## The Semitic Languages

Second Edition

Edited by John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El

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## THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

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The Semitic Languages, 2nd Edition

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# THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

#### Second Edition

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### **PREFACE**

The first edition of this book, edited by the late Robert Hetzron, appeared just over two decades ago, in 1997, shortly after Hetzron's untimely death. When Routledge asked us to prepare a second edition, we decided to take a different approach from the original edition, which is still valuable. We invited a new cohort of scholars, most of them from a younger generation, to contribute not revisions of the chapters in the first edition, but rather newly written chapters. Thus the present edition, while it bears the same title, is a completely new work, which is not meant to replace the original volume, but to complement it.<sup>1</sup>

One of our primary aims in preparing this new edition has been to make the Semitic languages and their features accessible to as many linguists as possible.<sup>2</sup> Contributors were therefore asked to provide examples with a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, using the Leipzig Glossing Rules, and use common linguistic terms, rather than idiosyncratic Semitistic terminology. Contributors of the chapters on the modern Semitic languages were also asked to represent forms in the International Phonetic Alphabet where possible, rather than traditional Semitistic transcription systems.<sup>3</sup> The phonetic realities of the ancient Semitic languages, however, are generally uncertain, and so we felt that it would be misleading to use the IPA for examples in those chapters; instead, the sections on phonology use the IPA to describe the most plausible phonetic interpretations of phonemes, but elsewhere in those chapters the standard Semitistic transcription is used. A word limit was also set, in order to keep the volume from growing too large. We are extremely grateful to our contributors for adhering to these guidelines, which not infrequently differed from the usual way of presenting the Semitic languages.

The present edition comprises 27 chapters. An introductory chapter presents a synopsis of the Semitic languages according to our interpretation of the subgrouping of the family. This is followed by an overview of Afro-Asiatic, the phylum to which the Semitic family belongs; and chapters on Proto-Semitic and on the Semitic family from a typological perspective. Each of the other 23 chapters describes a representative dialect of an ancient or a modern Semitic language. It has, of course, not been possible to cover every ancient language attested, nor to cover more than a few of the many modern forms of Ethio-Semitic, of Modern South Arabian, of Aramaic, or, especially, of the vast continuum of modern Arabic. Thus, for the ancient languages, we opted to include those with large corpora and well-understood grammar; for the modern languages, we aimed for diversity of coverage. The order of presentation of the individual language chapters (5 through 27) follows the subgrouping model of the family that is advocated in the introductory chapter. In order to enable readers to compare features across the various languages, the contributors of these chapters were asked to prepare them according to a template:

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Writing system
- 3 Phonology: IPA-style consonant grid; vowel phonemes and allophones; syllable structure; stress

- 4 Morphology: pronouns; nouns (including adjectives); numerals; verbs; particles
- 5 Syntax: word order; synthetic/analytic expression; noun modification; definiteness; agreement; negation; interrogative sentences; subordination
- 6 Lexicon
- 7 Sample text with morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and a translation
- 8 References: standard grammars, textbooks, dictionaries, survey articles

Each of these chapters includes a map showing the location of the language or dialect. The chapters on the ancient languages also include a photograph of a representative text.

It is our pleasant duty to express our gratitude to a number of individuals, in addition to our contributors, for their help in seeing this volume to completion. We want to thank Sarah Lynn Baker, who reviewed the Leipzig glosses in each chapter to ensure that they were both consistent and canonical; Patience Epps and Danny Law for their helpful comments on Chapter 4; Wayne T. Pitard, who provided the photograph of a Ugaritic text that accompanies Chapter 19; Jack Weinbender, who prepared the maps that accompany the chapters; and Jo Ann Hackett, for a steady stream of good advice and good humor. We are also very grateful to the ever-helpful, ever-patient editors and editorial assistants at Routledge and Apex CoVantage who guided the preparation of the volume with consummate professionalism: Samantha Vale Noya, Camille Burns, Laura Sandford, Rosie McEwan and Jennifer Bonnar.

John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El Austin, Texas July 2018

#### NOTES

- 1 We wrote to the contributors of the first edition to explain our decision, and we were very gratified by the gracious and encouraging response that we received from most of them. The first edition remains widely available in libraries, and so those scholars' still-valuable contributions can continue to be consulted alongside the new chapters of the present edition.
- 2 The goal of making the Semitic languages more accessible to general linguists was a major impetus for us to take on this project, especially given the relatively recent publication of another work entitled *The Semitic Languages*, edited by Stefan Weninger (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2011), an exemplary volume of 74 chapters by leading scholars, which, however, employs the usual Semitistic systems of transcription and does not systematically provide a morphemic glossing of examples.
- 3 Throughout the volume we have deviated from the standard IPA representations in one respect, writing affricates as ligatures (e.g., ts, dz, f, ts) rather than with a tie-bar (ts, etc.).
- 4 See Chapter 1 for a full description of the attested ancient and modern Semitic languages.

