the edition. Text marked as deleted is not transcribed.

The base copy was collated with copies 1, 3 and 4. All detected differences, apart from those in the length of biblical quotations and the *plene* vs. defective spelling of Hebrew forms, are noted in the critical apparatus. Additional text found in parallel copies but not in the base copy is transcribed in the critical apparatus but is not integrated into the translation, unless it is crucial for the understanding of the text. Readings of parallel manuscripts which are clearly superior to those of the base copy are included in the text in angled brackets, and the original text of the base copy is given in the critical apparatus. When a parallel text was not available to correct an evident scribal error in copy 2, I substituted the corrupt reading by my suggestion, marking it as above. Corrections based on parallel texts can be distinguished from editorial suggestions by the reference to parallel manuscripts made in the apparatus in the former case. Once a major lacuna in the base text was filled on the basis of a parallel copy. This text is included in double angled brackets.

The vocalisation of Hebrew verb forms is transcribed according to copy 2 apart from cases when the vocalisation in the base manuscripts seems to have arisen purely by scribal error or contradicts the meaning of the text. Differences in vocalisation between the manuscripts are noted in the apparatus. In cases of a partial vocalisation of a form in one manuscript and a fuller vocalisation in the other no comment has been made.

Bible quotations in copies 1–4 differ at places from the MT. Differences in the consonantal text are noted in the critical appa-

ratus, apart from deviations in the *plene* vs. defective spelling of words, which are too numerous to be noted. In agreement with the Karaite opinion that the reading tradition is more reliable than the consonantal text,⁵¹ Bible quotation in *Kitāb al-Uqūd* always follow the *qere*. In such cases the *ktiv* is not noted in the apparatus. Differences in the vocalisation are noted in the critical apparatus if they cannot be explained by the typical non-standard Tiberian or Babylonian vocalisation features described above.⁵²

In all manuscripts used in the edition, diacritical dots are only marked on the letters *zayin* and *vav* to represent the Arabic letters *ض* and *ظ* as opposed to *ص* and *ط*. On the letters *aleph*, *dalet*, *kaph*, *resh* representing the Arabic *ح*, *ذ*, *خ* and *ث* diacritical dots are never marked. It was decided to supply all the diacritical dots in the edition to increase the readability of the text.

The division of the base text into lines and folios is not represented in the edition. However, some elements of the original layout, common to all manuscripts, have been preserved. These include the tabular layout of sections on forms with pronominal suffixes, indented headings of tables, and the layout of conjugational pattern headings in two or three short indented lines of even length.

The translation is intended to be idiomatic in English while remaining reasonably close to the Judaeo-Arabic text of the original. Due to the complex nature of syntactical structures used by the author, a literal translation would not be comprehensible. At times it was necessary to insert a word/words not found in the original. Unless trivial, such additions are marked by round brackets.

Grammatical terminology is translated into English using a number of strategies. Terms that denote notions comparable with modern grammatical concepts are translated with their modern English analogs. Terms that denote concepts that are not found in modern grammatical descriptions are provided with literal translations. In a number of chapters the author's grammatical explanations are intrinsically connected with Arabic grammatical terminology. In these cases literal translations and at times

⁵¹ See Khan (1990:20–21).

⁵² See pp. 9–13.

transliterations of Arabic terms are given in brackets after the more idiomatic English translation in order to make the line of argument clearer.

In the translation, biblical quotations are left untranslated but are supplied with verse numbers (if a phrase occurs more than one, only the first occurrence is referenced). If the original abbreviates one or more words in a quoted verse, these words are supplied in the translation.

The vocalisation of verbal forms and biblical quotations is given in the translation exactly as it is found in the original. Considering that the vocalisation preserved in the edited manuscripts sometimes deviates from the standard Tiberian vocalisation, changing it or supplementing vowel signs in the translation was felt to be too much of a liberty. Indeed, it was my intention to make the translation as representative of the author's and scribe's grammatical thinking and linguistic reality as the original itself.

