

BH. may be ascribed to the highly developed nominal constructions of the infinitive in BH. which made the use of those nouns unnecessary. In Aramaic, moreover, these forms are used as pure infinitives to express, with prefixes, the complement of another verb. MH., on the other hand, uses for this purpose the old infinitive with ל while these forms are employed only in a purely nominal capacity.

The *nomina agentis* with the termination י־ may have been borrowed by MH. direct from Aramaic, and when their form had become firmly established in the language, new nouns were formed out of Hebrew roots on the model of these naturalized foreign nouns, e. g. רִצֵּץ, רִצֵּץ (‘‘saddler, shoemaker’’) ¹, רִשָּׁן. On the other hand the *denominative adjectives* terminating in י־ may be purely Hebraic formations; examples, מִשְׁכָּן ‘‘shaped like a hammer,’’ לִפְתָּן ‘‘turniplike’’ (> לפת), *Bekor.*, VII, 1, and the feminine, which ends in יָתָה— Cf. the BH. לִיָּתָה, נחשת; ידעוני, אדמוני; and the fem. רחמיניח (*Lam.* iv. 10). In *Sirach* נִבְהָן (iv. 29).

The adverbs מֵעָלָה ‘‘above,’’ מִתָּן ‘‘below’’ (*Zebah.*, II, 2, III, 6; *Ohol.*, XII, 8, XIII, 3, and *Sifra*), have probably preserved the old adverbial termination ² מִתָּה changed into י־. So also the frequent adverb לְהָלָן (or לְהָלָן ?) ‘‘yonder, there,’’ which in Aramaic has no final *n* except in the late Galilean dialect ³.

Here may be mentioned the *nomina agentis* of the form קטול which occur but occasionally in MH. but are so common in Aramaic under the form קטולא, קטולא ⁴. The following examples of this formation occur in MH. ⁵: טחון ‘‘a miller’’ (*Demai*, III, 5); קרוק

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 130.

² Cf. Ges.-K., § 100. *g*, *h*.

³ Cf. Dalman, p. 102 e. In פִּירְשָׁן, פִּירְשָׁן (*‘Aboda Z.*, I, 5), quoted by Hillel (p. 43), the *n* is a pronominal suffix.

⁴ Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, § 107.

⁵ Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 176, and Hillel, without mentioning Barth, p. 27 f. These forms have been misunderstood by previous writers, cf. Geiger, p. 44, 6; Graetz, *Orient.*, 1845, col. 87 (cf. *ibid.*, 1846, col. 373); Weiss, p. 90; Siegfried and Strack, § 68 c.

"a woolcomber" (*Kelim*, XXVI, 5); plur. כְּרוֹקוֹת (ibid., XII, 2), and the following which occur in the plural only: דְּרוֹכוֹת "wine-presses" (*Terum.*, III, 4; cf. Isa. xvi. 10, &c.); חֲבוֹרוֹת "tenants, farmers" (*Bikk.*, I, 2); מְשׁוּחֹת "surveyors" (*Erub.*, IV, 11; *Kelim.*, XIV, 3); גְּרוֹשׁוֹת "gristmakers"; דְּשׁוֹשׁוֹת "groatmakers" (> דֶּשֶׁשׁ = רִישׁ; *Mo'ed Kat.*, II, 5); לְקַחוֹת "purchasers"¹ (*Ketub.*, VIII, 1, &c.), and according to the best texts also לְעוֹזוֹת "men speaking a foreign tongue" (*Megilla*, II, 1), but note the following singular לוֹעֵז. So also always לֹקֵחַ "a purchaser," and not לְקִיחַ. This may perhaps be due to a deliberate change of spelling on the part of the scribes who mistook the form לְקִיחַ for the partic. passive לְקִיחַ.

The same form is found in the following *names of instruments*: שְׁחוֹר "a razor" (*Kelim*, XIII, 1); דָּקוֹר "a borer" (XIV, 3); מְחַק "an instrument for levelling a measure of grain" (XVII, 16); רְחוֹשׁ "a stew-pan" (cf. the references in the Kohut, s. v.)².

These forms occur already in BH., viz. אֶמּוֹן, בָּחוֹן, חֲמוּץ, יָקוּשׁ, עֲשׂוֹן, רִחוּן; perhaps צָרוּף "a refiner" (Jer. vi. 29; cf. LXX ἀργυροκόπος); the feminine בְּגוּרָה; and as a *nomen instrumenti*: תְּקוּעַ (Ezek. vii. 14). This fact and also the rareness of the form in MH. prove conclusively that the form was not borrowed by MH. from Aramaic.

2. DIMINUTIVES.

MH. possesses a number of diminutive formations which, though not so fully and so strongly developed as in Arabic or as the secondary formations in Syriac³, are yet sufficiently numerous and strongly marked as to deserve fuller treatment than has been accorded to them by previous writers⁴. We give below classified lists of the various forms; many of these, it must be admitted, are necessarily

¹ The explanation of Jastrow, s. v. (so Dukes, op. cit., pp. 75, 101), will not apply to most cases where the word is used.

² In *Beṣa*, I, 7, cited by Hillel (p. 28 B), read הָקָרָר "the wood used in the pot," i.e. the ladle; so all the commentaries (against Levy, *NHWB.*, s. v.), cf. Raši, כף גוילה.

³ Cf. Wright, *Arab. Gr.*³, I, § 269; Nöldeke, §§ 131, 132; also Ges.-K., p. 250 footnote.

⁴ Cf. Barth, op. cit., p. 313 f.; Hillel, p. 45 f.