NOTES ON *SHEWA* AND ON *DAGESH* AND *RAFE*

INTRODUCTION

375.   Masoretic treatises, such as the *Kitāb al-Khilaf*
(*Sefer ha-Ḥillufim*), the *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeᵒamim*, the "Treatise on
the *Shewa*", and the *Horayat ha-Qore*, naturally deal with
matters of vocalization. These are outside the scope of this
book, but two phenomena, *dagesh* and *shewa*, form such an
important part of the subject matter of such treatises that it
seems advisable to include a discussion of them in an appendix.
It must be noted, however, that they are discussed here from
the point of view of the masoretic treatises, which is
different from that of modern grammarians, so that statements
made here may conflict with those of modern grammars (and
particularly introductory grammars), which are based on
historical considerations.

SHEWA - שבא,שוא

376.   The distinction of silent from vocal *shewa* was a
great concern for the Masoretes for two reasons: (1) This was
necessary for correct pronunciation, since vocal *shewa* was
realized as an ultra-short vowel, but silent *shewa* as no vowel
(2) *Shewa* acted as a guide to the syllable structure of the
word. It was not considered as forming a syllable, but as

dependent on one of the "full vowels"; silent *shewa* on the
preceding vowel, and vocal *shewa* on the following vowel. Thus
in וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ (Gen 25:18) the silent *shewa* under the *shin* shows
that it goes with what precedes, and the vocal *shewa* under the
kaf shows that it goes with what follows, so that the word is
divided וַיִּשְׁ-כְּנוּ. So with a word like וְהָאֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים (Est 9:3),
the *shewas* show that the syllabic structure is וְהָ-אֲחַשְׁ-דַּרְ-פְּנִים.
Phonetic *ga^o ya* (#346) could change silent *shewa* to vocal, and
so change the syllabic structure of a word. The word הַזָּהָב
without *ga^o ya* is divided הַזָּ-הָב, but with *ga^o ya* (Gen 2:12) it
becomes הַזָּ-הָב. In the same way at the end of a word, silent
shewa (whether marked or only potential) marks the division.
In בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא (Gen 1:1), if the *shewa* were vocal the division
would be בְּרֵא-שִׁי-תְבָּ-רָא.

The Recognition of Vocal 'Shewa' (i) The General Rule
377.   At the beginning of a word, *shewa* is vocal. The only
exception to this is found in the forms of שְׁתַּיִם. Here the
initial *shewa* is considered silent, a pronunciation made
possible among the Tiberians (according to some sources, e.g.
Levi, 1936, p. ט, translation p. 8*) by the use of a helping
vowel, as אֶשְׁתַּיִם. This helping vowel was evidently the source
of the disagreement over the accentuation of the word when it
has *pashta* with no preceding conjunctive (Lev 23:17, Ez 1:11,
41:24, 24). Those who pronounced this initial helping vowel
as a full vowel considered that the word was not stressed on
its first syllable, so that the *pashta* sign was required, as
שְׁתַּ֩יִם. Those who did not pronounce the helping vowel as a full
vowel considered the word as stressed on its first syllable,
and so marked it with *yetiv* (see #248). Even in this there was
disagreement, however, as bA put the accent sign before the
shewa, as שְׁ֚תַּיִם (so A, L), while bN put it after, as שְׁתַּ֚יִם.

378.   At the end of a word, *shewa* is silent. Most sources
also say that when two *shewas* come together at the end of a
word, as וַיֵּבְךְּ עֲלֵיהֶם (Gen 45:15), both are silent. However some
sources state that the first is silent and the second vocal,
unless the word occurs at a major pause, as וַיֵּבְךְּ (Gen 29:11),
in which case all agree that both are silent.

379.   Within a word, where *shewa* is marked on two
successive letters, the first is silent and the second vocal.
Shewa under a letter marked with *dagesh* is vocal. Apart from
these two clear cases, *shewa* within a word is considered silent,
with the exception of several special categories of *shewa* which
are noted in various masoretic sources.

   Shewa below *resh*. The Masorah gives rules on the subject
of *shewa* under *resh*, but these are not the same in different
sources. It is said that, in nouns, if *resh* is the second
letter, and has *qames* or *sere* before it, then *shewa* under the
resh is vocal, as

Ex 8:11   הָרְנָ֖ח   Ex 19:2   מֶרְפִּידִ֑ים

If it has *hireq* or *holem* before it, however, *shewa* under the
resh is silent, as

Jud 19:17   בְּרְחֹב   Jud 9:37   יוֹרְדִ֑ים

   Rules on *shewa* under *resh* in verb forms are given for
particular roots:

גרש -- If there is *segol* under the *shin*, then *shewa* under the
resh is vocal, as Ex 23:30 אֲגָרְשֶׁ֖נּוּ. Otherwise the *shewa* is
silent, as Jud 11:2 וַיְגָרְשׁ֖וּ, with the exception of Ps 34:1
וַיְגָרְשֵׁ֑הוּ, where the *shin* has *sere*, but the *shewa* under the *resh*
is vocal in the opinion of bA (although bN considers it silent).

ברך -- If the accent sign is on the *bet*, *shewa* under the *resh*
is silent, as 1C 29:20 בָּרְכ֤וּ נָא. If the accent is on the *kaf*,
shewa under the *resh* is vocal, as Gen 27:34 בָּרֲכֵ֖נִי, with the
exception of Dan 4:31 בֶּרְכֵ֑ת, where the *shewa* is considered
silent, even though the accent sign is on the *kaf* (*Diqduqe ha-
Teᵒamim*, Dotan 1967, section 21).

   Shewa under *resh* is considered vocal also in Gen 18:21
אֶרְדָה־נָּ֣א (*Diqduqe ha-Teᵒamim*), Ps 83:13 נִירֲשָׁ֖ה לָּ֖נוּ (given as a
case of agreement between bA and bN), and, according to bA,
Job 31:37 אֲקָרֲבֶ֑נּוּ (Where A and L have *hatef patah*. However bN
considers the *shewa* silent in this case).

380.   *Shewa* under other Letters. The Masorah gives rules
for the pronunciation of *shewa* in some other verb forms:

אכל -- If the *lamed* has *segol*, then *shewa* under the *kaf* is
vocal, as Dt 12:24 תֹּאכֲלֶ֑נּוּ. Otherwise the *shewa* is silent as
Nu 11:19 תֹּאכְל֔וּן, with the exception of Qoh 5:10 אֹכְלֶ֑יהָ where the
shewa is considered silent even though the *lamed* has *segol*.

This is stated in *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeᵃamim* (Dotan 1967, section 22),
and is also given in the *Sefer ha-Ḥillufim* as the opinion of bA
However bN regards the *shewa* under the *kaf* as silent in all
cases.

הלך -- *Shewa* under the *lamed* is silent except in the long form
of the imperfect where the accent is retracted to the first
syllable, and the following word has conjunctive *dagesh* (#405),
as Ex 4:18 גָּא אֵלְכָה (*Diqduqe ha-Ṭeᵃamim*, Dotan 1967, section 25.
L has *ḥaṭef pataḥ*).

