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On the Rare Usage of Object Suffixes in Christian Palestinian Aramaic: A Phenomenon in Biblical Texts?

Pronominal Object Suffixes in Western Aramaic

Western Aramaic dialects are known to share many features in their grammar like morphemes, syntagms, or in their mutual lexicography, but some of them tend to be more specific for the individual dialect than others. Noteworthy is the random usage of pronominal object suffixes in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) and its fashion of suffixing them to the finite verb. CPA deviates here from the neighbouring and contemporary dialects, Samaritan Aramaic¹ and Galilean Aramaic,² where they seem to have been a bit more popular. On this point all three dialects are not close to the remaining Palestinian Targumic fragments from the Cairo Genizah, since pronominal object suffixes are hardly to be found.³ This also goes for Targum *Neofiti*. The construction of suffixing pronouns on verbs was there regularly replaced with the object markers *y-* and *l-*. By accumulating all available CPA attestations, including the material from the New Finds at St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai, which is not much to speak of, it looks as if the usage of object suffixes is mostly restricted to Bible passages. The direct object suffixing hardly ever occurs in patristic (only five examples) or other non Biblical text genres. There has recently been a first attestation in a church inscription from the vicinity of Sussita-Antiochia Hippos at 'Uyūn Umm el-Azam.⁴ It is also not obvious on what ground and why

¹ Rudolf Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* «Studia Samaritana» 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), pp. 224-236; and for a part of *Tibat Marqe* only in Christian Stadel, "Object Suffixes in Samaritan Aramaic from the First Two Books of *Tibāt Mārqe* and Some Considerations as to Their Development", *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 48 (2011), pp. 232-247.

² Gustav Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich's Verlag, 1905), pp. 359-392, esp. 396.

³ Steven E. Fassberg, *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), pp. 119-120; Steven E. Fassberg, "3rd Masculine Plural Object Suffixes in Northwest Semitic", *Eretz-Israel* 34 (2021), pp. 140-144 [Hebrew].

⁴ See for the first attested example in an inscription Estēe Dvorjetski, Christa Müller-Kessler, Michael Eisenberg, Adam Pažout, and Mechael Osband, "A Christian Palestinian Aramaic Inscription from the Territory of Sussita-Antiochia Hippos", *ARAM. Periodical* 34.1 (2022), pp. 139-152, esp. 149. The part of the inscription was prepared by me.

CPA translators of the Old and New Testament from the Greek “Vorlagen” opted to deploy these object pronominal suffixes so randomly instead of the more frequent alternative with the direct object indicator *y/-* or *l/-* plus pronominal suffixes. One of the prominent questions on this issue remains why are they so rare and are so irregular employed in these texts. Since there existed no written tradition for this language type running today mostly under the name CPA, sometimes and earlier under Syro-Palestinian, in some French publications Melkite Aramaic,⁵ the background stays obscure and any kind of dialectal development is difficult to follow up. Whether the literary language types as occurring in Qumran Aramaic can be considered a predecessor is more than questionable and they are far too remote in time and language style, but the fashion of object pronoun suffixing on the verb in Genesis Apocryphon comes very close to the CPA one.⁶ One answer, however, could be that in the translation of Bible books there was a tendency to opt for a more archaic or better conservative style of language, which was then intentionally applied, but not consequently. Why for example, unpublished Gospel manuscripts, Sin. syr. NF M56N — is not part of the Old Jerusalem Lectionary⁷ — or Sin. syr. NF M11N, as many others show object suffixes on an irregular basis, stays unclear. In most instances, however, the alternative with the direct object indicator *y/-* and *l/-* was given preference. Often both options are deployed in the same verse (see below). Whereas in the hagiographical, apocryphal, and theological works the translators did not opt for them, as the texts were not in need to be formally or precisely expressed. The Biblical texts, however, required or called for more ancient constructions, here for example, the suffixing of the object pronouns to finite verbs, never infinite verbs (infinitive, participles).

This is also the case for another conservative syntagm of the *figura etymologica*, which can be still found in the infinitive construction in some Biblical passages. It occurs in the citation of Exodus 21:16 ܕܘܡܘܢ ܕܘܡܘܢ ‘he shall (surely) die’ (θανάτω τελευτάτω) in Matthew 15:4 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 45r/40v; unpubl.), or in ܕܘܡܘܢ ܕܘܡܘܢ Genesis 2:17 (eleventh-century Lewis Lectionary).⁸ Such syntagms are also not very typical for the Late Aramaic stage, let alone any usage of the infinitive in CPA in particular.⁹ This might also

⁵ The Hebrew term סורית ארץ-ישראל used in publications in Ivrit is hardly fitting.

⁶ It should be pointed out that the *nota accusativi* ܐܝ with pronominal suffixes is not a feature in this text.

⁷ Alain Desreumaux errs here by taking the Eusebian *kephalaia* in this Gospel manuscript as lectionary rubrics; see Alain Desreumaux, “Le palimpseste Sin. syr. NF M56N du nouveau fonds de Sainte-Catherine : son apport à la codicologie araméenne christo-palestinienne, aux versions anciennes des textes bibliques et à l’histoire de la liturgie”, in Claudia Rapp, Guilla Rossetto, Jana Gruskova, and Grigory Kessel (eds.), *New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies* «Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 45; Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse» 547 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2023), pp. 131-145. <https://doi.org/10.1553/978OEAW91575s131>.

⁸ Agnes Smith Lewis with Critical Notes by Professor Eberhard Nestle D.D. and a Glossary by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary Containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles* «Studia Sinaitica» VI (London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1897), p. 84.

