



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The development of the Biblical Hebrew vowels

Suchard, B.D.

Citation

Suchard, B. D. (2016, September 21). *The development of the Biblical Hebrew vowels*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/43120>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License:

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/43120>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/43120> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Suchard, Benjamin

Title: The development of the Biblical Hebrew vowels

Issue Date: 2016-09-21

The development of the Biblical Hebrew vowels

P R O E F S C H R I F T

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens het besluit van College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 21 september 2016
klokke 16:15 uur

door

Benjamin Derek Suchard

geboren te Toronto
in 1988

Promotores: Prof. dr. H. Gzella
Prof. dr. A.M. Lubotsky

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. W.J. van Bekkum (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)
Prof. dr. R.H. Bremmer
Prof. dr. R. D'Alessandro
Dr. C. Stadel (Ben-Gurion Universiteit van de Negev)
Dr. M.F.J. Baasten
Dr. H. Neudecker

דְּבָקָה לְעַפְרַיִם נִפְשִׁי
חַיִּי בְּדִבְרֶךְ:
דְּרָכֵי סִפְרֹתַי וְחַעֲנִי
לְמַדְנִי חֻקֶּיךָ:

For my parents.

Contents

Acknowledgements vii

- 1 Introduction 1
 - 1.1 Exceptionless sound laws 3
 - 1.2 Biblical Hebrew 15
 - 1.3 Proto-Northwest-Semitic 19
 - 1.4 Some previous approaches to the question 22
 - 1.5 Assumptions and methodology 26
 - 1.6 Outline and conventions 28
- 2 Proto-Northwest-Semitic and Biblical Hebrew 35
 - 2.1 Phonology 35
 - 2.2 Morphology 48
- 3 The Canaanite Shift 65
 - 3.1 Introduction 65
 - 3.2 Previous suggestions 66
 - 3.3 Data 69
 - 3.4 Analysis 94
 - 3.5 Conclusion 96
- 4 Stress and lengthening 99
 - 4.1 Introduction 99
 - 4.2 Stress 100
 - 4.3 Tonic lengthening 113
 - 4.4 Pretonic lengthening 124
 - 4.5 Pausal lengthening 131
 - 4.6 Summary 136

Contents

5	Diphthongs and triphthongs	139
5.1	Introduction	139
5.2	Diphthongs	140
5.3	Triphthongs	149
5.4	Summary	156
6	Philippi's Law	159
6.1	Introduction	159
6.2	Previous suggestions	160
6.3	Remaining issues	176
6.4	Conclusion	187
7	The Law of Attenuation	189
7.1	Introduction	189
7.2	Previous suggestions	189
7.3	Remaining issues	200
7.4	Conclusion	210
8	Word-final vowels	213
8.1	Introduction	213
8.2	Previous suggestions	214
8.3	Word-final vowels on pronouns and verbs	222
8.4	Conclusion	243
9	Concise historical morphology	247
9.1	Pronouns	247
9.2	Nouns and adjectives	248
9.3	Numerals	258
9.4	Verbs	260
10	General conclusion	273
10.1	Combined relative chronology	275
	Bibliography	285
	Samenvatting	301
	Curriculum Vitae	305

Acknowledgements

In this section, the University's doctorate regulations permit me to acknowledge those involved in the genesis of this dissertation "[w]ith the [customary] restraint". Although I am uncustomarily indebted to the people mentioned below, I must therefore ask them to accept my restrained thanks.

First of all, I thank my supervisors, Prof. Holger Gzella and Prof. Alexander Lubotsky, for their constant encouragement and justified criticism. I am grateful for all they taught me in my first five years at Leiden, and working under their supervision for the past four has been a pleasure.

The most time discussing my research was probably spent with my paranymphs, my officemate Paul Noorlander and my dear Hilde Gunnink. I thank them for supporting me during the whole process and for proofreading parts of the manuscript. The same gratitude for proofreading and debating some of my work goes out to Dr. Ahmad Al-Jallad and Dr. Marijn van Putten, and I also thank them for the many hours spent on study- and stoempad-related topics, together with the rest of the LeiGenSAA crew: Fokelien Kootstra, Jouni Harjumäki, Chiara della Puppa, and Phillip Stokes. I also thank all my friends and colleagues at LUCL, especially Peter Alexander Kerkhof, as well as the Management Team and secretarial staff.

Among my former teachers, I especially thank Dr. Martin Baasten, primarily for teaching me Hebrew and subsequently letting me teach Hebrew, and Dr. Maarten Kossmann, for giving me just the right advice at every crucial point in my studies. I also thank Thijs Amersfoort, Annelore Vromans, Johan Lundberg, and Eelco Glas, the first students to be exposed to this work.

Beyond Leiden, I must first express my sincere gratitude to my parents, Derek Suchard and Liesbeth Suchard-de Vries, for their unflagging interest in my studies and pride in my accomplishments. I gladly dedicate this work to them. I am also thankful for all the friends who shared my enthusiasm for what was, for most of them, a very outlandish topic. Special mentions go to Rob Verhoeven, who saved me so much time compiling the database; Benny van Zuiden, who made me pay

Acknowledgements

attention to typography; and Jurgen de Mooij and Pim Dijkstra, who helped me adjust to working life.

Finally, I would like to thank the Dutch people, whose tax monies made this research possible. I hope the final result will be of interest to some small fraction of their number.