The Recognition of Vocal 'Shewa' (ii) Special Cases

381.   *Shewa* following Phonetic *Ga^oya* . *Shewa* following
a short vowel is usually silent, even where this vowel has
musical $ga^o ya$ (#319). However if the short vowel has phonetic
$ga^o ya$ intended to show that the following *shewa* is vocal, it is,
of course, vocal. The situation in which phonetic $ga^o ya$ is
used are described above (#345). The Masorah gives rules
covering some of these situations.

382.   *Shewa* under *Mem* following *He* with *Pataḥ* at
the Beginning of a Word. (cf. #347)

These rules apply not only to *he*, but also to *kaf*, *lamed*,
or *bet* representing a preposition with the vowel of the
definite article.

Where the *he* has $ga^o ya$, if it is musical $ga^o ya$, the
following *shewa* is silent, but if it is phonetic $ga^o ya$, the
following *shewa* is vocal. The *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeᵃamim* (Dotan, 1967,
section 14) states that, as a rule, $ga^o ya$ in this situation is
phonetic, so the *shewa* is vocal. Various examples are given,
mainly in two categories.
1) Words on which musical $ga^o ya$ would not be used for reasons
of structure, as Amos 6:3 הַמְנַדִּים.
2) Words which could take musical $ga^o ya$ on a closed syllable of
regular type, but which have a conjunctive accent, so that such
a $ga^o ya$ would not normally be marked (see #319-320), as 2C 32:31
הַמְשַׁלְּחִים.
In words in these two categories, then, the $ga^o ya$ is phonetic
and the *shewa* vocal. This is followed by a list of words in
which the *shewa* is silent. Most of these are words which could
take musical $ga^o ya$ in a closed syllable of the regular type,

and which have a disjunctive accent, as

1S 18:7   הַמְשַׁחֲקוֹת   Nu 5:19, 24, 24   הַמְאָרֲרִים

Some, however, have a conjunctive accent, as

2K 23:5   הַמְקַטְּרִים

and in some the structure is not regular, as

Is 23:12   הַמְעַזְּזָ֫ה

In these cases the ga^oya is musical, and the *shewa* is silent.

Some sources give rules for determining whether *shewa* is vocal or silent in such cases by the number of letters in the word. If it has five letters, as הַמְסֻכָּן (Is 40:20) then the *shewa* is vocal. If it has six or more letters, and the accent sign is on the fifth or sixth, as הַמְצַפְצְפִים (Is 8:19), then the *shewa* is silent, but if the accent sign is on the fourth letter, as הַמְחַכִּים (Job 3:21), then the *shewa* is vocal. Some exceptions to these rules are also listed.

The rule given in the *Diqduqe ha-Te^{o}amim* covers most of the cases, but not all. The other rules, however, cover an even smaller proportion. In some MSS, notably in A, the *mem* in this situation is pointed with *hatef patah* when the *shewa* is vocal, which gives a clear indication of the pronunciation.

383.   *Shewa* after Phonetic Ga^oya in Other Situations.
Shewa under other letters is vocal when it follows phonetic ga^oya. Examples are:-

1) On *he* with *patah* (or *kaf*, *lamed*, or *bet* with the vowel of the definite article) at the beginning of a word (#348) as

1S 18:23   הַנִּקְלָה   2K 2:1, 11   בַּסְּעָרָה
Jud 16:21   בְּנֶחֻשְׁתַּיִם

2) On conjunctive *waw* pointed as *shureq* (#349), as

2K 9:17   וּשְׁלַח   Job 17:9   וּטְהָר־יָדַיִם

3) After other short vowels (#350), as

Jer 22:15   וְתִמְלֹךְ   Ps 80:11   אֲרָזֵי־אֵל

(In the latter case bA and bN agree that the *shewa* is vocal).

384.   *Shewa* Standing Between *Merka* used as a Secondary
Accent and the Main Accent or Ga^oya .

This situation occurs in the three books, mainly among the servi of *revia gadol* (#363), *revia qatan* (#368), *sinnor* (#365), and *legarmeh* (#370). According to the *Diqduqe ha-Te^{o}amim* (Dotan, 1967, section 13), the *shewa* is vocal. Examples are:-

Prov 28:22   נִבְהָל לַהוֹן   Ps 73:28   קִרְבַת אֱלֹהִים
Ps 65:5   תְּחַתֵּר יִתְקָרֵב
Ps 39:13   שִׁמְעָה תְפִלָּתִי
Ps 31:12   וְלִשֲׁכֵנַי

There are four exceptions in which *shewa* in this situation is silent:-

Ps 69:21   שָׁבְרָה לִבִּי   Ps 86:2   שָׁמְרָה נַפְשִׁי
Ps 140:6   שָׁמְנוּ־גֵאִים   Prov 8:13   יִרְאַת יְהוָה

385.   *Shewa* under the First of a Pair of Identical

Letters. In the *Diqduqe ha-Teᵃamim* (Dotan, 1967, section 5), and in other masoretic treatises, the rule is given that if ga^aya is used before the first of a pair of identical letters, *shewa* under that letter is vocal, as

Zech 11:3   יְלֵלַת   1K 21:19   לְקֻקִי

If there is no ga^aya, then the *shewa* is silent, as in תִּנְּנִי חִנְּנִי, וַחְקְקֵי־אָוֶן (Is 10:1).

There are six exceptions to this rule, in which the pair of identical letters comes after the vowel of the stress syllable, as יְשַׁחֲרֻנְנִי Prov 1:28. This rule makes no distinction between ga^aya after a short vowel, which is certainly phonetic, and ga^aya after a long vowel, as צָלֲלוּ Ex 15:10, which could be musical.

This rule is not reflected in the MSS,--even those in which *haṭef shewa* is frequently used under non-guttural letters. Some words are marked according to the rule, as (in A)

Is 62:9   וְהִלְלֻיו   Is 58:9   מִתּוֹכֵהּ
Dt 33:2   מֵרִבְבֹת   Jer 51:48   הַשֹּׁדְדִים

Here a *haṭef shewa* is used where ga^aya is marked, but not where ga^aya is not marked. However other words show vocalization which is not consistent with the rule, as

Jer 25:12   לְשִׁמְמוֹת   (L[20] לְשִׁמֲמוֹת)
Is 59:10   וְגִשְׁשָׁה   Jer 51:53   שֹׁדְדִים

The study of the pointing of A in this situation, and comparison of it with other early MSS, reveals a somewhat different rule. If there is a short vowel before the first of a pair of identical letters, the *shewa* is silent unless it follows ga^aya or is marked as a *haṭef* (whether ga^aya is marked or not). If the preceding vowel is long, the *shewa* is always vocal, whether ga^aya is marked or not (for a long vowel before

shewa may always take *ga^{a}ya*, #326).