⁹ Considering the few attested examples not employed as nominalized infinitives, they are also limited to Bible passages. It is out of the question that this grammatical feature can go back to Arabic influence in the early text material. One needs a fixed and written Arabic language corpus so that such a syntagm

explain another dialectical lexical remnant of the vernacular in the written CPA texts, the randomly surfacing of the verbal root *ntn* instead of *ntl*. The latter was obviously introduced from Syriac as replacement for the weak verb *yhb* in the imperfect or even infinitive, with the take over and modification of an *Estrangela* script type to write this western Aramaic dialect for Christian text purposes. Although *ntl* seems to be predominant, in some early manuscripts *ntn* is still present as an alternative option in some specific ones.¹⁰

With CPA's direct dependency on Greek "Vorlagen" it required someone well-trained in translation technique who could work this into the translations from Greek into CPA. The syntactical features of CPA are not slavishly based on the Greek as one would have expected them. It is sometimes close, but not always. Therefore, one should refrain from reading or restoring the CPA text according to the Greek, especially in difficult to read palimpsest texts. Often the CPA texts are literally translated as the Syriac Harklean version, but this is mostly only the case for the New Testament material. In the Old Testament translations it can often deviate as demonstrated by Hugo Duensing for a parallel passage of Isaiah 50:4-5 for three samples deriving from lectionaries (early and late).¹¹ Interestingly, in many instances the CPA translators were still able to restore the Semitic spelling of proper names in the Biblical texts (personal, geographical), which they could properly transliterate from the Greek back into CPA, since the Greek alphabet is missing certain characters to represent the correct Semitic characters.¹²

There can be no doubt that CPA as appearing in the written corpus was only in use as an artificial written literary language to serve the purpose of the cleric to have comprehensible Bible and liturgical texts for the lower cleric and the Melkite church community. Greek, however, remained the dominating communal church language, and the lingua franca of the educated, but at times CPA can be found in monastic, church, and sepulchral inscriptions¹³ next to the much more attested Greek ones, as well as recently in protective amulets.¹⁴ This can be deduced from the growing examples from even northern

could have crept into this Aramaic dialect as early as this, but the CPA replacement constructions with *d-* + imperfect or in rare cases with a participle construction are rather good Aramaic constructions and nothing unusual. There are no Arabic loanwords in this period as well. Such facts should have been considered by Christian Stadel, "The Loss of the Infinitive and Its Replacement by the Imperfect in Christian Palestinian Aramaic", *Israel Oriental Studies* 21 (2022), pp. 274-310.

¹⁰ Christa Müller-Kessler, "The Verbal Root *ntn* Replacing *yhb* 'to give' in the Imperfect. A Case Study in Early Christian Palestinian Aramaic Manuscripts" [in preparation], where all attestations, including the new unpublished ones, have been collected.

¹¹ Hugo Duensing, *Christlich-palästinisch-aramäische Texte und Fragmente nebst einer Abhandlung über den Wert der palästinischen Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1906), p. 91.

¹² Christa Müller-Kessler, "1.4.9 Christian Palestinian Aramaic Translation", in Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (eds.), *The Hebrew Bible*, vol. 1A (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 454-455.

¹³ Although in the meantime some new additional inscriptions came to light, the best overview is still by Émile Puech, "Notes d'épigraphie christo-paléstinienne de Jordanie", in Claudine Dauphin and Basema Hamarneh (eds.), *In Memoriam Fr Michele Piccirillo, OFM (1944-2008): Celebrating His Life and Work* «BAR International Series» 2248 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), pp. 75-94, figs. 206-230.

¹⁴ No provenances are known yet for these objects, which have increased lately, since all come through the antiquities market; see for some of them published by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), pp. 107-109; Émile Puech,

sites such as the Decapolis (‘Evron near Naharia, ‘Uyūn Umm el-‘Azam near Sussita-Antiochia Hippos),¹⁵ or in Western Palestine near Tel Aviv (Tell Jonas),¹⁶ where this ‘spoken idiom’ was definitely not at home.

Coming back to the Bible translations. Any influence from the Syriac Bible witnesses or even the Hebrew Masoretic texts cannot have any impact on the usage of object pronominal suffixes in CPA and therefore, can be definitely ruled out. Although there is in the late Gospel Lectionary A (1030 AD) some heavy Syriac influence to be noted, especially in the second readings of some periscopes,¹⁷ including the Nestorian punctuation system. This late liturgical text, however, was copied several hundred years after the prime time of CPA (5th to 7th century AD). Previously, these features tended to be taken within the grammatical exploit much too seriously on account of the easy access and the legibility of the manuscript itself. It happened also to be the first known CPA manuscript and text for some time,¹⁸ but it is not at all representative for the actual language state as found in the early text period (5th to 7th century AD). The issue concerning the deployment of object suffixes is there far more representative, although also not uniform in the whole surviving early text corpus. In some examples the usage in the eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts agrees to the early ones, but not always. The view by Moshe Bar-Asher that the examples outweigh in the later period could not even be supported at the time of his thesis in 1977.¹⁹ What is clear is that these late liturgical texts are definitely not copies of the earlier text witnesses, and one should also refrain from restoring them from these late manuscripts as Alain Desreumaux did in several Gospel fragments from parts of the *Codex Sinaiticus rescriptus*.²⁰

“Deux amulettes palestiniennes une en grec et une bilingue en grec-christo-palestinien”, in Hermann Gasche and Barthel Hrouda (eds.), *Collectanea Orientalia. Histoire, arts de l'espace et industrie de la terre. Études offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket* (Neuchâtel: Recherches et Publications, 1996), pp. 299-310. Also now Ohad Abudrahman, “A New Christian Palestinian Aramaic Amulet”, *Orientalia N.S.* 86 (2017), pp. 97-106.

¹⁵ Alain Jacques (Desreumaux), “A Palestinian-Syriac Inscription in the Mosaic Pavement at ‘Evron”, *Michael Avi-Yonah Memorial Volume, Eretz-Israel* 19 (1987), pp. 54*-56*; Dvorjetski, Müller-Kessler *et al.*, “Christian Palestinian Aramaic Inscription”, pp. 144-152.

¹⁶ Moshe Bar-Asher, “A New Syropalestinian Inscription”, *Haaretz Museum Annual* 17.8 (1975), pp. 17-21, pls. 1-2 [Hebrew].

¹⁷ Some lexemes have definitely to be taken as Syriac, since they have no “Sitz im Leben” in CPA or Western Aramaic in general, for example the verbal root ܘܫܢܐ, its derivations and a number of lexical items, ܘܫܢܐܘܢܐ, ܘܫܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ; see Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen. Teil 1: Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Morphologie* (Hildesheims: Olms, 1991), p. 24.

¹⁸ This does not diminish the excellency of the first study on this dialect by Theodor Nöldeke who had nothing else to base his grammatical erudition on in 1868; see Theodor Nöldeke, “Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte. II.”, *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 22 (1968), pp. 443-527.

