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History of the Ancient and Modern Hebrew Language

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Linguistic Changes Affecting the Pronunciation of Biblical Hebrew 2000 B.C.E. - 500 C.E.¹

	Steinberg 2008	Manuel Manuel 1995	Sáenz-Badillos² Sáenz-Badillos 1993	Blau Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007	Birkeland Birkeland 1940 ³	Harris Harris 1939, 1941⁴	Bergstärsser Bergstärsser 1918-29⁵
c. 2000 - c. 900 B.C.E.	Proto-Semitic - Stress Period: 1 (accent on long penult or ante penult); and 2 (accent fixed on penult) ⁶ .	Proto-Semitic - Stress Period: 1 (accent on long penult or ante penult); and 2 (accent fixed on penult) ⁷ .	<i>Changes <u>not</u> in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Blau's Stress Periods <u>One</u> and <u>Two</u></i> <i>Changes in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes <u>not</u> in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes in chronological sequence</i>

	Steinberg 2008	Manuel Manuel 1995	Sáenz-Badillos ² Sáenz-Badillos 1993	Blau Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007	Birkeland Birkeland 1940 ³	Harris Harris 1939, 1941 ⁴	Bergstärsser Bergstärsser 1918-29 ⁵
	<i>Changes not necessarily in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes <u>not</u> in chronological sequence</i>					
	<p><i>Homogeneous diphthong contraction.</i></p> <p>Accented PS short vowel followed by an unvoiced homogeneous consonant and another consonant (other than a pharyngeal or [r]) contracted with the first</p>	<p><i>Medial unstressed heterogeneous diphthong contraction.</i> In a medial syllable, an unaccented PS /a/ followed by an unvoiced heterogeneous semi-vowel contracted with the secondary long vowel</p>	<p>N.b. In dialect(s) reflected in Tel el-Amarna Letters (mid-fourteenth c. BCE)⁹:</p> <p>-development of [e]</p> <p>- [aw] > [ō];</p> <p>- [ay] > [ê]</p> <p>- In stressed syllables</p> <p>[ā] > [ō]</p>	<p>Stress either -</p> <p>1. on penultimate syllable, if it was long closed or containing a long vowel, and otherwise on the antepenult.¹⁰ OR,</p> <p>2.</p> <p>- The long vowel most closely preceding the case and mood</p>	<p>[aw] > [ō];</p> <p>[ay] > [ê]</p> <p>(In certain conditions these were later restored)</p>	Initial [w] > [y]	Initial [w] > [y]

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	consonant to form the corresponding long vowel. ⁸ Examples	[aw] > [ō] e.g., * 'mawšabu > *mō' šabu = "dwelling"; *mawtu > *mōtu = "death of"	- relative particle <i>ašar</i> - causitive hiqtil	endings the syllable containing that vowel is stressed			
	[a] > [ā] [iy] > [ī] - ḥa' šī = "half" - yihī = "may he be"	[ay] > [ē] e.g. * 'hay ṭiba > *hē' ṭiba = "he did well"; *baytu > *bētu = "house of" Final diphthongs actually triphthongs with the inflectional morpheme (case or mood), and now accented, unreduced. E.g. * 'mawšabu (root	Initial [w] > [y]	- If there is no such long vowel, the syllable preceding the case and mood endings is stressed. ¹¹	Short vowels immediately followed by ['] ¹² lengthen.	[n] immediately preceding a consonant assimilates resulting in the <u>gemination</u> of the following consonant	Final [iy] > [ê]