Symbols used in the Judaeo-Arabic text

[<i>abc</i>]	reconstructed text
* <i>abc</i> * ¹	a note in the critical apparatus relates to all words included between the asterisks
< <i>abc</i> >	text from a parallel copy or an editorial suggestion is incorporated into the edition and substitutes a corrupt reading of the base text
« <i>abc</i> »	text from a parallel copy is incorporated into the edition to fill a major lacuna
/ <i>abc</i> /	text written in the margins or interlinearly
...	text is missing or is illegible and cannot be reconstructed from the context or from other available sources

Symbols used in the critical apparatus

shelfmark: <i>abc</i>	a variant reading
–shelfmark	the referenced text is omitted in a manuscript
shelfmark: + <i>abc</i>	text is added in a manuscript after the referenced text
*shelfmark, fol.	beginning of a folio in a manuscript

Symbols used in the translation

(<i>abc</i>)	inserted words not found in the original
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GLOSSARY OF GRAMMATICAL TERMINOLOGY

The glossary is arranged by root in Arabic alphabetical order. Attested alternative forms of terms are given in brackets. For widely used terms references are not exhaustive but point to what are believed to be representative usages or to passages that illuminate the concept.

- אתר **מוֹתֵר**: see **מוֹתֵר**, פעל גיר מוֹתֵר, פעל מוֹתֵר
- אכד **מִן מְאֻכּוּד מִן** (מִן): derived in the process of inflection, 107, 131, 223, 273, 277
- אצל **אצל**: 1) root, 59, 195
2) primary grammatical form, primary constituent of a grammatical form, 27, 155, 271, 309, 317, 325, 345
- אצל אללגה**: 1) (חרוף אללגה) root of the lexical class, letters common to all morphological bases of a lexical class, 31, 51, 179, 185
2) semantic base of a lexical class, a form expressing the basic semantic content common to all forms in the class in the most abstract way, 303
- אצל אללפטה** (אצל אלכלמה): morphological base form, 307, 309
- אצל יקאס עליה**: base of analogy, an attested or easily inferable grammatical form upon which analogical formations can be modelled, 143. See also **קיאס**
- אצלי**: see **חרף אצלי**, **חרף גיר אצלי**, **חרף אצלי**
- אמר **אמר**: imperative, 39–41, 59, 69, 83, 85, 105, 111, 129, 137, 153, 177–181, 217, 219, 225, 227, 231, 271, 273, 277, 279, 281, 287, 289, 295, 303, 307, 309
- אמר אול**: primary imperative, either an intransitive imperative that serves as a derivational base for a transitive one, or an imperative of a geminated verb that does not exhibit letter reduplication, 317

- אמר תאני**: secondary imperative, either a transitive imperative that is derived from an intransitive one, or an imperative of a geminated verb with letter reduplication, 317
- אמר להא**: fs imperative, 79, 89, 101
- אמר להם**: mpl imperative, 79, 91, 105
- אנת** **מונת** (תאנית, מונתה): feminine, 29, 35, 37, 71, 83, 85, 121, 143, 329, 331, 335, 381
- אהחע** **אהחע**: gutturals, 57, 59, 61, 275
- אהל** **אהל אללגה**: people of the language, the primary group of speakers who are said to have created the Hebrew language, 59, 81, 129, 139, 157, 177, 195, 215, 277, 281, 319, 323, 335, 361, 367, 381
- אול** **אלה**: grammatical 'instrument', auxiliary word, i.e. a particle, 363. See also **חרף (2)**, **כאדם**
- אינת** **אינת**: future prefixes, 39, 41, 43, 141, 273, 277, 289, 309, 319, 369. See also **חרף אלסטקבאל**
- בדא** **מבתדא**: initial item, subject of a nominal sentence, 351
- בדל** **בדל** (v): permutative, 349
- בני** **בנא**: structure, 51, 323
- בני**: to add consonants in order to create a word form, where the constituent before the addition does not have an independent meaning, 173, 177, 179, 295. See also **חרף מבני (1)**
- בניה**: word or sentence structure, 313, 351
- מבני**: 1) (עלי) morphologically based on (a certain base form that is referred to as **אצל אללפטא** or **אצל אלכלה**), 307, 309, 311
2) see **חרף מבני**
- בהם** **מבהם**: see **מבהם**
- תמם** **תאם**: see **תאם**
- תמה** **תמוה**: utterance of amazement, 377