¹⁹ Moshe Bar-Asher, *Palestinian Syriac Studies. Source-Texts, Traditions and Grammatical Problems* (Jerusalem: Diss. Hebrew University, 1977) [Hebrew; handwriting], p. 209 n. 195. Lectionary A might have given the impression.

²⁰ Alain Desreumaux, *Codex sinaiticus Zosimi rescriptus* «Histoire du Texte Biblique» 3 (Lausanne: Édition du Zebre, 1997).

Greek as “Vorlage” and its language type does not work with such pronominal object suffixes and therefore any kind of influence from this side is understandably out of the question. Another option would be the dependence on Rabbinic Western Targums as Targum *Neofiti* or the Samaritan Targum for the Old Testament part, which can be clearly rejected as well, since the CPA translators were hardly influenced by these text traditions. The CPA translations are also not dependent on the Syriac Bible witnesses in any text genre as can be demonstrated just by comparing them.²¹ In most text parts this ancient Semitic and earlier Aramaic syntagm of suffixing the direct object to the verb is given up in CPA, or better is being replaced with the *nota accusativi* *yt-* or the other object indicator *l-* + pronominal suffix, often in alternative usage.²² In the Palestinian Targumic fragments the latter option seems to have been already the rule.²³

The first occurrences of the *nota accusativi* loaned from Hebrew into Western Aramaic can be already noted in Nabatean, a form of Late Imperial Aramaic.²⁴ It was already deployed in literary Qumran Aramaic, for example, in Targum of Job or in the Aramaic Nahal Hever documents.²⁵ Later this syntagm developed into a standard feature in the Western Aramaic dialects. It was then transferred during the diaspora through Rabbinic literary Aramaic to Mesopotamia to be deployed in the official translation of the Bible (Targum Onqelos and Jonathan) as well as in the magical text corpus on incantation bowls in the Aramaic square script, although being an alien syntactical feature in this geographical environment. It gradually replaced the ancient function of the direct object suffixing.²⁶

The rarity of attestations of object suffixes in CPA could be also simply a question of the fragmentarily surviving manuscript material. Some manuscripts, however, show them arbitrarily such as CCR2B, a manuscript with the Pauline letters under *Codex Climaci rescriptus*,²⁷ where the translator made use of this alternative with object suffixes twelve or

²¹ The overrated Gospel Lectionary A dated to 1030 does not count as the best representative of the early language type, although it still maintains some earlier features. The examples from the Syriac versions in the footnotes are only added for comparative reasons, but do not intend to claim any relation or influence from Syriac on CPA on this formation.

²² Friedrich Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, edited by Enno Littmann (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1924), pp. 33, 78, 88.

²³ Fassberg, *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 119-120. The language in the Targumic Palestinian Aramaic fragments seems to be not identical to Galilean Aramaic, as already remarked by Eduard Y. Kutscher, “The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon – A Preliminary Study”, in Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin (eds.), *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls «Scripta Hierosolymitana» IV* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1957), pp. 1-35, esp. 12 n. 54.

²⁴ Jean Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1930), pp. 56-57. Kutscher, “The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon”, pp. 20-21.

²⁵ Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), p. 601. And for more examples from the Judean Desert see also Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), pp. 215-217.

²⁶ Christa Müller-Kessler, “The Linguistic Heritage of Qumran Aramaic”, in Armin Lange, Emmanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context. Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 215-259, esp. 234, 237, 255.

²⁷ The dismembered manuscript was formerly edited by Agnes Smith Lewis, *Codex Climaci Rescriptus «Horae Semiticae» VIII* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), and recently a missing part of this codex with more

thirteen times in 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, and 2 Timothy. The surfacing of a missing quire of this codex containing only 1 and 2 Corinthians added some new attestations.²⁸ The rather small, fragmentary, and not unified text corpus from the Cairo Genizah shows only eight attestations so far. There they can be also found in diverse manuscripts of the Pauline letters, 2 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, and 2 Timothy as well as in the Gospel of John next to three occurrences in Old Testament passages of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations.²⁹ Noteworthy is a double parchment folio with a deviating version of Leviticus and Numbers (Sin. gr. NF M167, fol. ?) without parallels from the Monastery of St Catherine's on Mt Sinai under a Greek minuscule containing the Ilias, which shows alone seven attestations as well as the replacement verb **ܘܒ** instead of the more often employed **ܘܒܘ**, which might speak for the early translation of this exceptional Bible manuscript or a different scribal school.³⁰ Only three examples can be noted among the Damascus palimpsest material of Luke and Hebrews.³¹ Except for three attestations in Job (CCR3; Sin. gr. NF MG 32) and John (CSR^b) no other examples are attested in the various surviving witnesses of the early Old Jerusalem Lectionary transmission in CPA.³² The eleventh-century Lewis Lectionary has only four attestations, three in the Pauline Letters and one in Psalms.³³ In this it accords with the early Old Jerusalem lectionaries being nearly void of its usage. Sometimes the early Gospel manuscript witnesses, agree to the later ones in the usage of the construction of the direct object suffixing in identical Bible passages, but not always, although they also are not depending on each other. A continuous Gospel Bible manuscript of former 42 folios, now 84 bifolios with Matthew and Mark (Sin. syr. NF M56N), has even seventeen attestations, which makes about thirty

Corinthian sections could be added by Christa Müller-Kessler, "The Missing Quire of *Codex Climaci rescriptus* Containing 1-2 Corinthians in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Sin. syr. NF M38N)", in Claudia Rapp, Guilla Rossetto, Jana Gruskova, and Grigory Kessel (eds.), *New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies* «Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 45; Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse» 547 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2023), pp. 147-170. <https://doi.org/10.1553/978OEAW91575s147>. Only here and there the readings of Lewis could be improved by me for the publication in Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic Old Testament and Apocrypha Version from the Early Period* «A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic» I (Groningen: STYX, 1997).

²⁸ Müller-Kessler, "The Missing Quire of *Codex Climaci rescriptus*", p. 153.

²⁹ Two attestations could be added after the publication of the grammar, and two are simply a presumed addition; see Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament from the Early Period. Acts and Epistles* «A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic» IIB (Groningen: STYX, 1998), p. 16 (Acts 10:39).