## **GLOSSING AND**

1st person

1

CONJ

CONT

COP

conjunction

copula

continuous (verb marker)

## **OTHER ABBREVIATIONS**

2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A	in modern Ethio-Semitic languages (Chapters 7–10), one of three basic
	(lexical) verb stems
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ALL	allative
ANA	Ancient North Arabian
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ASA	Ancient South Arabian
AUG	augment
AUX	auxiliary
В	in modern Ethio-Semitic languages (Chapters 7–10), one of three basic
	(lexical) verb stems
BEN	benefactive, beneficiary (applied object)
BND	bound form (see Chapter 1, §4)
C	common (gender)
C	unspecified consonant; causative verb stem, except, in modern Ethio-Semitic
	languages (Chapters 7–10), one of three basic (lexical) verb stems
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circumfix
CNTR	contrastive
COL	collective number
COM	comitative
COMP	complement(izer)
COMPAR	comparative
COND	conditional

Cp causative verb stem with passive vocalization

CS Central Semitic

construct noun form (see Chapter 1, §4) CST

reflexive or passive of the causative verb stem Ct

CVB converb

verb stem with doubled middle root consonant D

dative case DAT definite (article) DEF

deictic DFI

demonstrative DEM

determiner, determined (noun form) DET

diminutive DIM directional DIR distal DIST distributive DISTR divine name DN

D verb stem with passive vocalization Dp

Dt D verb stem with infix t

D verb stem with iterative -tan- infix Dtn

dual DU durative DUR

enclitic (particle) ENCL ES East Semitic

existential particle/copula EXIST

feminine factitive FACT focus FOC

future (tense) FUT

G basic verb stem (German Grundstamm)

genitive GEN

geographical name GN goal (verbal prefix) GOAL

basic verb stem with passive vocalization Gp

Gt basic verb stem with infix t

Gtn basic verb stem with iterative -tan- infix Н causative verb stem with prefix h Нр H verb stem with passive vocalization

immediate future IMM imperative IMP indicative IND

indeterminate (noun form) INDET

indefinite **INDF** infinitive INF

INF.ABSL infinitive absolute (verbal noun form in some Northwest Semitic languages)

instrumental INS interrogative INT interjection INTERJ INTR intransitive

IPFV imperfective

independent personal pronoun

IPRF imperfect
JUSS jussive
LOC locative
M masculine

MSA Modern South Arabian N werb stem with prefix n

NACC nonaccusative

NBND nonbound (see Chapter 1, §4)
NCST nonconstruct (see Chapter 1, §4)

NEG negator, negated

NMLZ nominalizer/nominalization

NOM nominative case NPST nonpast (tense)

NSC new suffix conjugation

Ntn N verb stem with iterative -tan- infix

NWS Northwest Semitic
OBJ object (marker)
OBL oblique case
OPT optative

osc old suffix conjugation

PASS passive

PC prefix conjugation
PCL long prefix conjugation
PCS Proto-Central Semitic
PCS short prefix conjugation
PCt prefix conjugation with infix t

PFV perfective plural

PN personal name

PNWS Proto-Northwest Semitic

POL polite register
POSS possessive
PRED predicative
PREP preposition

PRES presentative (particle)

PRET preterite tense

PRF perfect
PRO pronoun
PROG progressive
PROH prohibitive

PROX proximal, proximate
PRS present (tense)
PRSP prospective (aspect)
PS Proto-Semitic
PST past (tense)

PTCP participle

PURP purposive

PWS Proto-West Semitic Q quadriradical verb stem

Q question marker

RECP reciprocal

referential (object marker)

REFL reflexive

REL relative (marker), relativizer

RESTR restrictive

Š verb stem with prefix š

SBJ subject
SBJV subjunctive
SBRD subordinate
SC suffix conjugation

sg singular

Šp Š verb stem with passive vocalization

Št Š verb stem with t infix

Štn Š verb stem with iterative *-tan-* infix t, T verb stem with infix or prefix t

TAM tense–aspect–mood tC C verb stem with prefix t tD D verb stem with prefix t

TERM terminative

tG basic verb stem with prefix t

TOP topic transitive

V unspecified vowel

VENT ventive
VOC vocative
VOL volitive
WS West Semitic