386.   In addition to these rules, a number of cases of
ḥillufim also concern the pronunciation of *shewa* within the
word. Examples are:-

Ez 16:18   גּחְטָרְאֵי   bN and "Tiberias"   גֵּחְטָרְאֵי

Ez 21:28   כְּחָפוֹם־שָׁוְא   bN־כְּחָפוֹם R. Pinhas־כְּחָפוֹם

     The MSS also show some other words, not mentioned in the
rules given above, in which a *ḥaṭef shewa* is used where a
simple *shewa* is expected. Examples are:-

Under *resh*

S¹ in Ez 28:13   וּבָרֶקֶת   S¹ in Ps 22:27   דֹּרְשָׁיו

After *ga^{a}ya* or an accent sign on a long vowel

A in Joel 3:3   וְקִימֵהוֹ   A and S¹ in Dt 32:36   אָזְלַת

S¹ in Dan 4:33   תִּהְפֵּם לִי

After a short vowel with no phonetic *ga^{a}ya*

A in 1S 28:8   קֵסֳמִי־נָא   (L, C, S¹,   קֵסֳמִי)

A in Ps 74:5   בִּסְבָה־עֵץ   (L־בִּסְבָה)

     It seems probable that, although the rules given above
cover most of the cases in which *shewa* within a word was
considered vocal, they do not cover them all. Apart from those
cases mentioned in the rules, however, and the few exceptional
cases, *shewa* within a word was considered silent, whether it
followed a short vowel, as וַיִּשְׁלַח (Gen 8:9), or a long vowel,
(even if it had musical *ga^{a}ya*), as שָׂמְעוּ (Gen 43:25).

The Pronunciation of 'Shewa'

387.   From the point of view of quantity, *shewa* represented
an ultra-short vowel--even shorter than a short vowel. From
the point of view of quality, *shewa* usually had the same sound
as *pataḥ*. If it was followed by a guttural, however, the
shewa had the same quality as the vowel following the guttural;
Thus in בְּאֵר the *shewa* was pronounced as a very short *ṣere*, in
מְיֹאר as a very short *ḥolem*, and in לְקָחַת־אֶת as a very short
qameṣ. (For the Tiberians, the sign ֳ always represented the
same vowel quality, "ɔ", so *ḥaṭef qameṣ* and *qameṣ ḥaṭuf*
differed from *qameṣ gadol* only in quantity.). If the *shewa* was
itself under a guttural, however, it was pronounced with the
quality of *pataḥ* even where it was followed by a guttural, as

Job 9:13   שַׁחֲוּ   Ps 98:8   וִמְחָאוּ־

Nu 13:22   אֲחִימַן

Before a consonantal *yod*, vocal *shewa* was pronounced as a very

short *ḥireq*, as in בְּיוֹם, לִקְיָם (1C 24:12). However if *shewa*

before *yod* stood under a guttural, it was not pronounced as

ḥireq, but as *ḥaṭef pataḥ* or some other *ḥaṭef*, as

Ez 16:6   חֲיִי   Jud 18:19   הֶיוֹתָהּ

Ps 88:5   אֱיָל

The pronunciation of *shewa* with *ga^oya* is described in #336.

'Ḥaṭef Shewa' under a Non-Guttural Letter

388.   The Tiberian pointing regularly distinguishes vocal

shewa from silent only under gutturals. In many cases, however,

shewa under other consonants is represented by a *ḥaṭef* to

indicate that it is vocal, in some--sometimes in most--of the

MSS and printed texts. This may occur either for morphological

or for phonetic reasons.

     (i) *Ḥaṭef Shewa* Used for Morphological Reasons. This

occurs most commonly where the *shewa* derives from a "u" or "o"

vowel, in which case the sign used is *ḥaṭef qameṣ*. This is

especially common under *qof*, *gimel*, the other *begad kefat*

letters, *ṭet*, and the sibilants *ṣade* and *shin*. Presumably the

tendency to preserve the original "o/u" sound was greater with

them than with other consonants. Examples are:-

At the beginning of a word:

חֲמִי, צֳרִי, קֳבֶל, קֳדָם, קֳבָּקַם, אֶלׁקֳקָ-חַ (Nu 25:8), וְאֶתׁקֳדָשָׁיו (2K 12:19).

Sometimes a full vowel sign, not a *ḥaṭef*, is used in this

position:

קֳדָשִׁים, אֲדֳמוֹתִי, קֳמָּגֵי (1K 12:10), קֳבָּצוֹ (Ez 26:9), קֳבָּל-עַם,

(2K 15:10), שְׁרָשָׁיו, סוּבָאִים (Ez 23:42). (See Dotan, 1972, p. 241-

247). Within a word--under a letter with *dagesh* מֳנַצְרֶהָ (Is 27:3),

תֳקָבֵנּוּ (Nu 23:25), קֳדְמֹת (Ex 28:40), הַגֳּרָנוֹת (Joel 2:24), שְׁפֳּלִים,

but שְׁפֶּל (Zech 4:12), עֳצֳרִים, but Aramaic צֳהֳרֵי (Dan 4:9), קֳבֳּלוֹ

(Is 9:3). Under the second of a pair of letters with *shewa*

תֳהֳדְפֶנּוּ (Nu 35:20), וְשׁאֳקוּלָה (Ezra 8:25), but וְזֳקֳשׁאֳ (Ezra 8:26),

מֳרְדְּכַי (Jud 8:7), הַבֳּרְקֳנִים, קֳדֳשׁוֹ.

389.   In some cases (as noted above) *ḥaṭef pataḥ* occurs

where this "morphological" *ḥaṭef qameṣ* is expected. Presumably

this indicates that the original "o/u" colouring of the vowel

was no longer audible, so it was treated as a *ḥaṭef pataḥ* (i.e.

the normal sound of vocal *shewa*). Examples are:-

At the beginning of a word וְשַׁי (L[1] Dt 9:27)

Under a letter with *dagesh* מִבֶּבֶל (Jer 4:7)

Under the second of a pair of letters with *shewa* יְרַדֶּף (Ez 35:6, 6), אֶשְׁפָּט (Ez 35:11), אֶכְתֲבֶנָּה (L, Jer 31:33).

The "morphological" use of *hatef segol* is rare in Hebrew--one example is וּנְצַלְצְלִם (A, C, 2S 6:5) but it is more common in Aramaic words, as בְּנַיְתַהּ (Dan 4:27), קֱרִי (Ezra 4:18), גֱּלִי (Dan 2:30), but גֱּלִי (Dan 2:19), וּמְדֳקֳה (Dan 7:7), מְמַלֲלָה (Dan 7:11).