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		wšb > yšb) = "seat".					
	Initial [w] > [y]	<i>Homogeneous diphthong</i> ¹³ <i>contraction.</i> Accented <u>PS</u> short vowel followed by an unvoiced homogeneous consonant and another consonant (other than a pharyngeal or [r]) contracted with the first consonant to form the corresponding long vowel. ¹⁴ Examples -	[aw] > [ō]; [ay] > [ê] (These shifts were not complete in Jerusalem dialect)	Stressed ' (κ) closing a syllable after an ' (κ) opening that syllable undergoes dissimilation with compensatory lengthening of the vowel between them - i.e. "a' > "ā > "ō e.g. "a'ħuð > "āħuð > "ōħuð > "ōħið ¹⁸ > ṛħ "I shall take".	[ā] > [ō]	[aw] > [ō]; [ay] > [ê] (These shifts were not complete in Jerusalem dialect)	Case ending vowels of noun dropped in construct
	[ki] > [ti] as suffix 1st singular of		[ā] > [ō]	' (κ) closing a stressed syllable	[h] between two vowels quiesces (In certain	/d/ > /ṣ/	Frequently in closed stressed syllables

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	suffix conjugation	[ˈa] > [ā] [iy] > [ī] ¹⁵ - ḥa'ṣī ¹⁶ = "half"		<u>was elided</u>	conditions these were later restored)		[i] > [a]
	Stressed ā shifts to ō prior to <u>stress shift</u>	- yihī ¹⁷ = "may he be"	/t̥ / > /s̥/ /d' / > /s̥/ /ð / > /z / /t̥ / > /s̥/	Stressed ā shifts to ō prior to <u>stress shift</u>	[y] ¹⁹ and [w] between 2 vowels quiesces. When two vowels brought into contact by this, they merge into a monophthong e.g. [a] + [u] > [ō]	/ð / > /z /	[i] > [e] ; [u] > [o]
	<i>Axial Change</i> Stress becomes uniformly penultimate. Generally same syllables stressed	[ˈa] in word-final position did not contract but rather quiesced. Examples - - mō'ṣa ²⁰ = "outlet"	Development of cohortative	<i>Axial Change</i> Stress becomes uniformly penultimate. Generally same syllables stressed	[i] > [e] [u] > [o]	/t̥ / > /s̥/	[aˈ] > [ā]

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	as in TB Hebrew	- maś' ša ²¹ = "load of"		as in TB Hebrew ²⁴ .			
	Stressed <i>ā</i> shifts to <i>ō</i> subsequent to stress shift	- ša' ba ²² = "army" - qa' ra ²³ = "he read"	Disappearance of <i>Shafel</i> /causitive	Stressed <i>ā</i> shifts to <i>ō</i> subsequent to stress shift	Stressed short vowels lengthen	Case ending vowels of noun dropped in construct	In stressed syllables [ā] > [ō] ²⁵
	<i>Axial Change</i> Final short vowels elided in 3 stages: 1. Nouns (including participles) in construct 2. then verbs 3. nouns in absolute state.	Dissimilation the /a/ of the discontinuous pronominal morpheme in the changed to /i/ when the theme vowel was also /a/ ²⁶ . i.e. the 3 forms of the <i>qal</i> indicative <i>prefix</i>	Use of article	<i>Axial Change</i> Final short vowels elided in 3 stages: 1. Nouns (including participles) in construct 2. then verbs 3. nouns in absolute state.	Some unstressed short vowels reduced to [e].	[a_'] > [ā]	/t̪ / > /s̪/ /d' / > /s̪/

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	<p>/t̥/ > /s̥/</p> <p>/d̥/ > /s̥/</p> <p>/ð/ > /z/</p> <p>/t̥/ > /s̥/</p>	<p><i>conjugation</i> became -</p> <p><i>yaqtulu</i></p> <p><i>yaqtulu</i></p> <p><i>yaqtulu</i></p> <p><i>The 4 moods are</i></p> <p><i>yaqtulu</i> - imperfect/indicative</p> <p><i>yaqtula</i> - volitive/subjunctive</p> <p><i>yaqtul-</i> preterite and jussive</p> <p><i>yaqtuln(n)a</i> - energetic</p>	<p>[ki] > [ti] as suffix 1st singular of suffix conjugation</p>	<p>Following the elision of short final vowels in the absolute state, short vowels in the preceding open syllable which now had become closed, were <u>compensatorily</u> <u>lengthened</u></p> <p>a > ā</p> <p>i > ē</p> <p>u > ō.</p>		<p>[ā] > [ō]</p>	<p>/ð/ > /z/</p>
	Use of article	Late in the period the beginning of loss of final short	Preterite <i>yaqtul</i> replaced, except for its use in <u>waw</u>	When a word ended in a cluster of 2 consonants a		Stress generally falls on the syllable before the	[n] immediately preceding a consonant