³⁰ Christa Müller-Kessler, "Unparalleled Variant Readings for Leviticus 26:26b-44 and Numbers 4:15b-5:6a in an Early Christian Palestinian Aramaic Palimpsest from St Catherine's Monastery (Greek NF M 167)", *Revue Biblique* 128 (2021), pp. 354-370, esp. 364.

³¹ Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, pp. 78-80.

³² See Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, pp. 259-262. The lack might be due to the scanty text material, but also the complete eleventh-century Lewis Lectionary shows only four of them.

³³ Lewis, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*, pp. 8, 17, 23, 77.

to forty percent of the new texts, but the complete text including any Luke and John has not been preserved.

The rare feature of object suffixing became rather obvious in the preparation of the first reference grammar, but it is now further supported through the publication and reading of the new and early text material in the last thirty years after the publication of this grammatical study from 1991.³⁴ Some of the faulty reading examples (only two) could be eliminated due to several collations on the palimpsests with various technical appliances. According to what principles object suffixes were employed in the various manuscripts remains unanswered. The infrequent usage of direct objects suffixed on verbs still tends to have been rather unpopular in CPA,³⁵ but any kind of statistical statement would say nothing at all. In case the literary written language type of CPA reflects the spoken idiom it must have been rather unpopular in the spoken dialect too. The situation of the translated texts, however, are hardly representative for the vernacular of CPA. This applies also to the inscriptional and amulet material.

Attestations of Object Suffixes in CPA

The so far attested examples are collected from the published and unpublished text material and are listed below according to the verbal stems and their finite verbal forms they are attested with. Only object suffixes with the verbs IIIy are listed in a separate section. As many attestations from new texts are integrated into this study of which some of them still remain unpublished the citations are indicated by the collection number of the manuscripts to help to trace them back.

There tend to be more samples for the perfect than for the imperfect and imperative, but this could be simply a coincidence due to the fragmentary text state in CPA. Without a complete text corpus one can only judge the forms by the surviving text material and present the actual situation of their occurrences. One should refrain from statistical statements on this issue, which holds no merit for such a grammatical issue. Until recently only the attestations from the late manuscripts outweighed the earlier ones with most of them occurring in the Gospel Lectionary A (Vat. sir. 19) or B and C (Sin. syr. 2, 3). With the publications, collations, and the discovery of new manuscript material the number of examples for the early period has slightly increased. Still it cannot be considered a salient feature of CPA, as it is more or less a morpho-syntagm restricted to Biblical texts.

³⁴ Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, pp. 259-262.

³⁵ Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, pp. 259-262. Despite the amount of various and additional text material for the CPA, there are only about forty-two more attestations to be noted.

*Perfect with Object Suffixes on Strong Verbs*³⁶

In the perfect the object suffixes are on the rule directly suffixed to the perfect affixes except for the third singular masculine, which forms in general the perfect basis in Aramaic ending in a consonant. This can be also observed in Galilean Aramaic³⁷ and partially in Samaritan Aramaic depending on the manuscripts.³⁸ So far only two cases can be noted for CPA, where *-n-* is infix after the affix of the second singular masculine and before the object suffix in the perfect. The attestations are restricted to the *μεταγραφαί*, which are not representative for CPA, but they reflect a formation of an earlier language period, e.g. Biblical Aramaic: ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ ‘you have forsaken me?’ Mt 27:46 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 13r) (2.1.1) for the re-transliteration from Greek *σαβαχθανι* comparable to the translations into the Syriac versions ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ (Sinai, Peshitta). One manuscript of *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* has ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ (CCR1, fol. 79v = CCPA IIA 41) instead, partially corresponding to the Harklean version ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ, which shows here a *plene* spelling. This rather exceptional CPA manuscript CCR1 with its deviating orthography and morphological forms cannot be dependent on this version or having been influenced by it at all. In three Syriac translations of the passage of Mark 15:34 (Sinai, Peshitta, Harklean) one finds corresponding ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ. This verse of Mark has not been attested yet for CPA. Syriac and CPA try here to re-transliterate the Greek form in their understanding, but they are not regular formations in both Aramaic dialects and go back to an earlier Aramaic period when this kind of formation was in use. Only one “real” CPA example with *n*-infix is found in a hitherto unidentified homily ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ ‘I? compared to him’ (3.1.1), if its understanding is correct. This feature can be compared to the alternative usage in Samaritan Aramaic, where both formations are possible without and with *-n-* infix.³⁹ The other option would be Galilean Aramaic for this formation, if one takes the saying of Jesus as authentic as being a native of Nazareth. Some attested examples from *Vayiqqra Rabba* speak for it.⁴⁰

Pe‘al

3 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ ‘he bound him’ Mt 14:3 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 22v);⁴¹ ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ ‘he touched him’ Lk 5:13 (BL, Add 14.446; late MS);⁴² ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ ‘he took him’ Mk 7:33 (Sin. syr. NF

³⁶ If no text reference is given then there does not exist an attestation for the late transmission of the Bible passages.

³⁷ Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, pp. 359-392, 396.

³⁸ Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch*, pp. 224-236.

³⁹ Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch*, pp. 224-230.

⁴⁰ Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, pp. 364-365.

⁴¹ SCH ܡܫܘܒܢܝܢ.

⁴² Syr *nil*.

M56N, fol. 51v); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (A 85¹);⁴³ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he kissed him’ Mt 26:49 (BL, Add 14.450), but two early MSS have ܡܠ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ Mt 26:48 (CCR1 = CCPA IIA 37) and ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (CSRP^d = CCPA IIA 51),⁴⁴ and two late MSS have ܡܠ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (C); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (B); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he passed him’ Lk 10:31 (A 64²); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (B); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (C);⁴⁵ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he commanded him’ Nu 4:23; 46 (Sin. gr. NF M167, fol. ?); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he grasped him’ Mt 14:31 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 40r); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (A 47³);⁴⁶ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ Lk 14:4 (Sin. syr. NF M11N, fol. 95r; A; B; C);⁴⁷ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he asked him’ Mt 27:11 (BL, Add 14.446; late MS),⁴⁸ but ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (A 136⁴); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (B).