390.   (ii) <u>*Hatef Shewa* Used for Phonetic Reasons</u>. *Hatef qameç* is the most common in this category also. It occurs most commonly before a guttural with *qameç*. However *hatef qameç* in these cases replaces a simple *shewa* which is vocal according to the standard rules, so that error in pronunciation would not be likely. Presumably the *hatef* sign was intended to prevent incorrect pronunciation resulting from lack of attention. Examples are:-

At the beginning of a word קֳחַת, וְכָל־קֳתָהּ (Ez 32:22)

Under a consonant with *dagesh* הֲקֳתַתִּי, הֲקֳעֲלָה (Nu 4:6), שֳׁמֲחוּ (L, Jer 20:15), פֳקֳתַה (C, Is 48:8), בְּסַאֲסָאָה (Is 27:8)

Under the second of a pair of letters with *shewa* לְקֳמֲטֵם (1K 4:12), תֳתְמֲהֲמֵהַ (Jud 3:26), וְנָשֲׁקָה (Amos 8:8)

Hatef patah is used similarly for phonetic reasons in וַתִּרְבֲּקִי (Ez 16:51), מִגְרֲשֵׁי (1C 5:16), אַשְׁבֲּנַז (L, Gen 10:3)

391.   In some MSS, such as A, *hatef shewa* is commonly used under non-guttural letters in all the categories described. In others, like S, this is rare. Clearly the Masoretes considered the use of a *hatef shewa* sign to mark vocal *shewa* under a guttural as necessary, but under other letters as optional. Thus, for instance, the *Diqduqe ha-Te[a]amim* (Dotan, 1967, section 19) says "Some scribes, following a valid tradition, read *hatef qameç* in many places...while others, also following a valid tradition, do not, but there is no (authoritative) source but the preference of the scribes." Similarly it is said in the *Horayat ha-Qore* p. 64 (Dérenbourg, 1870, p. 372) "If one argues that the *dalet* of 'Mordecai' (and other letters in other words) has *hatef qameç*, tell him, 'but this sign is only

a device used by some scribes to warn that the consonants
should be pronounced fully, and not slurred over'. *Ḥaṭef qameṣ*
is written in some texts. It is not used in others, but the
reader nevertheless pronounces the word in the same way when he
comes to read it."

Prefixes with 'Shewa' before 'Yod' with 'Ḥireq'

392.   According to the rules given above, initial *shewa*
before *yod* followed by *ḥireq* should sound like a very short
ḥireq, as *lǐyiśrɔ'el* for לְיִשְׂרָאֵל. However the combination of
two "i" vowels separated by *yod* is likely to develop into a
long "i" vowel, *līśrɔ'el*, and this gave rise to a systematic
variation between ben Asher and ben Naftali. Ben Asher admits
the long "i" in only three words: וְיִלְלַת (Jer 25:36), לִיקַהַת־אֵם
(Prov 30:17), and כִּיתְרוֹן (S[1], Qoh 2:13). In these cases the
shewa following the *yod* is vocal, so that the *ḥireq* occurs in
an open syllable. Elsewhere, bA marks the two vowels (*shewa*
and *ḥireq*) separately, but bN requires the long "i" vowel where
the word begins with the preposition בּ, כּ, or לּ before the words
יְרָא, יִרְאַת, יִזְרְעֶאל, יִשְׂרָאֵל, and with some other individual words,
as וַיִּטַב (Jud 19:6), לְיִרְאָתֶךָ (Ps 119:38), וְיִחֲלוּ (Job 29:21). In
words which are not included in this list, or which have
prefixes other than בּ, כּ, or לּ, as וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, or which have two
prefixes, as וּבְיִשְׂרָאֵל, bN does not require the long "i", and so
agrees with bA.

393.   Most of the early MSS point these words as bA, but C,
and, in the main, S, use the bN system.

There are a few words in the Bible pointed with *shewa*
followed by *yod* and *ḥireq* where long "i" would be expected, as
וַיִּיף (Ez 31:7), לְיִפְאוֹד (2C 31:7). This is possibly the result
of hyper-correction--the long "i" was avoided even where it
should have been used.

The system of puncutation used in these situations in the
MSS with expanded Tiberian pointing is related to the system of
bN, but in these MSS long "i" is marked when any prefix is
followed by *yod* with *ḥireq*. Thus, in R, וְיִהֶן (1S 2:10), וְיִרָשׁ
(Is 57:13). This contrasts with the real ben Naftali system.

'DAGESH' AND 'RAFE'

'Dagesh' (and 'Rafe') Indicating that a Letter Represents a
Consonant (or a Vowel).

394.   *Dagesh* and *rafe* may be used to show whether the
letters ו, ה, א, represent consonants or vowels.   (i) *He*

Consonantal *he* at the end of a word is marked by a dot
(identical in form to *dagesh*) called *mappiq*. Non-consonantal
final *he* is generally (but not always) marked with *rafe*. In
some MSS consonantal *he* may be marked with *mappiq* even within
a word, especially where it is pointed with *shewa*, as
Lev 26:43, L and S   בְּהֻשַׁמָּ֫ה   Nu 34:28, S   פְּדַהְאֵל
Ez 16:53, L[10]   בְּתוֹכָהֵ֫נָה

395.   (ii) *Alef* is marked with *dagesh* in four words in the
Bible. Three derive from the root נבא: Lev 23:17 תְּבִיאוּ לֶחֶם
Gen 43:26   וַיָּבִיאוּ לוֹ   Ezra 8:18   וַיָּבִיאוּ לָנוּ
These represent most of the cases in which these words are
followed by a word beginning with *lamed* and stressed on the
first syllable. Possibly there was a tendency to slur over the
alef in this situation (Cf. the similar tendency with gutturals
before *shewa*, #354). The fourth case of *alef* with *dagesh* is
רֻאּוּ (Job 33:21). Possibly the *dagesh* here is intended to
emphasize the need to use the glottal stop rather than a "w"
glide between the two "u" vowels (cf. the contrary phenomenon
in וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ #396).

In some MSS, such as C, *dagesh* is used to mark *alef* as
consonantal in other words, especially where its value might be
in doubt, as Haggai 1:1 שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל
Jer 38:12   הַבְּלוֹאֵי   Is 51:19   קֹרְאֹתַיִךְ
Non-consonantal *alef* is marked with *rafe* in nearly all MSS,
but not consistently.

A few MSS, particularly C and S, frequently mark *rafe* on
the *alef* in וְיִרְאוּ. This may reflect a pronunciation in which a
glottal stop was not used in this situation.

396.   (iii) *Waw* representing a consonant followed by *shureq*
at the end of a word is often marked with a dot, possibly also
indicating *shureq* , as וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ (A, L, Dt 29:25), עָשׂוּ (B, L,
Ex 35:26), וְנִלְווּ (C, Jer 50:5). This appears to indicate that

this *waw* was assimilated to the following *shureq*, and
pronounced as a long "u" vowel; i.e. - *wu* > - *uu* or -*u*. This
phenomenon also appears within the word in קָאוּוֹתִי, קָאוּוֹתָיו (L,
Song 5:2, 11).

In some other cases consonantal *waw* before *shureq* is
marked not with a dot, but with the *rafe* sign, as וְחַשֹֻׁו (C,
Is 46:5) וְקֹֻשׁו (L[15], Jer 3:17, L נְקֹֻווּ). It is not clear
whether this was intended to mark consonantal or vocalic
value.

Different ways of pronouncing consonantal *waw* are recorded
in the Masorah also in גֻּמֶה (L, Gen 46:13), where the *waw*
follows a "u" vowel, and רִבּוֹ (L, L[13], S[1], Dan 7:10). The Mp
of L has רבבן פ בן אשר (as BHK), Mp of L[13] פ רווו.