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		vowels	conversive , by suffix conjugation. This was eventually extended, by analogy to the suffix conjugation.	helping vowel is inserted between them e.g. 'malk > 'mēlek (Blau's revised opinion ²⁷)		last vowel.	assimilates resulting in the gemination of the following consonant
	Preterite <i>yaqtul</i> replaced, except for its use in waw conversive , by suffix conjugation. This was eventually extended, by analogy to the suffix conjugation.		[n] immediately preceding a consonant assimilates resulting in the gemination of the following consonant	Some diphthongs (vowel immediately followed by non-geminated consonant) reduced to long vowels 1. [uw] > [ū] e.g. <i>huwšabtēm > hūšabtēm</i> הו' שבתם = 'you		The vowel before the second person pronominal suffix becomes [ə] e.g. 'your (ms) horse' nominative - sūsuka > sūsēka accusative - sūsaka > sūsēka	

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				were made to dwell'		genetive - sūsika > sūsəka	
	[n] immediately preceding a consonant assimilates resulting in the gemination of the following consonant		Dropping of final short vowels	2. [iy] > [ī] e.g. <i>yīybaš</i> > <i>yībaš</i> יִיבַשׁ = 'it will be dry'. 3. [iw] > [ū] e.g. <i>yīwka</i> > <i>yūka</i> יוּכַל = 'he was able'. 4. [uy] > [ī] e.g. <i>wayyuyśam</i> > <i>way'īśem</i> וַיִּשֶׂם = 'he put'. 4. [iwy] > [ūy] > [iyy] > ī e.g. <i>kiwy</i> > <i>kūy</i> > <i>kiyy</i> > <i>kī</i> כִּי = 'burning'		[h] between 2 vowels mostly quiesces.	
	Some diphthongs (vowel immediately followed by non-geminated consonant) reduced to long vowels		Elision of feminine marker [t] in noun and verb. N.b. - this could only have occurred after the dropping of the final short vowels			/y/ and /w/ between 2 vowels frequently quiesces.	

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	<p>1. <i>uw</i> > <i>ū</i> e.g. <i>huwšabtəm</i> > <i>hūšabtəm</i> הו' שבתם = 'you were made to dwell'</p> <p>2. <i>iy</i> > <i>ī</i> e.g. <i>yiybaš</i> > <i>yībaš</i> ייבש = 'it will be dry'.</p> <p>3. <i>iw</i> > <i>ū</i> e.g. <i>yiwkal</i> > <i>yūkal</i> יוכל = 'he was able'.</p> <p>4. <i>uy</i> > <i>ī</i> e.g. <i>wayyuyšam</i> > <i>way'yīšəm</i> וישם = 'he put'.</p> <p>4. <i>iwy</i> > <i>ūy</i> > <i>iy</i> > <i>ī</i> e.g. <i>kiwy</i> > <i>kūy</i> > <i>kijy</i> > <i>kī</i> כי =</p>					<p>The Suffix /t/ in suffix conjugation of verb (3rd fem. sing.) becomes /ā/</p>	

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	'burning'						
	Elision of feminine marker [t] in noun and verb. N.b. - this could only have occurred after the dropping of the final short vowels					Frequently in closed stressed syllables [i] > [a] e.g. šō'mirt > šō'mart MT שְׁמַרְת	
						Almost all final short vowels are dropped.	
						In closed stressed syllables [i] > [e] [u] > [o]	