- תקל **תקל** (תקיל, תקל (v)): 1) *dagesh*, gemination, 57, 61. See also דגש
2) see קאמצה תקילה
- תני **תתניה** (תני (v)): dual, 35, 37, 301
תנתין: *ṣere*, 83. See also נקטתין
- גזם **גזם**: lack of vowel, lacking a vowel, 373
- גסם **גסם**: see אסם גר גסם, אסם גסם
- גמד **גאמד**: see אסם גאמד
- גמע **גמאעה**: group; plural, 41, 73, 121, 133. See also גמע רבים, גמאעה רבים
גמע (גמע (v)): plural, 35, 37, 41, 113, 127. See also גמאעה רבים
גמע סאלם: sound plural, 35
גמע מכסור (גמע מכסר): broken plural, 35
- גנס **גנס**: see אסם גנס
- גוז **גוזאז** (תגוז, תגוז, תגוז (v)): metaphorical meaning, figurative sense, 41, 329, 335, 339, 381
- גוהר **גוהרי**: see חרף גוהרי
- חדף **חדף** (חדף (v)): elision, 71, 153, 287, 289, 307, 309. See also מכתצר
- חרף **חרף**: 1) letter, 27, 33, 49, 329
2) particle, 33, 341, 383. See also באדם, אלה
חרף אלאסתקבאל: future prefix, 69, 73, 83, 271, 287, 319. See also אינא
חרף אצלי: root letter, 29–31, 49, 55, 71. See also חרף גוהרי
חרף גוהרי: substance letter, identical with root letter, 29, 143, 307. See also חרף אצלי
חרף ראכב: affixed letter, a non-root letter that is attached to a word with a previously established meaning and serves to transform an existing linguistic form into a different form of the same lexical class, 49, 51, 83, 105, 111, 153, 287. See also רכב
חרף זאיד: redundant letter; added letter, 153, 155, 307, 325

- חרוף זכרים**: masculine letters, consonants that occur both as radicals and as non-root letters, 49, 369
- חרף גיר אצלי**: non-root letter, 31, 49, 55, 85, 105, 281
- חרוף אללגה**: see אצל אללגה (1)
- חרף מבני**: 1) built-in letter, a non-root letter present in some forms of a verb that cannot be removed without a word's losing its specific meaning and retaining only its basic semantic content, 51, 83, 85, 105, 179, 287. See also בני
2) in nouns, a structural element, an affix that is a part of the morphological pattern, 373, 375
- חרף מתראדף**: repeated letter, 31, 217. See also תראדף
- חרף מסתעמל**: auxiliary letter, a non-root letter present in all forms of a verb that cannot be removed without a word's losing its specific meaning and retaining only its basic semantic content, in modern terms, the first radical of first *nun* and first *yod* verbs explicitly present in a verb form, 49–51, 217, 273, 371
- חרוף נקבות**: feminine letters, consonants that always occur as radicals, 49
- חרד** **חרכה**: 1) vowel, 27, 335. See also מלך
2) action, 35, 299, 355. See also פעל (1)
- מתחרך**: vocalic, 153
- חצר** **חאצר**: present, 33, 39, 43, 137. See also חאל, עומד
- חקק** **חקיקה**: 1) literal meaning, 41, 381
2) essential form, a basic form without added constituents, 307
3) essential meaning of a grammatical category, 299, 335, 355, 381
- חקיקי**: see פעל חקיקי, מצדר חקיקי
- חכם** **חכם**: inherent grammatical function, such as part of speech, 39, 57, 185, 369
- חול** **חאל**: present, 39, 359. See also חאצר, עומד
- זבר** **זאכבר** (מזכבר ענה, מזכבר, זכבר): to report, make a predication, convey information, 41, 37, 73, 143, 323, 331