The Marking of 'Rafe'

397.   In most MSS, the *rafe* sign, a horizontal stroke, is
used on the *begad-kefat* letters where they do not have *dagesh*.
If two letters together both require *rafe*, the sign is
generally only marked once, over the space between them. *Rafe*
is also used to mark non-consonantal *he* and *alef*, as noted
above. The *rafe* sign is not used consistently. It is used
more frequently where there is some possibility of confusion,
as with *begad-kefat* letters at the beginning of a word after a
word ending with a vowel, but even there it is not marked
consistently. Some MSS, such as B, mark *rafe* very rarely, and
others, such as C and S, mark it frequently.

398.   In the MSS, *rafe* is used on other letters besides
begad-kefat, mainly in the following categories.
1) After *waw* with *shewa* at the beginning of a word, especially
with verb forms, as וְשִׁמְעוּ (A, Is 42:23), וְנָבֹא (A, 1S 4:3).
This probably emphasizes the fact that *waw* consecutive is not
used, but the same phenomenon occurs with nouns, as וְרֹדִי (A,
1S 24:14), וְשִׁמְעָאל (A, Jer 40:8). In MSS where *rafe* is often
used, it may also be marked after other consonants with *shewa*
at the beginning of a word, as מִתֹחַן (C, Is 11:10), מְלֹא (C,
Jer 6:11), הַמֹּיֶם (S, Lev 14:10).
2) On a letter, particularly *yod*, which is pointed with *shewa*
and has no *dagesh*, as וְיַבְצֹרוּ (A, Jud 6:29) שְׁבָתֹה (A, Ps 74:7).
3) On *nun* in the first and third person pronominal suffixes, as

יֹרָדֵי (A, Ps 119:134), שָׁמְנֵי (A, Job 7:20), since the *nun* of the
first person sometimes had *dagesh*. (See *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeᶜamim*,
Dotan, 1967, section 17). However MSS which mark *rafe*
frequently, mark it on *nun* where there is no likelihood of
confusion, as וְלֵנוּ, אָנֵי, דְּעֵלָי (S, Lev 20:27).
4) On other letters where *dagesh* might be expected, as where
dagesh "conjunctive" is not used: שִׂיחָה לֵי (A, Ps 119:99)
קָמְצָה לֵי (A, N, Is 40:10) יוֹרֶה שָׁם (C, Is 37:33).
Where *dagesh* is not marked following an accent
יִפָּלֵו   (A, 2S 22:46),   לֶפֶת   (A, Job 7:20)
שָׁסוּ   (A, L⁶, Ps 44:11),   מֶסוּ   (A, Ps 46:7).
      MSS which mark *rafe* frequently may also mark it on the
letters נ, מ, ל, in other situations, as גְּמָלָנוּ (C, Is 63:7) חֶצְמָדוֹ
(C, Hos 7:4) וְלִשְׁנִינָה (S, Dt 28:37).

'Begad-Kefat' following י, ו, ה, א

399.   If a word begins with one of the *begad-kefat* letters
ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, or ת and follows a word ending with an open
syllable which has a conjunctive accent or *maqqef*, then the
begad-kefat letter has *rafe*. This rule is given in various
masoretic sources (*Diqduqe ha-Ṭeᶜamim*, Baer-Strack 1879, #29,
Horayat ha-Qore p. 78, Dérenbourg, 1870, p. 386, and others).
As a general rule, the vowel of the open syllable at the end of
the first words of the pair is marked by a vowel letter,
א, ה, ו, or י, so that the rule is referred to in the treatises
as אהוי ובג"ד כפ"ת סימן. It should, however, be noted that
not only is no vowel letter used in some cases, as נָתִיתָ בְחַסְדְּךָ
(Ex 15:13), but, on the contrary, the final syllable of a word
ending with א, ה, ו, or י, is sometimes closed, so that the
begad-kefat letter has *dagesh*, as וַיַּרְא בָּלָק (Nu 22:2).

400.   The Masorah mentions a number of מבטלים--phenomena
which nullify the general rule, so that a *begad-kefat* letter
after א, ה, ו, or י, has *dagesh*. These most commonly nullify
the effect of the vowel at the end of the first word. They are:
1) *Mappiq*. If final ה, ו, or י, represents a consonant and not
a vowel (if it is מפיק "pronounced"), then a *begad-kefat* letter
at the beginning of the next word has *dagesh*, as
Gen 6:16   תְּכַלֶּנָּה מִלְמַעְלָה
Lev 7:30   יָדָיו תְּבִיאֶינָה

Gen 16:8   שֻׁבִי גְּבִרְתֵּ֖י

and after יְחָוֶה (i.e. אֲדֹנָי) as Ps 2:11 יְחָוֶה כְּיִרְאָ֖ה

There are three exceptions where *dagesh* is not used after
consonantal *waw* or *yod*:

Is 34:11   קָו־תֹ֖הוּ

Ez 23:42   שָׁלֵ֤וּ בָהּ֙

Ps 68:18   אֲדֹנָ֥י בָ֖ם

    In some versions of this rule it is stated that *dagesh* is
used where final consonantal *yod* is preceded by *pataḥ* or *qameṣ*,
but not where it is preceded by *ḥolem*, as in גֹּ֥וי גָּד֖וֹל (Dt 4:8).
This may possibly reflect a tradition in which *ḥireq* was
pronounced after final consonantal *yod*, as is marked in some
MSS with expanded Tiberian pointing, as גֹּ֥וי?

2) *Paseq*. If the word which ends in an open syllable is
followed by *paseq*, (#283), then the *begad-kefat* letter has
dagesh, as

Dt 9:21   אֹת֣וֹ ׀ בָּאֵ֔שׁ

1C 21:3   עַל־עַמּ֣וֹ ׀ כָּהֵ֔ם

3) *Deḥiq* and *Ate Meraḥiq*, see #403.

401.   <u>Pairs of Similar Consonants</u> at the beginning of the
second word in this situation also nullify the rule. If the
second word begins with one of the combinations בְג, בְמ, or כְכ,
the initial *bet* or *kaf* has *dagesh* even where the preceding word
ends with a vowel and has a conjunctive accent, as

Gen 39:12   וַתִּתְפְּשֵׂ֖הוּ בְּבִגְד֑וֹ

Is 10:9   הֲלֹ֣א כְּכַרְכְּמִ֔ישׁ

Ex 14:4   וְאִכָּבְדָ֤ה בְּפַרְעֹה֙

However if the initial *bet* or *kaf* does not have *shewa*, it is
rafe, as Lev 21:13   אִשָּׁ֥ה בִבְתוּלֶ֖יהָ

Where other pairs of identical or similar letters occur at the
beginning of a word in this situation, the initial letter
usually has *rafe*, according to the general rule, as

Dt 23:8, 8   לֹא־תְתַעֵ֣ב

Gen 25:3   וּבְנֵ֥י דְדָ֖ן

However in some combinations, such as מְ and כְ, the first
letter is marked with *dagesh* in some MSS where the preceding
word ends with a vowel and has a conjunctive accent. For
instance in Ez 17:10 bA has הֲלֹא֙ כְבַ֣עַת but bN has פְּבַ֣עַת.