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						Stressed short vowels are "stress lengthened" really change in timbre: [i] > [e] [u] > [o]	
						[e] > [š]	
c. 900 - c. 600 B.C.E.	Stress Period 3 (accent mostly on ultima as short vowels apocopate and accent becomes phonemic) <i>Changes <u>not</u> in chronological sequence</i>	Stress Period 3 (accent mostly on ultima as short vowels apocopate and accent becomes phonemic) <i>Changes <u>not</u> in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes <u>not</u> in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Clearly the Jerusalem literary Hebrew of c. 900 - c. 600 B.C.E. mainly or entirely corresponds to Blau's Stress Period Three. However, it is unclear to me to</i>	<i>Changes <u>not</u> in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes in chronological sequence</i>

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				<i>what extent Blau sees late developments in <u>Stress Period Two</u> extending into the <u>First Temple Period</u> and early developments in <u>Stress Period Four</u> commencing before the exile.</i>			
	Following the elision of short final vowels words previously ending with short vowels now ended with ultimately stressed	Following the elision of short final vowels words previously ending with short vowels now ended with ultimately stressed	He does not deal with changes during this period.		Remaining word final short vowels dropped.	[h] ²⁸ > [h] [g] > [e] ²⁹	Dropping of final short vowels

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	closed syllables; otherwise penultimately stressed. Following the elision of short final vowels words previously ending with short vowels now ended with ultimately stressed closed syllables; otherwise penultimately stressed.	closed syllables; otherwise penultimately stressed.					
	Final diphthongs previously uncontracted due to stress	Final diphthongs previously uncontracted due to stress				Unstressed short vowels reduced to [e] when unstressed.	

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	contracted e.g. *yib' n ayu > *yib' n ay > yib' nē	contracted e.g. *yib' n ayu > *yib' n ay > yib' nē					
	Preposition [bi] > [ba]	Preposition [bi] > [ba]			Pretonic short vowels lengthen. E.g. <i>qaṭal</i> > <i>qāṭal</i> MT קטל	The letters בגדכפ"ת develop two pronunciations	[y] and [w], directly following a consonant, and now word final after the loss of the final short vowels shift - [y] > [i] e.g. biky > 'biky > 'bēkī בכי = "crying" - [w] > [ū] e.g. 'śaḥwu > 'śaḥū (Tib. ḥ'ש) = "swimming". ³⁰
	Dissimilation the	Dissimilation the			Stress becomes	The suffix /at/ of	' /ʔ/ directly following

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	/a/ of the discontinuous pronominal morpheme in the changed to /i/ when the theme vowel were /u/, /i/. i.e. the 3 forms of the <i>qal</i> indicative <i>prefix conjugation</i> became - <i>yiq̣tulu</i> <i>yiq̣tilu</i> <i>yiq̣ṭalu</i>	/a/ of the discontinuous pronominal morpheme in the changed to /i/ when the theme vowel were /u/, /i/. i.e. the 3 forms of the <i>qal</i> indicative <i>prefix conjugation</i> became - <i>yiq̣tulu</i> <i>yiq̣tilu</i> <i>yiq̣ṭalu</i>			phonemic	fem. sing. noun becomes /ā/ e.g. <i>mal'kat</i> > <i>mal'kā</i> = "queen"	a consonant, and now word final after the loss of the final short vowels was dropped in speech though maintained in writing as 'ḥit' u > 'ḥit' > 'ḥet' = "sin"
		Final diphthong shifted [ay] > [ē] regardless of stress.			Words ending in [ā], [ī] and [ū] become ultimately stressed	Many penult stressed words shifted to ultimate stress.	Stressed short vowels lengthened while being reduced to [e] when

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		N.b. ill-y forms, dual and bound marker /ay/: yib'nē; mōšəbē (< mōšabay) = "seats of"					unstressed.
		/a/ elivated to /i/ in unaccented, closed syllables e.g. maš'kan > miš'kan			Differences in vowel length remain but vowel length no longer phonemic	[a '] created by loss of final short vowels shifted - [a '] > [ā]	[aw] > [ō]; [ay] > [ê]; [θ] > [š]
		Stress Period 4 (tone affects vowel quantity) <i>Changes in chronological sequence</i>				Syllable final: [i '] > [ê] [u '] > [ō] [r '] > [r] [ū '] > [ū]	['] between 2 vowels usually quiesced.