- כבר**: predicate of a nominal sentence, 351
- כדם **כְּאָדָם**: servile element, particle, 33, 41, 53, 57, 313, 383. See also אלה, חרף (2)
- כצר **מְכַתְּצָר** (אֶכְתְּצָר, *v*): elided, 57, 145, 245, 275, 345. See also חֲדָף
- כצץ **כְּאֲצִיָּה**: sound value of a consonant, 27
- כטב **מְכַאֲטָב** (מְכַאֲטָבִין): addressee, 2nd person reference, 311, 331, 345; see also מְקַאֲבֵל
- כפף **כְּפִיף** (כָּף (*v*)): 1) non-geminated, 61. See also רפּי רפּי
2) see קֶאֱמִצָה כְּפִיפָה
- דגש **דְּגֶשׁ** (דְּגֶשׁ, מדגוש (*v*)): *dagesh*, gemination, 61, 73, 141, 145, 187, 313. See also תְּקַל (1)
- דקק **דְּקֻדְּקִין**: grammarians, 31. See also אֶלְדֻקְּדִין
- דכר **מְדַכֵּר** (תְּדַכֵּר): masculine, 35, 37, 71, 103, 335, 359, 381
- ראס **בְּרֵאסָה**: in its primary form, not derivative from any other form, 155
- רבב **רְבִיבִים**: plural, 57, 71, 73, 85, 89, 227. See also גְּמַאעָה, גְּמַעַע
- רבט **רְבֵאָט**: mnemonic, 49, 59, 83, 177, 181, 361. See also עֶלְאָמָה (1)
- רדד **רְדֵאֵלִי**: to refer to something, 29, 91, 121, 185, 329
- רדף **תְּרֵאדָף** (מְתֵרֵאדָף): repetition of identical elements, 31, 227, 257, 317
- רפּי **רְפִי** (רְפִי, מְרִפִי (*v*)): *raphe*, 61, 141, 145, 375. See also כְּפִיף (1)
- רכב **רְאֻכְבֵּב**: see חֲרָף רְאֻכְבֵּב
- רְכַב** (מְרֻכְבֵּב, רְכֻבֵּב): (of a consonant) to be attached to an existing word form with a previously established meaning, 43, 45, 49, 51, 83, 273, 303. See also חֲרָף רְאֻכְבֵּב
- זג **זֵאָ**: *u* vowel, *qubbuṣ* or *shureq*, 137, 185, 295. See also צְמָה, נְקֻטָה פִי קֶלֶב אֶלְוָאוּ
- זכר **זְכֻרִים**: see חֲרוּף זְכֻרִים
- זמן **זְמָן**: 1) time, tense, 33, 39, 41, 43, 355
2) see טְרָף זְמָן

- זיד **זאיד**: see חרף זאיד
- סכנ **סאכנ** (סכנ (v)): quiescent, 153, 225
- סמד **סמוך**: conjoined, in construct state or a context form, 117, 155, 335. See also מצאף וצל
- סמו **אסם**: name; noun, 33–37, 41, 43, 57, 325
- אסם תאם**: full noun, 325
- אסם גאמד**: rigid noun, a non-derived noun that is not part of a verbal paradigm, 307, 325
- אסם גסם**: noun describing a tangible entity, 337
- אסם גנס**: noun referring to a class, 327
- אסם טאהר**: independent pronoun, 329, 331. See also מנפצל (1), צמיר
- אסם עלם**: proper name, 307, 327, 347
- אסם גיר גסם**: noun describing an intangible entity, 337
- אסם גיר טאהר**: pronominal suffix, 329, 333. See also מתצל (2), צמיר
- אסם פאעל**: see פאעל (1), (4)
- אסם פאעל לא מן חצרף**: active participle that does not belong to a conjugational pattern, i.e., a word that has the grammatical function but not the form of an active participle, a verbal adjective, 165, 291. See also צפה משבהה באסם אלפאעל
- אסם אלפעל**: 1) verbal noun, 97, 301
2) infinitive, 101, 299. See also מצדר
- אסם מבהם**: demonstrative, 327, 347
- אסם מתצרף**: conjugable noun, a noun that belongs to a verbal paradigm, such as a participle or an infinitive, 325
- אסם מפעול**: see מפעול (1), (4)
- אסם נאקן**: defective noun, 325. See also משבהה בחרף
- סנד **אסנד** (אסתנד): to link a verb to its subject, 331, 333, 363
- שקק **אשתק** (אשתקאק, משתק): to derive, 35, 301, 355, 367
- שכל **שכל**: letter shape, 27