    A *begad-kefat* letter at the beginning of a word following

וַיְהִי with a conjunctive accent has *rafe*. However the *Sefer ha-Ḥillufim* notes seven cases where the word following וַיְהִי with a conjunctive accent begins with the preposition כְּ-- and bN marks the *kaf* with *dagesh*. In three of these cases, the accent on וַיְהִי is *telisha qeṭannah*, as Gen 19:17 וַיְהִי°כְהוֹצִיאָם, but in the other cases it has other conjunctives, as Gen 39:15

וַיְהִי כְשָׁמְעוֹ

Jos 9:1

וַיְהִי כִשְׁמֹעַ

402.   Other Exceptions. Besides the categories noted in #400, 401, there is a small number of exceptional cases in which the general rule is not followed. In some of them similar consonants occur together, so possibly the exception is the result of dissimilation. There is general agreement on seven of these cases, which are listed in most of the sources:-

1, 2, Ex 15:1, 21	גָּאֹה גָּאָח
3, Ex 15:11	מִי כָּמֹכָה
4, Ex 15:16	יִדְּמוּ כָּאָבֶן
5, Is 54:12	וְשַׂמְתִּי כַּדְכֹד
6, Jer 20:9	וְנִלְאֵיתִי כַּלְכֵל
7, Dan 5:11	וְחָכְמָה כְּחָכְמַת-

Ben Asher alone adds No. 8 זֶּה גָּאָלְתָּ (Ex 15:13, for bN the *gimel* is *rafe*); bN alone adds five other cases:

9, 10, Dan 3:2 אֲדַרְגָּזְרַיָּא גְדָבְרַיָּא הְתִבְרַיָּא and similarly 3:3. For bN the *gimel* of גְדָבְרַיָּא has *dagesh*, for bA *rafe*, but both agree that the *dalet* of הְתִבְרַיָּא has *dagesh*, probably on account of the two similar consonants at the beginning of the word.

11, 1K 12:32 הַשְּׁמִינִי בַּחֲמִשָּׁה-עָשָׂר (for bA the *bet* is *rafe*)

12, 13, Dan 3:5, 10 סַבְּכָא פְּסַנְתֵּרִין (for bA the *pe* is *rafe*).

'Deḥiq' and 'Ate Meraḥiq' - דחיק, מרחיק אתי

403.   If a word with a conjunctive accent ends with an open syllable pointed with *qameṣ* or *segol*, and the following word is stressed on its first syllable, (that is, on the first full vowel, whether or not it is preceded by *shewa*), then the first consonant of the second word may take "conjunctive *dagesh*". In the Masorah this phenomenon is called *deḥiq* or *ate meraḥiq*. In some sources these names are used for two different categories of this phenomenon, but it has recently been suggested by Dotan that the phenomenon itself was called *ate meraḥiq*, while the

dageeh used to mark it was called *deḥiq*. Rules governing this
phenomenon were formulated by Baer, but the practice of the
best Biblical MSS has not yet been studied in detail.

404.   (i) <u>Where the first word ends with *segol*</u>. Conjunctive
dagesh is used (1) when the first word has *maqqef*, as
Gen 43:15   וּמִשְׁנֶה־כֶּסֶף
Prov 24:6   תַּעֲשֶׂה־לָּךְ   Gen 48:19   יִהְיֶה־לְעָם
(for bN there is no *dagesh* in the *lamed*), Prov 26:27 בְּהֶ־שַׁחַת
2) Where the first word does not have *maqqef*, but has
penultimate stress, either normally, as Gen 33:5 אֲשֶׁר חָ֫נַן or as
the result of retraction of the accent, as
Ez 17:8   שָׂדֶה טּוֹב   Nu 23:15   אֲשֶׁר פֹּה
Prov 23:31   אֶרֶץ יֵ֫רֶא (the only example with a word
ending in *alef*), Gen 1:11 עֵשֶׂב פְּרִי
There are a few exceptions to the rule, as Dt 5:3 אֲשֶׁר פֹּה

405.   (ii) <u>Where the first word ends with *qameṣ*</u>.
Conjunctive *dagesh* is used (1) where the first word
characteristically has penultimate stress, as
Gen 38:29   עָלֶיךָ פָּ֫רֶץ   Gen 14:10   הָרָה פֶּסֶג
and with *dagesh* in *resh*, Hab 3:13   מָחַ֫צְתָּ רֹּאשׁ
There are a few exceptions where *dagesh* is not used, as
Rut 1:20 תִּקְרֶאנָה לִי , קְרֶאןָ לִי   Ps 119:14   עֵדְוֺתֶיךָ שָׂ֫שְׂתִּי
Conjunctive *dagesh* is also used where the second word has
shewa before the stressed vowel, as
Gen 12:5   אַרְצָה כְּנַעַן   Is 5:14   הִרְחִיבָה שְׁאוֹל
With an exception in Rut 4:17   וַתִּקְרֶאנָה שְׁמוֹ
However if the second word begins with prefixed --בְּ, --וְ, --כְּ,
--לְ, *dagesh* is not used, as
Ex 33:12   וְיָדַעְתִּיךָ בְשֵׁם   Is 42:6   קְרָאתִיךָ בְצֶדֶק
But *dagesh* is used in the word הַּ לָּךְ, as
Gen 18:25   חָלִלָה לָּךְ   2S 12:9   לָקַ֫חְתָּ לָּךְ
and *dagesh* is used for phonetic reasons in
Ps 19:3   וְלַ֫יְלָה לְּלַ֫יְלָה
2) Where the first word has penultimate stress only through
retraction of the accent, conjunctive *dagesh* is used only
where the syllable so stressed could have *ga°ya* on a long
vowel before *shewa*, as Gen 19:38   יָלְדָה בֵּן
Jer 31:25   עֲרֵבָה לִּי   Joel 4:13   מָלְאָה גַּת

There are a few exceptional cases in which *dageeh* is not used,

as Is 59:19   נָסְסָה בֹו   Ps 84:4   מָצְאָה בַיִת

Prov 30:20   וּמָחֲתָה פִיהָ   Job 21:16, 22:18   רָחֲקָה מֶנִּי

Is 40:10   מָשְׁלָה לֹו

If the first word could not have *ga°ya* before *shewa*, conjunctive
dageeh is not used, as Gen 4:6   חָרָה לָךְ

Nu 9:10   וְעָשָׂה פֶסַח   Ps 119:99   שִׂיחָה לִי

Rut 1:21   עָנָה בִי

3) If the first word has *maqqef*, and the final *qamee* is
preceded by vocal *shewa*, *dageeh* is usually used, as

Gen 27:26   גְּשָׁה־נָּא   Rut 4:1   שְׁבָה־פֹּה

1S 28:7   וְאֶדְרְשָׁה־בָּהּ   Job 34:4   נִבְחֲרָה־לָּנוּ

2K 25:30   נִתְּנָה־לֹּו   Ps 71:23   אֲזַמְּרָה־לָּהּ

This is also true where the *shewa* follows a long vowel, as

Gen 21:3   יַלְדָה־לֹּו   Gen 30:33   וְעָנְתָה־בִּי

Jer 5:5   אֵלְכָה־לִּי

and with *shewa* after phonetic *ga°ya*, as

Gen 2:23   לְזֹאת־קֹּרָא   and also Rut 2:7   אֲלַקֳטָה־נָּא

In some exceptional cases, *dageeh* is not used, as

2K 7:1   סְאָה־סֹלֶת   Prov 13:12   מְמֻשָּׁכָה־לֵב

Prov 15:17   וְאַהֲבָה־שָׁם   Prov 20:22   אֲשַׁלְּמָה־רָע

Dan 10:17   נִשְׁאֲרָה־בִי   Job 5:23   הָשְׁלְמָה־לָהּ

If the *qamee* is not preceded by a vocal *shewa*, the *dageeh* is
usually not marked, as Dt 11:22   וּלְדָבְקָה־בֹו