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						[ā '] > [ā]	
c. 600 B.C.E.- c. 450 C.E.		Stress Period 5 (tone affects vowel quality) <i>Changes not in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes not in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Blau's Stress Periods Four and Five</i>	<i>Changes not in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes not in chronological sequence</i>	<i>Changes in chronological sequence</i>
	Elision of syllable or word-final <i>aliph</i> . This probably occurred early in this period.	When a word ended in a cluster of 2 consonants a helping vowel is inserted between them e.g. 'malk > 'melek ³¹	Elision of syllable or word-final <i>aliph</i> . This probably occurred early in this period.	In the fourth stress period there was a tendency toward stressing of the last syllable. With very few exceptions open penultimate <i>short</i> stressed syllables	When a word ended in a cluster of 2 consonants a helping vowel is inserted between them e.g. 'malk > 'melek	[š] > [s]	[š] > [s]

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				<p>were not preserved. The vowel changes which accompanied this stress shift were different from those in the preceding stress period.</p> <p>- In the prefix conjugation, the distinction between the jussive and preterite on the one hand and the indicative on the other³².</p> <p>- In the prefix</p>			

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				<p>conjugation of most root types and stems stress in the second person feminine singular, the second person feminine plural and the third person masculine plural moves to the final syllable in the contextual form but not in the pausal form due to the pausal lengthening of the stressed vowel .</p> <p>- In the suffix conjugation of</p>			

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				<p>most root types and stems stress in the third person feminine singular and the third person plural moves to the final syllable once again pausal lengthening blocks this shift.</p> <p>E.g.</p> <p>contextual *qā'talā > *qāte'lā > qāte'lā</p> <p>but</p> <p>pausal *qā'tālā > qā'tālā</p> <p>contextual *qā'talū > *qāte'lū > qāte'lū</p>			

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				<p>but</p> <p>pausal *qā'tālu > qā'tālu</p> <p>- The waw conversive of the suffix conjugation became mainly ultimately stressed thus becoming distinct from the contextual form i.e.</p> <p>qā'talī = "I killed"</p> <p>wəqātal'tī = "and I will kill"</p>			
	The letters בגדכפ"ת develop	Preposition [ba] > [bə]	The letters בגדכפ"ת develop	Diphthongs [aw] and [ay]	The distinction between the	When a word ended in a cluster	[ħ] > [h] [ç] > [ç]

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	two pronunciations	[la] > [lə] [ka] > [kə]	two pronunciations	preserved "... when stressed and followed by a consonant belonging to the same syllable (in which case the diphthong was later broken up by the intrusion of an ancillary vowel ... as 'bayt "house" (> בית), 'mawt "death" (> מות), further when followed by w/y, as צו צוה "order!", 'hayy > חי "alive", חיים "life" ³³ In open syllables or	categories of <i>shwa</i> (silent, median, vocal) is lost with the disappearance of word final geminated consonants.	of 2 consonants a helping vowel is inserted between them e.g. 'malk > 'melek	

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				<p>when unstressed, they shift to \bar{o}/\bar{e}, as אָ "or", the <i>status constructus</i> $\text{בֵּית} / \text{מוֹת}$...."³⁴</p> <p>See Blau 1995 for:</p> <p>$[\text{ɔ}] > [\bar{o}]$ before the orthography fixed;</p> <p>$[\text{aɪ}] > [\bar{e}]$; after the orthography fixed</p>			
	<p>[h] > [ħ]</p> <p>[g] > [ɣ]</p>	<p>Unstressed</p> <p>$[\text{i}] > [\text{e}]$</p> <p>e.g.</p> <p>$[\text{'il}] > [\text{'e}] = \text{"god"}$</p>	<p>[h] > [ħ]</p> <p>[g] > [ɣ]</p>	<p>Originally short vowels</p> <p>lengthened in three cases (in addition to</p>	<p>Helping vowels are inserted before and after gutturals</p>	<p>$[\text{y}]$ and $[\text{q}]$ lose the ability to geminate when followed by [ə]</p>	<p>When a word ended in a cluster of 2 consonants a helping vowel is inserted between</p>