3 singular masculine + 3 singular feminine

ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he bound her’ Lk 13:16 (A 66²); vocalic spelling in ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (B, C);⁴⁹ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he committed adultery with her’ Mt 5:28 (A 37⁴);⁵⁰ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (B); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he thought her’ 1 Sam 1:13 (Vat. Syr. 627, fol. ?); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he hid it’ Mt 13:44 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 77v; A 158²);⁵¹ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he planted it’ Mt 15:13 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 16r).⁵²

3 singular masculine + 2 singular masculine

ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ἔχρισέν σε ‘he anointed you’ Hebr 1:9 (Damⁱ = CCPA IIB 194); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ (Lewis Lectionary 23).⁵³

3 singular masculine + 1 singular

ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘he handed me over’ Lam 1:14 (Bodl., Heb. b. 13 [P] = CCPA I 183); ܡܘܨܝܘܢ με ἐρρύσατο ‘he delivered me’ 2 Tim 3:11 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 178).⁵⁴

3 singular masculine + 1 plural

(ܡܘܨܝܘܢ) ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ἱκανώσεν ἡμᾶς ‘he made us competent’ 2 Cor 3:6 (T-S 20.157, fol. 2b = CCPA IIB 103).⁵⁵

⁴³ The punctuation in Gospel Lectionary A follows the Syriac Nestorian one and differs from the simple diacritical signs used in the early CPA manuscripts, which only indicate the supralinear single dot on *he* for the 3 singular feminine, or in some cases the reading of /a/ in ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘who’, ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘there’, and to distinguish ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘sign’ from ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ‘you’, to distinguish the reading of aleph as /e/ with dot ܡܘܨܝܘܢ instead of /a/ without dot ܡܘܨܝܘܢ, and the plural dots (*Seyame*).

⁴⁴ S ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁴⁵ SC ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁴⁶ SCPH ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁴⁷ But followed by ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁴⁸ SPH ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁴⁹ SCPH ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁵⁰ SCPH ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁵¹ SCPH ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁵² PH ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁵³ P ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁵⁴ P ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

⁵⁵ P ܡܘܨܝܘܢ.

‘he preceded him’ Mt 17:25 (BL, Add 14.446; late MS); ܩܚܝܘܢ (A 47⁴);⁷¹ ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he sanctified him’ Jn 10:36 (A 25⁴); ܩܫܝܘܢ (B, C);⁷² ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he sent him’ Jn 10:36 (A 25⁴);⁷³ ܩܫܝܘܢ Lk 15:15 (A 73³);⁷⁴ ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he authorized him’ Jn 19:38 (A 136¹);⁷⁵ ܩܫܝܘܢ ܗܫܩܥܫܐܘܬܐܘܢ ‘he greeted him’ Tale of a Monk (Göttingen, SUB, Syr. 18 = Duensing 1944:217:5).

3 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܩܫܝܘܢ ܐܦܥܫܝܘܢ ܡܝܢܐ ‘he sent me’ 1 Cor 1:17 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 70).⁷⁶

3 singular feminine + 3 singular masculine

ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘she proceeded him’ Jn 11:30 (CSR^d = CCPA IIA 172).⁷⁷

1 singular + 3 singular masculine

ܩܫܝܘܢ ܩܫܝܘܢ ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘I received him’ 1 Cor 15:3 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 81).⁷⁸

3 plural masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘they sent him’ Lk 20:11 (CSR^c = CCPA IIA 156).⁷⁹

Af’el

3 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he met him’ Mk 5:2 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 56v);⁸⁰ ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he took him down’ Mk 15:46 (CSR^c = CCPA IIA 96);⁸¹ ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he surround him’ Mt 21:33 (CCR1 = CCPA IIA 22),⁸² but ܩܫܝܘܢ ܩܫܝܘܢ (A 95¹); ܩܫܝܘܢ ܩܫܝܘܢ (A 51³); ܩܫܝܘܢ ܩܫܝܘܢ (B, C); ܩܫܝܘܢ ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he enlisted him’ 2 Tim 2:4 (Bodl., Syr. c. 17r [P] = CCPA IIB 180); ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he put him’ Mt 27:48 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 24v),⁸³ but ܩܫܝܘܢ ܩܫܝܘܢ (A 133⁴); but ܩܫܝܘܢ (A 139⁴); ܩܫܝܘܢ Rom 3:25 (Lewis Lectionary 17); ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he let him out’ LESC 67:7 (Cambridge, Westminster College without number); ܩܫܝܘܢ ‘he appointed

70 SP ܩܫܝܘܢ .
71 SCPH ܩܫܝܘܢ .
72 SP ܩܫܝܘܢ .
73 SP ܩܫܝܘܢ .
74 SCPH ܩܫܝܘܢ .
75 Syr *nil.*
76 P ܩܫܝܘܢ .
77 SPH ܩܫܝܘܢ .
78 P *nil.*
79 P ,ܩܫܝܘܢ .
80 Syr *nil.*
81 PH ܩܫܝܘܢ .
82 CP ܩܫܝܘܢ .
83 SPH ܩܫܝܘܢ .

him? Mt 24:45 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 73v),⁸⁴ but ܡܕܘܢ ܡܫܘܚܐ (CCRI = CCPA IIA 30); ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܥܣܬܝܫܘܢ ܐܘܬܘܐܘ ʻhe raised himʼ Mk 9:36 (CSRO^e = CCPA IIA 109), but ܡܕܘܢ ܡܫܘܚܐ (A 164³);⁸⁵ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܥܝܠܝܪܐܝܫ ܐܘܬܘܢ Eph 1:20 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 128).⁸⁶

3 singular masculine + 3 singular feminine

ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻhe answered herʼ Mt 15:23 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 21r),⁸⁷ but Syriasm in ܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ (A 195⁴); ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻhe raised herʼ Mk 1:31 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 14v),⁸⁸ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻhe found itʼ Mt 13:44 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 77v); ܡܫܘܚܐ (A 158²).

3 singular masculine + 1 plural

ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻhe raised usʼ ܫܘܢܗܝܝܪܝܢ Eph 2:6 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 129),⁸⁹ but corrupted form in ܡܫܘܚܐ (Lewis Lectionary 8); ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻhe let us returnʼ ܫܘܢܗܝܝܪܝܢ Eph 2:6 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 129).⁹⁰

2 singular + 3 singular masculine

ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻyou recognized himʼ Hymns (BL, Add 14.446; late MS).