Dt 33:4   צִוָּה־לָנוּ   Ps 120:5   אֹויָה־לִי

Mic 1:11   עֶרְיָה־בֹשֶׁת   Gen 33:19   נָטָה־שָׁם

However there are a considerable number of exceptions in which
the *dageeh* is used under these conditions, as

Ez 17:7   שִׁלְחָה־לֹּו   2K 9:2   וּבָאתָ־שָּׁמָּה

Rut 1:10   וַתֹּאמַרְנָה־לָּהּ   Gen 24:42   אִם־יֶשְׁךָ־נָּא

This is particularly common where the first word is a verb form
in the long form of the imperfect or imperative, as

Job 32:10   שִׁמְעָה־לִּי   Gen 27:26   וּשְׁקָה־לִּי

Gen 30:1   הָבָה־לִּי   Nu 22:6   אָרָה־לִּי

Nu 22:11   קָבָה־לִּי   Nu 22:17   וּלְכָה־נָּא

Is 5:5   אֹודִיעָה־נָּא   Gen 32:30   הַגִּידָה־נָּא

And cf. Ps 116:14, 18   נֶגְדָה־נָּא

In a few exceptional cases, *dageeh* is used even though there is
no *maqqef*, as Ps 118:25   הֹושִׁיעָה נָּא, הַצְלִיחָה נָּא

Where the second word of the pair begins with a *begad kefat*
letter, conjunctive *dagesh* is used as on other consonants, so
that this *dagesh* (*deḥiq* and *ate meraḥiq*) is regularly listed
among the phenomena which nullify the rule that a *begad kefat*
letter at the beginning of a word has *rafe* if it follows a word
with a conjunctive accent which ends with an open syllable
(#400).

406.   Some scholars (Yequti'el ha-Naqdan, Heidenheim, Baer)
state that conjunctive *dagesh* is used not only where the second
word of the pair is stressed on its first syllable, but also
where the first syllable of this word has $ga^o ya$ on an open
syllable or on a long vowel before *shewa*. In the early MSS,
dagesh does appear in a few such situations, as

Lev 19:14, 32	וְיָרֵאתָ מֵּאֱלֹהֶיךָ	Ex 27:3	וְעָשִׂיתָ סִּירֹתָיו
Ps 31:20	צָפַנְתָּ לִּירֵאֶיךָ	Jos 8:2	עָשִׂיתָ לִּירִיחוֹ
Also Ex 25:29	וְעָשִׂיתָ קְּעָרֹתָיו		

As a general rule, however, the *dagesh* is not used where the
first syllable of the word could have $ga^o ya$, as

Gen 49:31	שָׁמָּה קָבְרוּ	Ex 15:1	אָשִׁירָה לַּיהוָה
1S 1:6	וְכִעֲסַתָּה צָרָתָהּ	Ps 99:4	כּוֹנַנְתָּ מֵישָׁרִים

Literature. Baer 1880, Dotan, 1969.

Conjunctive 'Dagesh' in Other Situations
407.   If a word with penultimate stress has a conjunctive
accent, and ends with an open syllable, conjunctive *dagesh* is
sometimes used under other circumstances than those listed
above for *deḥiq*. These cases fall into several classes, but
there are not many examples in any of them.

     (i) <u>After *qameṣ*</u>. In a few cases, where the first word of
the pair ends with *qameṣ*, *dagesh* is used in the first letter of
the second word even where its second syllable is stressed.
In most cases this first syllable is open, as

1S 1:13	שְׂפָתֶיהָ נָּעוֹת	Song 1:4	אַחֲרֶיךָ נָּרוּצָה
Dt 32:15	עָבִיתָ כָּשִׂיתָ	Dt 32:6	הֲלוֹא הוּא
Is 34:14	חִרְגִּיעָה לִּילִית	(*dagesh* used for phonetic	
reasons).			

In a few cases the first syllable of the second word is closed,

as Ps 77:16	גָּאַלְתָּ בִּזְרוֹעַ	Job 4:2	הֲלָאָה תִלְאֶה

The *dagesh* may even be used when the third syllable of the word

is stressed, as Jos 8:28   וַיְשִׂימֶהָ תֵּל־עוֹלָם֠

408.   (ii) <u>After long vowels other than _qameṣ_</u>. Where the
first word of the pair ends with a long vowel other than _qameṣ_,
conjunctive _dagesh_ is sometimes marked when the second word is
stressed on its first syllable, as

Ps 20:9   וַאֲנַחְנוּ קַּמְנוּ   Ps 118:18   יִסְּרַנִּי יָּהּ

Ps 118:5   קָרָאתִי יָּהּ

This occurs more commonly where the stressed vowel is preceded
by _shewa_, as Gen 19:14   קוּמוּ צְּאוּ֠

Ex 12:15   מַשְׂאֹרְתוּ שְּׂאֹר   Lam 3:14   הָיִיתִי שְּׂחֹק֠

(iii) <u>Other situations</u>. Conjunctive _dagesh_ appears in a few
cases which do not fit any of the rules given above, as

Jer 48:4   הִשְׁמִיעוּ זְּעָקָה   Ps 17:10   חֶלְבָּמוֹ סָּגְרוּ

Ps 58:10   יָבִינוּ סִּירֹתֵיכֶם   Gen 19:2   תִּפֶּן נָּא־אֲדֹנָי

and the similar case in Jud 6:39.

'Dagesh' after מַה _and_ זֶה

409.   As a general rule, _dagesh_ is used in the first letter
of a word following מַה, unless this letter is _yod_ pointed with
shewa, as Jer 5:15 מַה־יְּדַבֵּר   Nu 9:8   מַה־יֶּצֶּה
Exceptions to this rule are Ps 84:2   מַה־יְּדִידוֹת
where _dagesh_ is used, and מַה־שֶּׂיֹ (Zech 4:12) and מַה־לַתֶּבֶן֠
(Jer 23:28) where _dagesh_ is not used.