	<u>Steinberg</u> 2008	Manuel <u>Manuel 1995</u>	Sáenz-Badillos² <u>Sáenz-Badillos 1993</u>	Blau <u>Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007</u>	Birkeland Birkeland 1940 ³	Harris <u>Harris 1939, 1941⁴</u>	Bergstärsser <u>Bergstärsser 1918-29⁵</u>
				<p>pausal lengthening ...)</p> <p>- in originally closed syllables, which, by elision of the closing consonant, had become open</p> <p>- in originally open syllables in nouns in <i>status absolutus</i> which, by dropping of final short vowels, had become closed final syllables;</p> <p>- in pretonic</p>			<p>them e.g.</p> <p><u>'malk > 'melek</u></p>

	Steinberg 2008	Manuel Manuel 1995	Sáenz-Badillos² Sáenz-Badillos 1993	Blau Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007	Birkeland Birkeland 1940³	Harris Harris 1939, 1941⁴	Bergstärsser Bergstärsser 1918-29⁵
				open syllables (Pretonic lengthening and Doubling)			
	[š] > [s]	Some time after the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Hebrew i.e. after 400 C.E. <i>/ā/ > /â/</i>	[š] > [s]	When a word ended in a cluster of 2 consonants a helping vowel is inserted between them e.g. 'malk > 'melek (Blau's earlier opinion (= Period Five) opinion ³⁵)	In practice vowel length distinctions disappear in full vowels. However the half-vowels - e, ä, ü, ö, ĩ, ě - remain shorter than the full vowels.	Gemination of word final consonants disappears.	The letters בגדכפ"ת develop two pronunciations
	When a word ended in a cluster of 2 consonants a		When a word ended in a cluster of 2 consonants a			Helping vowels are inserted before and after	Middle shwa quiesces

	<u>Steinberg</u> 2008	Manuel <u>Manuel 1995</u>	Sáenz-Badillos ² <u>Sáenz-Badillos 1993</u>	Blau <u>Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007</u>	Birkeland Birkeland 1940 ³	Harris <u>Harris 1939, 1941</u> ⁴	Bergstärsser <u>Bergstärsser 1918-29</u> ⁵
	helping vowel is inserted between them e.g. <u>'malk > 'mɛlək</u>		helping vowel is inserted between them e.g. <u>'malk > 'mɛlək</u>			gutturals	
	<u>Pretonic lengthening</u> and <u>Doubling</u>		<u>Pretonic lengthening</u> and <u>Doubling</u>			Unstressed [a] in closed syllables shifts - [a] > [i]	A number of consonants lose the ability to <u>geminate</u> when followed by [ə]
	<u>Philippi's law</u> by which short [i] changes to [a] in closed stressed syllables		<u>Philippi's law</u> by which short [i] changes to [a] in closed stressed syllables			[ā] > [o]	<i>shwa naʔ</i> [ə] > <i>shwa nah</i> [∅] i.e. quiesces.
	<u>Law of attenuation</u> by which short [a] in closed unstressed		<u>Law of attenuation</u> by which short [a] in closed unstressed			<u>Gemination</u> of gutturals disappears.	Helping vowels are inserted mostly before but sometimes after

	<u>Steinberg</u> 2008	Manuel <u>Manuel 1995</u>	Sáenz-Badillos ² <u>Sáenz-Badillos 1993</u>	Blau <u>Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007</u>	Birkeland Birkeland 1940 ³	Harris <u>Harris 1939, 1941</u> ⁴	Bergstärsser <u>Bergstärsser 1918-29</u> ⁵
	syllables changes to [i]		syllables changes to [i]				gutturals
	Reduction of certain vowels to <i>shewa</i> or, in the environment of a laryngeal consonant, to another ultrashort vowel		Reduction of certain vowels to <i>shewa</i> or, in the environment of a laryngeal consonant, to another ultrashort vowel			In certain circumstances - [a] > [ɛ] [i] > [ɛ]	
	Reduction of final doubled consonants, vowel changes before and after the laryngeals		Reduction of final doubled consonants, vowel changes before and after the laryngeals			Gutturals affect proximate vowels.	
	Reduction of double laryngeals		Reduction of double laryngeals				