1 singular + 3 singular masculine

ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻI discovered himʼ Acts 25:25 (CCR2A = CCPA IIB 107).⁹¹

1 singular + 3 plural masculine

ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻI (did not) annihilate themʼ Lev 26:44 (Sin. gr. NF M 167, fol. ?);⁹² ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻI (did not) distance themʼ Lev 26:44 (Sin. gr. NF M 167, fol. ?).⁹³

3 plural masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻ(his people) recognized himʼ Mt 14:35 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 45v);⁹⁴ ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ʻthey questioned himʼ Mk 9:28 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 70v).⁹⁵

⁸⁴ SP ܡܫܘܚܐ.

⁸⁵ SPH ܡܫܘܚܐ.

⁸⁶ P ܡܫܘܚܐ.

⁸⁷ Syr *nil.*

⁸⁸ SPH ܡܫܘܚܐ.

⁸⁹ P ܡܫܘܚܐ.

⁹⁰ P ܡܫܘܚܐ.

⁹¹ Better reading than ܡܕܘܢܐ. The *yud* is very closely written to the *taw* and can be easily overlooked in the palimpsest; see Kim Philipps, *Two Early Byzantine Bible Manuscripts in Christian Palestinian Aramaic: Codex Climaci Rescriptus II & XI* «Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures» 34 (Cambridge: University Press, 2025), p. 171. P *nil.*

⁹² P with independent object pronoun ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ .

⁹³ P with independent object pronoun ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ .

⁹⁴ SCPH ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ .

⁹⁵ SP ܡܕܘܢܐ .

3 plural masculine + 3 singular feminine

ܡܳܬܳܝܳܒܳܘܳܪܳܘܳܬܳܐܳܢ ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ܳܚܳܘܳܠܳܘܳܚܳܐܳܢ ‘they brought it up’ Mt 13:48 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 77v),⁹⁶ but ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ (A 158³).

Imperfect with Object Suffixes on Strong Verbs

In the imperfect the object suffixes are added to the infix *-n-*. There are no exceptions to be noted.

Pe‘al

3 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ‘he will deliver him’ Jn 12:4 (T-S 12.211 = CCPA IIA 181); ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ Jn 12:4 (Sin. geo. NF 19 [lectionary] = CSRP^b), but ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ (CSRP^c = CCPA IIA 181); ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ (A 92⁴);⁹⁷ ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ܳܘܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ‘he will despise him’ 1 Cor 16:11 (CCR2B = Sin. syr. NF M38N, fol. 2v);⁹⁸ ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ‘he will grasp him’ ܳܘܳܢܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ... ܳܕܳܘܳܢܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ Philem 13 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 192).⁹⁹

3 singular masculine + 1 singular

ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ‘he will kill me’ Job 6:9 (CCR3 [lectionary] = CCPA I 110).¹⁰⁰

3 singular masculine + 2 plural masculine

ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ‘he will reach you’ Jn 12:35 (C).¹⁰¹

1 singular + 3 singular masculine

ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ‘I will bring him out’ *Apophthegmata of the Fathers, Abba Isidorus* (Sin. syr. NF Frag. M59N, fol. 2r, 17).¹⁰²

1 singular + 2 singular masculine

[ܳܘܳܕܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ] ‘I will give you advice’ Jer 45(38):15 (Bodl., Heb. e. 73, fol. 43r).¹⁰³
ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ ‘I will ask you’ Job 38:3 (Sin. gr. NF MG 32; lectionary).¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ S ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ; CPH ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ.

⁹⁷ PH ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ.

⁹⁸ P ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ.

⁹⁹ P ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ.

¹⁰⁰ P ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ.

¹⁰¹ SPH ܳܬܳܘܳܫܳܩܳܘܳܢܳܐܳܢ.

¹⁰² See Alain Desreumaux *apud* Philothée du Sinai, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinai* (Athens: Sinai Foundation, 2008), p. 545.

¹⁰³ Unfortunately, there is a whole in the parchment, but the character for the middle *kaph* speaks for a construction with an object suffix.

1 singular + 2 plural masculine

ܘܥܠܝܚܝܢܝ ‘I will pursue you’ Lev 26:36 (Sin. gr. NF M167, fol. ?);¹⁰⁵ **ܘܥܠܝܚܝܢܝ** ‘I will ask you’ Lk 20:3 (Sin. CPA NF frg. 16 = CCPA IIA 155; Damascus 48 = CCPA IIA 165); **ܘܥܠܝܚܝܢܝ** (A 175¹).¹⁰⁶

3 plural plural feminine + 2 singular masculine

ܘܡܫܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ ‘they will anoint you’ (Horologion 349:2).

3 plural plural masculine + 2 singular feminine

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ ‘they will force you’ Lk 19:43 Dam 48.¹⁰⁷

2 plural masculine + 1 plural

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ ‘you will kill us’ Ex 16:3 (Vat. sir. 623, fol. 190/193 = CCPA I 33).¹⁰⁸

Pa“el

3 singular masculine + 3 plural masculine

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ ‘he guides them’ Is 11:6 (CSRP^a [lectionary] = CCPA I 137).¹⁰⁹

3 singular masculine + 2 plural masculine

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ ‘he will establish you’ 1 Thess 3:2 (T-S 16.326, 2b = CCPA IIB 167).¹¹⁰

3 singular masculine + 1 plural

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ *ἐξέλγεται ἡμᾶς* ‘he will deliver us’ Gal 1:4 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 107).¹¹¹

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ *ὃ ἑνισθῶμεν* ‘he will receive us’ Acts 21:16 (CCR2A = CCPA IIB 32).¹¹²

1 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ *πέμψαι* ‘I will send him’ Phil 2:25 (CCR2B = CCPA IIB 140).¹¹³

1 singular masculine + 2 plural masculine

ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ ‘I will scatter them’ Lev 26:40 (Sin. gr. NF M167, fol. ?).¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁴ P **ܘܥܠܝܚܝܢܝܢ**.

¹⁰⁵ P **ܘܥܠܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ**.

¹⁰⁶ SC **ܘܥܠܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ**.

¹⁰⁷ SCPH **ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ**.

¹⁰⁸ P *nil.*

¹⁰⁹ P **ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ**.

¹¹⁰ P **ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ**.

¹¹¹ P **ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ**.

¹¹² P **ܘܡܫܝܚܝܢܝܢܝܢ**.