410.   _Dagesh_ is used in the first letter of the word
following זֶה when the two words are joined by _maqqef_, and (for
the most part) where the second word is stressed on its first
syllable, as

Gen 31:41   זֶה־לִּי   or where the first letter has
shewa, as 1K 3:23 זֶה־מִּגְרַי   Ex 3:12   וְזֶה־לְּךָ
Ex 3:15   זֶה־שְּׂמִי

Where the second word is not stressed in this way, _dagesh_ is
used in only two cases:-

Nu 13:27   וְזֶה־פִּרְיָהּ   1C 22:1   וְזֶה־מִּזְבֵּחַ

Elsewhere _dagesh_ is not used, as

Jos 15:4   זֶה־יִּהְיֶה   Ps 56:10   זֶה־יָדַעְתִּי

'Dagesh' used to Divide or Distinguish

411.   In the combination מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר, *dagesh* is used in the *lamed* where the word מֹשֶׁה has a conjunctive accent. In some MSS, such as P, *dagesh* is used in the *lamed* of לֵאמֹר even after a word ending with a closed syllable, as

Jer 1:4   אֵלַי לֵאמֹר   Jer 1:13   שֵׁנִית לֵאמֹר

This *dagesh* appears to be used to emphasize the division between the two words.

412.   In the combination וַיֹּאמְרָי שֹׁא (Gen 19:2, 1S 8:19) *dagesh* also appears to be used to emphasize the division between the words, in contrast to וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹו (Jud 18:19, Est 6:13) where the two words are connected and *dagesh* is not used.

In the combination וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא which occurs five times in the Bible, the division between the words (which contrasts with the connection in וַיֹּאמֶר לֹו) is generally emphasized by the use of *ga^{a}ya* under the *mem*, and *paseq* between the words (#325). The Masorah records that ben Naftali uses *dagesh* in לֹא in two cases, but in the other three agrees with bA in not using the *dagesh*. It is reported that bN similarly used *dagesh* in the *lamed* of פִּי לֹא (1S 16:7). The *dagesh* in all these cases presumably serves to emphasize the division between the words.

In four cases the *lamed* of לֹא in the combination לֹא לֹו has *dagesh*, as Prov 26:17 רִיב לֹּא־לֹו   Gen 38:9   פֶּן לֹּא לֹו (after a disjunctive). This *dagesh* is presumably intended to distinguish לֹא from לֹו. In the combination לֹו לֹא no *dagesh* is used.

413.   In cases where one word ends, and the next begins, with the same letter, *dagesh* is not generally used in early Tiberian MSS. However the Masorah records that ben Naftali used *dagesh* in the first letter of נגנו in the combination פֶּן־נגנו, while bA did not. In a few MSS, such as L, *dagesh* is sometimes used on the first letter of the second word in combinations like וַיִּתֶּן־לֹּו (Gen 24:36), where the first word ends with *nun*, and the second begins with *lamed*. So also וַיִּתֶּן־לֹּו in JTS MS 226 in 1K 11:19. Redaq noted (*Miklol* 72b) on Gen 23:9 וְיִתֶּן־לִּי אֶת־מְעָרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה "The *nun* can be assimilated to the *lamed* of לִי." It appears, then, that this

dagesh also serves to emphasize the division between the two
words to avoid the assimilation of the *nun*.

414.   In most early MSS, *dagesh* is not used after a
guttural pointed with simple *shewa*. The *Sefer ha-Ḥillufim*
reports that bN used *dagesh* in the *qof* יַעְקֹב (Jer 9:3, *dagesh* is
used here in C and L[15]). Some MSS occasionally show *dagesh* in
this situation, as S, Gen 41:45 פַעְנֵחַ; N, Hos 10:2 יַאְשְׁמוּ ;
N, Ez 4:15 לְחֶמְךָ.

(Note the use of the term *dagesh* in #132 under דגש (3).)

      (It is noteworthy that the *dagesh* sign is used quite
commonly in some Palestinian MSS in the situations discussed in
#413 and 414. See Revell, 1970, p. 77.)

The Value of Conjunctive 'Dagesh' and its Function

415.   The function of *dagesh* in the uses discussed in #403
ff. seems to be indicated by the fact that these uses occur in
situations similar to those in which *ga°ya* and *paseq* may be
used. These two signs indicate that words are separated and
the reading slowed down. Thus both *dagesh* and *ga°ya* may be
used in the combination וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא (#325). The use of *dagesh* in
בֶּן־בְּנוֹ can be compared to the use of *paseq* after a word which
ends with the letter with which the next begins. (#284).
Certain forms of conjunctive *dagesh*, such as עָלֶיךָ פֶּרֶץ (#405)
can be compared to the use of *ga°ya* in an open syllable after
the accent (#332), as 2K 1:13 נֶפֶשׁ עֲבָדֶיךָ--compare also the use
of *mayela* (#216) in 2K 9:2 וּבָאתָ-שָׁמָּה (where conjunctive *dagesh*
is used) to the use of *ga°ya* in L[18], Ez 11:18 וּבָאוּ-שָׁמָּה (where
ga°ya is used).

      This comparison suggests that the *dagesh* is used, like
ga°ya and *paseq*, to mark separation. In cases where the need
to emphasize separation became apparent, the Masoretes sometimes
used paseq for this purpose, sometimes *dagesh*, and sometimes
ga°ya (particularly before gutturals). It can, then, be
assumed that *dagesh* is intended to emphasize separation not only
in cases like וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא, but also where conjunctive *dagesh* is
used after *qameṣ*, and possibly also after *segol*.

416.   The value of conjunctive *dagesh* is uncertain. Is it
simply a diacritic, or does it indicate some particular

pronunciation? *Dagesh* generally has the latter function, indicating that the *begad-kefat* letters represent stops, or that a consonant should be doubled, so it would seem likely that *dagesh* would have some phonetic value in the other cases of its use as well. Consequently, since conjunctive *dagesh* is not used only in *begad-kefat* letters, it can be argued that it represents "strong" *dagesh*, indicating the doubling of the consonant.

This is easy to see in cases where the *dagesh* is used after a short vowel, *patah* or *segol*, as with מַה and מַה, with conjunctive *dagesh* after *segol* as Ps 91:11 יְצַוֶּה־לָּ֫ or even Ex 21:31 יַעֲשֶׂה לּוֹ. There is no problem in understanding *dagesh* here as indicating doubling: *mas-seh*, *yesawwel-lok*.

In some other cases, however, this view seems less acceptable. In וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא (Jos 5:14, where bN uses *dagesh*) the *dagesh* in the *lamed* cannot mark the preceding syllable as closed, since that syllable ends with *resh*, and the word has a disjunctive accent (*legarmeh*, see #278). The situation is similar in Hab 1:6 מִשְׁכְּנוֹת לֹא־לוֹ for here the *dagesh* also stands in a letter following a word ending in a consonant. In the same way it is difficult to believe that conjunctive *dagesh* after a long vowel marks that the preceding syllable is closed, as

Gen 24:47	*yoldol-ló*	וַיֵּלֶד־לּ֫
Ex 12:31	*qúmus-gü'ú*	ק֫וּמוּ צְּאוּ

A closed syllable with a long vowel normally only occurs as a word final stressed syllable.

Thus if it is assumed that the *dagesh* indicates the doubling of the consonant in these cases also, it seems necessary to suggest that it was not such that the doubling consonant closed one syllable and opened the next, as in קִטֵּל *qit-tel*, but that the doubled consonant stood at the beginning of a syllable, as *wayyómer lló*, *yoldo-lló*, *qúmu ssü'ú*, etc. In this situation, presumably, the long vowel of the preceding syllable need not be shortened.