	<u>Steinberg</u> 2008	Manuel <u>Manuel 1995</u>	Sáenz-Badillos² <u>Sáenz-Badillos 1993</u>	Blau <u>Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007</u>	Birkeland Birkeland 1940³	Harris <u>Harris 1939, 1941⁴</u>	Bergstärsser <u>Bergstärsser 1918-29⁵</u>
	and of double [r]		and of double [r]				
	Disappearance of intervocalic [h]		Disappearance of intervocalic [h]				
	Weakening of the pharyngeal and laryngeal consonants		Weakening of the pharyngeal and laryngeal consonants				
	Possibly a further contraction of diphthongs or the use of anaptyctic vowels (*baytu > bayit, *mawtu > mawet), etc		Possibly a further contraction of diphthongs or the use of anaptyctic vowels (*baytu > bayit, *mawtu > mawet), etc				
	Preposition [ba] > [bɛ]						

	Steinberg 2008	Manuel Manuel 1995	Sáenz-Badillos² Sáenz-Badillos 1993	Blau Blau 1972, 1976, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007	Birkeland Birkeland 1940 ³	Harris Harris 1939, 1941⁴	Bergstärsser Bergstärsser 1918-29⁵
	[la] > [lə]						
	[ka] > [kə]						

[*Words Significantly Different in Pronunciation in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*](#)

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¹ See also [Gibson 1965](#), [Gogel](#), [Beyer](#), [Richter](#), [Moscati](#).

² Especially pp. 68-70.

³ Adapted from [Rabin 1971](#) p. 67. I did not have access to Akzent und Vokalismus im Althebräischen : Mit Beiträgen zur vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, by Harris Birkeland, Oslo, 1940.

⁴ [Harris](#). See also Harris' [table](#)

⁵ Adapted from [Rabin 1971](#) p. 67

⁶ [Manuel 1995](#) p.4 footnote.

⁷ [Manuel 1995](#) p.4 footnote.

⁸ [Manuel 1995](#) p.41.

⁹ P. 34.

¹⁰ [Blau 1976](#)

¹¹ [Blau 1993](#) p. 213.

¹² ['] = [ʔ]

¹³ Homogeneous diphthongs have both phases of the diphthongs are close in articulatory position and share the lip gesture.

¹⁴ [Manuel 1995](#) p.41.

¹⁵ See also [Manuel 1995](#) p.2041.

¹⁶ 'ḥaʃiyu > ḥa'ʃiyu > ḥa'ʃiy > ḥa'ʃī > (TH) ḥă'ʃī - [Manuel 1995](#) p.42.

¹⁷ yihyay > yihy > yihiy > yihī > (TH) yəhî - [Manuel 1995](#) p.42.

¹⁸ "u/ū/ō preceding u/ū/o/ō in the next syllable are, as a rule, dissimilated into i/ī: לֶת שֶׁבֶלֶת "ear" (of grain), Arabic *sunbulat*, ראשון "first", from ראש "head"; חיצוני "external", from חוץ "outside". Rarely only is the second vowel dissimilated: תִּקַּח "I shall take" < 'ōḥuḏ; לֹא "if not"... <lūlō." [Blau 1976/1993](#) §8.4.

¹⁹ [y] = [j]

²⁰ 'mawʃa'u > 'mōʃa'u > mō'ʃa'u > mō'ʃa' > mō'ʃa > (TH) mō'ʃā - [Manuel 1995](#) p.42.

²¹ 'manśa'u > maś'śa'u > maś'śa' > maś'śa > (TH) maś'śā - [Manuel 1995](#) p.42.