¹¹³ P *nil.*

¹¹⁴ P *nil.*

2 plural masculine + 1 singular

ܩܩܨܘܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܒܪܘܫܐ ܕܥܨܪܝܢ ‘you will send me’ 1 Cor 16:6 (CCR2B = Sin. syr. NF M38N, fol. 2r).¹¹⁵

Af^{el}

3 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܡܨܘܒܝܢܐ ‘he will find him’ Mt 24:46 (CSR^P^{de} = CCPA I 48; 64); (B); **ܡܨܘܒܝܢܐ** (A 157⁴), but **ܡܨܘܒܝܢܐ** (A 102³); **ܡܨܘܒܝܢܐ** (C);¹¹⁶ **ܡܨܘܒܝܢܐ** ‘he loves him’ Lk 7:42 (A 155⁴); **ܡܨܘܒܝܢܐ** (A 183¹, B, C).¹¹⁷

P^{ilel}

1 singular + 2 singular masculine

ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐ ‘I will rise you’ Cyril, XIV.4 (cit. Ps 29:1); (Lewis Lectionary 77; late MS); **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ** Ps 29:1 (Horologion 209).¹¹⁸

S^{af}el

3 singular masculine + 2 plural masculine

ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ ‘he will entice you’ unknown homily (Tiflis, National Museum ? < olim Oslo, Schøyen-Collection, MS 35, fol. 36va1 = Duensing 1906:77).

Imperative with Object Suffixes on Strong Verbs

Also in the Imperative the object suffix is affixed without an *n*-infix.

Pe^{al}

2 singular masculine + 3 singular feminine

ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ ‘pluck it out’ Mt 18:9 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 9v);¹¹⁹ Mt 5:29 (B); **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ** (A 37⁴);¹²⁰ **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ** ‘cut if off’ Mt 5:30 (A 38¹); **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ** (C); **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ** (B).¹²¹

¹¹⁵ P **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ**.

¹¹⁶ S **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ**; PH **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ**.

¹¹⁷ SCPH **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ**.

¹¹⁸ P **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ**.

¹¹⁹ SP **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ**; H **ܩܩܨܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐܝܢܐ**.

2 singular masculine + 3 plural masculine

ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ ‘give them’ Mt 19:21 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 78r),¹²² but ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ (B); only ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ (A, C).¹²³

Pa“el

2 plural masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ ‘take him out’ Num 5:3 (Sin. gr. NF M167, fol. ?).¹²⁴

2 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ ‘admonish him’ Mt 18:15 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 10v; CSRPe = CCPA IIA 57; A 36², C); ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ sic (B).¹²⁵

2 singular masculine + 1 plural

ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ ‘protect us’.¹²⁶

Verbs IIIy with Object Suffixes

Perfekt

Pa“el

3 singular masculine + 1 plural

ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ ‘(the shadow of death) covered us’ Ps 43:19 (BL, Add 14.664; late MS).

1 singular + 3 singular masculine

ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ ‘I compared him’ unknown homily (Tiflis, National Museum ? < olim Oslo, Schøyen-Collection, MS 35, fol. 36va17 = Duensing 1906:77).

3 plural masculine + 1 singular

ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ ‘they afflicted me’ Ps 16:9 (Horologion 199).¹²⁷

¹²⁰ SP ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ; H ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ.

¹²¹ H ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢ .

¹²² Syr *nil.*

¹²³ SCPH ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ = CPA ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ A 50³, C, but ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ B.

¹²⁴ P ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ .

¹²⁵ SCPH ܘܥܩܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ.

¹²⁶ This form cited by Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, p. 87, cannot be traced.

¹²⁷ Is the only example with *-t* for suffixing an object suffix in CPA, is coming from a late MS (11th century), and therefore, is not an established construction in CPA as specified by Ivri J. Bunis, “The Late Western Aramaic Suffixing of Pronominal Direct Object via *-t* < /yāt/”, in Aaron D. Hornkohl *et al.* (eds.),

Af'el

ܡܘܬܘܪ 'he brought him' Mk 9:20 (A 86¹),¹²⁸ but ܡܘܬܘܪ ܐܠܦܘܪ (C); ܡܘܬܘܪ ܐܠܦܘܪ B); ܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܡܘܬܘܪ (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 71v/70r).¹²⁹

Imperfekt

Pe'al

3 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܬܘܪ 'he will shepherd him' Mt 2:6 (A 168³); ܡܘܬܘܪܐ (C); -ܐ ܡܘܬܘܪܐ (B).¹³⁰

3 singular masculine + 2 singular masculine

ܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܬܘܪ 'he will call you' Num 22:37 (Lewis-Gibson Collection = CCPA I 60).¹³¹

1 singular + 3 singular masculine

ܡܘܬܘܪܐ 'I will drink him' Mt 26:29 (Sin. syr. NF M11N, fol. 65v); ܡܘܬܘܪܐ (A 114²); ܡܘܬܘܪܐ (B, C), but ܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܬܘܪ Mk 14:25 (Sin. syr. NF M56N, fol. 18v).¹³²

1 singular + 2 plural masculine

ܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܬܘܪܐ 'I will see you' 1 Cor 16:7 (CCR2B = Sin. syr. NF M38N, fol. 2r).¹³³

Af'el

3 singular masculine + 3 singular masculine

ܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܬܘܪܐ 'he will save him' Hebr 5:7 (Damascus 82 = CCPA IIB 198).¹³⁴

Interconnected Traditions Semitic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures—A Festschrift for Geoffrey Khan. Volume 1: *Hebrew and the Wider Semitic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2025), pp. 843-878, esp. 849. P. 869: the clearly legible imperative plural imperative third plural masculine and single example with the long ending *-um* in ܡܘܬܘܪܐ from Sin. syr. 3b in an unknown homily is from the Middle Period and is dated far too late on the website (<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu>) into the 11th century, which does not fit the scribal styles from the dated manuscripts.

¹²⁸ PH ܡܘܬܘܪܐ; S ܡܘܬܘܪܐ.

¹²⁹ In the same verse, however, ܡܘܬܘܪܐ .

¹³⁰ P ܡܘܬܘܪܐ .

¹³¹ P ܡܘܬܘܪܐ .

¹³² SPH ܡܘܬܘܪܐܐ.

¹³³ P ܡܘܬܘܪܐ.

¹³⁴ P ܡܘܬܘܪܐܐ .