- שוא **שוא**: *shewa*, 75, 83, 153, 243, 257
שוא סאבן: see סאבן
שוא מתחרך: see מתחרך
- צדר **מצדר**: infinitive, 95, 121, 299–303, 325, 365, 367. See also אסם אלפעל (2)
מצדר חיקי: true infinitive, an infinitive that belongs to a conjugational pattern, 303
מצדר גיר חיקי: pseudo-infinitive, an imperative or past verb form that functions as an imperative, 303
- צרף **תצריף**: inflection, conjugational pattern, paradigm, 23, 31, 57, 59, 71, 83, 85
צרף (v) (תצרף (v)): to inflect, conjugate, 61, 211, 301
מתצרף: see אסם מתצרף
- צוג **ציגה**: morphological form, 55, 57, 179, 199, 303
- צמר **צִמִּיר**: 1) independent pronoun (this usage is said to be metaphorical and is not endorsed by the author), 329. See also אסם טאהר (4), פאעל (4), מצמר (2), מפעול (4), מנפצל,
 2) pronominal suffix, 71, 73, 303, 309, 331, 345. See also אסם גיר טאהר (4), פאעל (4), מתצל (2), מצמר (2), מפעול (4)
- מצמר**: 1) implicit, implied by the grammatical structure but not actually present in the text, 337
 2) pronoun, 327, 329. See also צִמִּיר
- צמם **צמה** (מצמום): *u* vowel, *qubbuş* or *shureq*, 295, 323. See also נקטה פי קלב אלואו, זג
- צוף **אצאפה** (v) (אצאף): conjoining, 37, 41, 93, 155, 165, 335–339, 351. See also וצל
מצאף: conjoined item, in construct state or a context form, 117, 155, 165, 221, 271, 335–339, 347. See also סמוד
מצאף אליה: item to which the conjoining is made, 335, 337, 339
מצאף פלאן (v) (אצאף אלי פלאן, מצאף אלי פלאן): conjoined to an item, in construct state, 41, 93, 335

- מצאף אלמעני** (מצאף אלי מעני): conjoined in meaning, a context form, 155, 335
- טעם** **טעם**: accent, stress, 29, 155, 161, 221. See also **וקף, לחזן**
- טרף** **טרף**: circumstance, 365, 375
- טרף זמאן**: complement of time, 365
- טרף מכאן**: complement of place, 367
- טהר** **טאהר**: 1) explicit, actually present in the text, 337, 367
2) see **גיר טאהר, אסם טאהר**
- עבר** **עבר** (עָבַר): past, 29, 39, 59, 65, 71. See also **מאצי**
- עבר אלאמר**: past form based on the imperative (*qaṭal*), 277
- עבר לה**: ms past, 133
- עבר להא**: fs past; in sets of forms of sample verbs it always refers to 3fs past, 71, 85, 91, 97. In tables on forms with pronominal suffixes it usually refers to 2fs past, 77, 89, 95, 229 (compare **עבר להם**)
- עבר להם**: 3mpl past, 71, 91, 231, 235 (but see p. 261, where what is probably an elliptical form of the term refers to 2mpl past; compare **עבר להא**)
- עבר מן אלמסתקבל**: past form based on the future (*way-yiqtol*), 277. See **נקל (3)**
- עתיד** **עתיד**: future, 39, 81, 163, 167, 173, 325. See also **אסתקבאל, מסתקבל**
- עדי** **גיר מתעדי** (גיר אלתעדיה): intransitive, 83, 177, 179, 223, 273, 313, 317, 319. See also **פי אלנפס**
- מתעדי** (תעדיה): transitive, 83, 177, 279, 313, 317, 355, 375
- ערף** **מערפה** (ערף (v), מערף, תערף): definite, 325, 327, 335, 339, 345, 347, 351, 375
- הא אלתעריף**: definite article, 35, 311, 359, 377
- עטף** **עטף** (עטף (v)): connection; connective element, 341, 367, 377, 379
- עטף אלביאן**: connective that introduces a clarification, 341

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