²² 'ʃaba'u > ʃa'ba'u > ʃa'ba' > ʃa'ba > ʃa'bā > (TH) ʃā'bā - [Manuel 1995](#) p.42.

²³ 'qara'a > qa'ra'a > qa'ra' > qa'ra > qa'rā > (TH) qā'rā - [Manuel 1995](#) p.43.

²⁴ "... it is almost impossible to predict word stress (in Tiberian Hebrew) according to syllable structure. Yet it is possible, as if by magic, to introduce order into this apparent chaos. Through *one single assumption* it is possible to explain the stress of the great majority of Hebrew words. **Therefore this assumption has to be regarded as the most powerful explanation of the interdependence of stress and syllable structure, a veritable pillar on which everything hinges.** Let us add to the Hebrew words the final short vowels which, according to comparative grammar, were lost in Hebrew, and then, without changing the traditional place of stress, *the great majority of words exhibit stress on the penult*. Those which are today stressed on the ultima have, as a rule, lost final short vowels, the addition of which makes them stressed on the penultima. And those which are today stressed on the penult have, as a rule, preserved their final syllable. Accordingly we assume **a period of general penult stress**. Therefore, words like *hē'qīmā*,

hē'qīmū, tā'qīmū, hā'qīmū, 'ā'naḥnū, ʿā'lēhā, "arṣā, etc., which have preserved their final syllable, are still stressed on their penult, whereas words like *dā'bār, yā'qūm, sā'dē, gā'lā, yig'lē, kā'tab, yik'tob, dā'gā,* which have lost their short vowels (< **da'baru,* < **ya'qūmu,* < **sa'dayu,* < **ga'laya,* < **yig'layu,* < **ka'taba,* < **yak'tubu,* , < **da'gatu*), exhibit now ultima stress, yet, by addition of elided final short vowels, also attest to the existence of a general penult stress before the elision of the final short vowels." [Blau 1978](#)

²⁵ [Bergsträsser](#) §1k

²⁶ [Manuel 1995](#) p.43. Barth's Law (= Barth-Ginsberg's Law) - says that the vowel of the *prefix conjugation* preformative was originally *a* in action verbs, and *i* in stative verbs.

[Joüon-Muraoka](#) § 44 note 1

²⁷ [Blau 1978, 1979, 1993](#)

²⁸ [h] (also transliterated as x, kh or k = [x])

²⁹ [ʕ] = [ç], [ǧ] = [ǧ]

³⁰ [Bergsträsser](#) §17q.

³¹ [Manuel 1995](#) p.196, 224 and P. 253 note 833.

³² Presumably Blau has in mind something like -

	Indicative	Jussive	Preterite
Qal	yiq'tol	'yiqtol	way'yiqtol
Piel	yaqat'til/ yəqat'tel	ya'qattil/ yə'qattel	wayya'qattil/ wayyə'qattel
Niphal	yiqaq'til/ yiqaq'tel	yiqa'qatil/ yiqa'qatel	wayyiq'qatil/ wayyiq'qatel
Hiphil	yaq'til	'yaqtil/ 'yaqtel	way'yaqtil/ way'yaqtel

Hithpiel	yitqat'til/	yit'qattil/	wayyit'qattil/
	yitqat'tel	yit'qattel	wayyit'qattel

³³ "Final ʾ(א [ʔ]) preceded by a consonant is elided, as *hit'u* > "sin" > *hit'* > אַפּ... If, however, the consonant preceding ʾ is *w/y*, the ʾ is assimilated and the *w/y* doubled: *šaw'* > *šaww* > (final gemination generally being lost) ... אַוַּשׁ "vanity"; *gay'* > *gayy* > ... אַיָּא "valley". Similarly, *y* is assimilated to a following *w*: *sūsayw* > *sūsaww* > סוּסָיו "his horses"."

[Blau 1976](#) §7.1.6.

³⁴ [Blau 1976](#) §7.3.2.2.

³⁵ [Blau 1972, 1976](#)