1 singular + 2 plural masculine

ܩܘܪܒܘܢܗ 'he will deceive you' Is 36:18 (T-S 12.742r = CCPA I 140).¹³⁵

Abbreviations

- A = Paul de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae syriacae. Evangeliarum Hierosolymitanum. Bibliothecae syriacae* (Göttingen: L. Horstmann, 1892), pp. 257-402.
- Add 14.446 = Jan Pieter Nicolas Land, *Anectoda Syriaca* IV (Leiden: Brill, 1875), pp. 111-134.
- Add 14.450 = Jan Pieter Nicolas Land, *Anectoda Syriaca* IV (Leiden: Brill, 1875), pp. 134-137.
- Add 14.664 = Jan Pieter Nicolas Land, *Anectoda Syriaca* IV (Leiden: Brill, 1875), pp. 103-113.
- B = Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1899).
- C = ditto
- CCPA I = Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic Old Testament and Apocrypha Version from the Early Period* «A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic» I (Groningen: STYX, 1997).
- CCPA IIA = Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament from the Early Period. Gospels* «A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic» IIA (Groningen: STYX, 1998).
- CCPA IIB = Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament from the Early Period. Acts and Epistles* «A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic» IIB (Groningen: STYX, 1998).
- Cyril = Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Catechism of Cyril of Jerusalem in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Version* «A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic» V (Groningen: STYX 1999).
- Göttingen, SUB, Syr. 18 = Hugo Duensing, “Neue christlich-palästinische-aramäische Fragmente”, «Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.» 1944/9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1944), pp. 215-227.
- Horologion = M. Black, *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion* «Texts and Studies, N.S.» 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1954).
- Lewis Lectionary = Agnes Smith Lewis with Critical Notes by Professor Eberhard Nestle D.D. and a Glossary by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary Containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles* «Studia Sinaitica» VI (London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1897).
- Tiflis, National Museum, ? < olim Oslo, Schøyen-Collection MS 35 = Hugo Duensing, *Christlich-palästinisch-aramäische Texte und Fragmente nebst einer Abhandlung über den Wert der palästinischen Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1906).

¹³⁵ P ܩܘܪܒܘܢܗ .

- S C P ܩ = Syriac New Testament versions are quoted according to George Anton Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).
- Sin. geo. NF 19 = Müller-Kessler, Christa, “The Early Jerusalem Lectionary Tradition in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (5th-7th Century AD): Lessons Containing Unattested Old and New Testament Pericopes in Unpublished Palimpsests (Sinai, Greek NF MG 32; Georgian NF 19, 71)”, *Le Muséon* 136 (2023), 201-263.
- Sin. gr. NF M167, fol. ? = Christa Müller-Kessler, “Unparalleled Variant Readings for Leviticus 26:26b-44 and Numbers 4:15b-5:6a in an Early Christian Palestinian Aramaic Palimpsest from St Catherine’s Monastery (Greek NF M 167)”, *Revue Biblique* 128 (2021), pp. 354-370.
- Sin. syr. NF M11N = unpubl.
- Sin. syr. NF M38N = Christa Müller-Kessler, “The Missing Quire of *Codex Climaci rescriptus* Containing 1-2 Corinthians in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Sin. syr. NF M38N)”, in Claudia Rapp *et al.* (eds.), *New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies* «Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 45; Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse» 547 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2023), pp. 147-170. <https://doi.org/10.1553/978OEAW91575s147>.
- Sin. syr. NF M56N = unpubl.; identifications by Alain Desreumaux (<http://sinaipalimpsests.org>)
- Sin. syr. NF M59N = unpubl.

Summary

Taking all existing examples into account it points to the fact that the object suffixes in CPA are nearly only restricted to Biblical translations. Although all the CPA Bible versions are being totally dependent on the Greek *Vorlagen* the various CPA translators made still use of them. Neither can this have been influenced or caused by the Hebrew Masoretic version, or the Western Targums, or the various Syriac translations. Behind this phenomenon one must assume a tendency to a more formal and archaic language use, which was intentionally employed in contrast to the translation of the theological texts (e.g. *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem), apocryphal (e.g. *Dormition of Mary*),¹³⁶ and the various hagiographical text witnesses (vitae and martyrdoms), where the object suffixes cannot be traced except for five exceptions, and one being even a paraphrased Bible citation. The comparative material from the Syriac Bible transmissions does not prove anything concerning any influence. One has to be bear in mind that the patristic text material as the remaining Biblical text corpus in CPA is only transmitted in a fragmentarily fashion, but the choice of texts genres and surplus material is now much better than in the time of Theodor Nöldeke having only Lectionary A with its heavy Syriac influence in certain pericopes at his disposal.¹³⁷ Later Friedrich Schulthess had to rely on the readings of the first editors.¹³⁸ In the CPA grammar from 1991 only two further corrected readings could be added.¹³⁹ In the end the result is nearly the same as in the two grammars with nearly seventy years apart. The additional text material from the New Finds in the Monastery of St Catherine from 1975 proves to the same fact. The usage of object suffixes has to be taken as a syntactical feature predominant in the Bible text witnesses.

Abstract: The question of when and why object pronominal suffixes were employed in Christian Palestinian Aramaic in the various text translations from Greek cannot be easily solved. The text material despite the New Finds from the Monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai remains fragmentary. The study tries to put together the examples which can be gleaned from the different text genres to reach an understanding of their distribution and usage.

Resumen: La cuestión de cuándo y por qué se emplearon los sufijos pronominales en arameo cristiano palestinese en las diversas traducciones de textos del griego no puede ser fácilmente resuelto. El material textual, a pesar de los nuevos hallazgos del Monasterio de Santa Catalina en el monte Sinaí, sigue siendo fragmentario. El estudio intenta reunir los ejemplos que pueden extraerse de los distintos géneros textuales para lograr una comprensión de su distribución y uso.

¹³⁶ Noteworthy is that also the early Syriac transmission of the witnesses of the *Dormition of Mary* do not hold much in the way of object suffixes.

¹³⁷ Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte. II.", pp. 505-506.

¹³⁸ Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, pp. 78-80.

¹³⁹ Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, pp. 259-262.

Keywords: Object pronominal suffixes; Christian Palestinian Aramaic; Monastery of St Catherine; Mount Sinai; Palestinian Manuscripts. **Palabras clave:** Sufijos pronominales; Arameo cristiano palestinese; Monasterio de Santa Catalina; Monte Sinaí; Manuscritos palestineses.