THE CANAANITE LANGUAGES

Aren M. Wilson-Wright

1 INTRODUCTION

The Canaanite languages include Ammonite, Amarna Canaanite, Edomite, Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician and the language of the Deir SAlla plaster text (from here on, simply Deir SAllā) (Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2015, 2016). Together with Aramaic, they form the Aramaeo-Canaanite subgroup of Northwest Semitic (Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, forthc.). As a family, the Canaanite languages are attested from roughly 1360 BCE to 400 ce with Proto-Canaanite dating no earlier than 1550 BCE (Wilson-Wright, forthc.). The Canaanite languages were originally attested in what is today Israel (Hebrew), Western Jordan (Ammonite, Deir SAllā, Edomite and Moabite) and the coast of Lebanon (Phoenician). Beginning around 1000 BCE, Phoenician seafarers, traders and colonists spread their language across the Mediterranean basin, to sites in Cyprus, North Africa and Spain. With the exception of Phoenician, speakers of Canaanite languages never wielded much political power, and their languages only ever assumed regional importance. Phoenician, by contrast, was the language of the Carthaginian Empire and continued to serve as a lingua franca in North Africa after the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE. Because Hebrew is treated separately in Chapters 21 and 22, this chapter will focus on the other six Canaanite languages with occasional references to Hebrew when necessary.

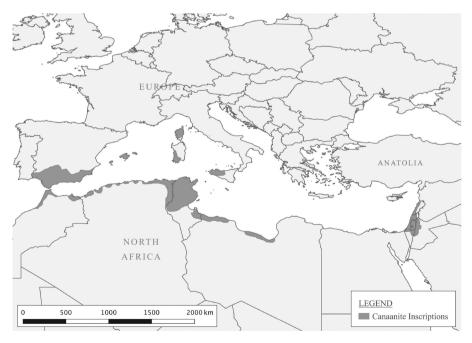
Texts in the Canaanite languages represent a variety of genres, including monumental, votive and dedicatory inscriptions as well as narratives, epitaphs, financial documents and letters. Edomite is attested in a single late 7th- or early 6th-century BCE letter. Moabite is known primarily from three 9th-century BCE monumental inscriptions and possibly a legal document and a dedicatory inscription. Texts in Ammonite span the 9th to 6th centuries BCE and include two monumental inscriptions, several financial documents, a letter and an inscribed bronze bottle. Deir SAllā is recorded in a single early 7th-century BCE narrative text, while Amarna Canaanite is known only through glosses and hybrid verbal forms employed in Akkadian letters sent to Egypt during the 14th century BCE (Izre'el 2012: 171–2). Texts in Phoenician include monumental, votive and dedicatory inscriptions, epitaphs and a passage in the Roman-era play *Poenulus* by Plautus.

Because most of the Canaanite languages are attested for only a brief period of time and in only a handful of texts, it is hard to detect diachronic and dialectal variation. The only exception to this rule is Phoenician, which is attested over a long period of time – almost 1500 years – and across the Mediterranean basin. The earliest Phoenician inscriptions (Map 20.1) stem from late 11th or early 10th century BCE Byblos and are written in the Byblian dialect, which differs in several significant ways from the Standard

Phoenician used elsewhere in the Levant. Byblian and Standard Phoenician, in turn, differ from the Phoenician used in the Mediterranean basin, which is called Punic after the Latin word for the Phoenicians. Punic used after the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE is known as Late Punic.

Despite the poor attestation of several of the Canaanite languages, the unity of the Canaanite family is well established. Six innovative features distinguish the Canaanite languages from Aramaic and the rest of Northwest Semitic more generally: (a) the shift of a: to o:, which triggered (b) the shift of the 1sG independent pronoun from 2ana:ku: to 2ano:ki: and the 1sG perfective suffix from -tu: to -ti:; (c) the generalization of -nu: as the 1PL suffix to both nominative and oblique positions; (d) the shift of the D stem perfective base from kattib to kittib and the C stem perfective base from haktib to hiktib; (e) a systematic morphosyntactic distinction between two different infinitives (the 'infinitive absolute' and the 'infinitive construct') in the G stem; and (f) a relative marker derived from the noun * $2a\theta r$ - 'place' (Huehnergard 1991a, 2006, Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2016).

Although the place of Canaanite within the Semitic family is well established, the internal subgrouping of the Canaanite languages remains murky due to two factors. First, most of the Canaanite languages are poorly attested, making it difficult to know when morphosyntactic innovations are shared among languages. In Standard Phoenician, for example, the C stem suffix conjugation takes the form *yktb*, which differs from the form *hktb* found in Amarna Canaanite, Deir SAllā, Edomite and Hebrew. At first glance, this form seems to be a good diagnostic feature of Phoenician. Yet the C stem suffix



MAP 20.1 THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CANAANITE INSCRIPTIONS

conjugation is currently unattested in Ammonite, Moabite and Byblian Phoenician, which means that this feature may not go back to Proto-Phoenician and may have been shared with Ammonite and Moabite. Second, most of the Canaanite languages are recorded in a purely consonantal script (see §2), which makes it difficult to detect morphosyntactic changes that affected only vowels.

Finally, it is important to note that Amarna Canaanite does not seem to be a direct ancestor of any of the other Canaanite languages, even though it is attested 300 or more years before these other languages. It possesses several distinctive features, such as a 3MPL verbal prefix in tV-, that mark it as a separate language.

2 WRITING SYSTEM

With the exception of Amarna Canaanite, all of the Canaanite languages are recorded in a variant of the Phoenician alphabet, a script that first emerged in the late 11th or early 10th century BCE. Over time, the Phoenician alphabet gave rise to two daughter scripts: Old Hebrew in the 9th century and Aramaic in the late 8th century BCE, which are named after the languages that they recorded (note that Northwest Semitic script typology does not replicate the subgrouping of Northwest Semitic). The Aramaic script, in turn, gave rise to the Transjordanian scripts used to write Ammonite and Edomite. Not every Canaanite language developed its own script, however: Moabite was written in the Old Hebrew script for all of its recorded history, while the Deir SAllā plaster texts were written in a variant of the Ammonite script (Rollston 2010: 19–46). Figure 20.1 contains examples of some of the alphabetic scripts used to write the Canaanite languages.

The Phoenician script and its descendants originally distinguished 22 consonantal letters but lacked a way to mark vowels. Starting around 900 BCE, however, three letters were co-opted to denote word-final long vowels in the Aramaic and Old Hebrew scripts: <h>> marked final a: and o:, <y>> marked final i:, and <w>> marked final u:. Over time, the letters <y>> and <w>> were used to mark internal long vowels as well. Unlike its daughter

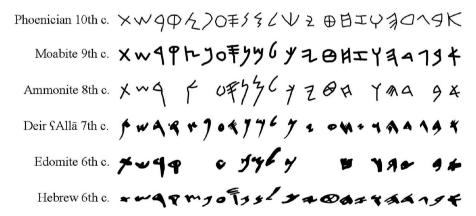


FIGURE 20.1 SOME OF THE ALPHABETIC SCRIPTS USED TO WRITE THE CANAANITE LANGUAGES

Drawing by author.

scripts, the Phoenician script remained purely consonantal until the 3rd century BCE, when <?> was sporadically used to represent any final vowel and <y> came to represent final i:. Later still in the late 2nd century BCE the letters <?>, <\$\, <\$\, <\$\, and <\$\, were co-opted to represent additional vowels after the phonemes represented by these letters were lost (Jongeling and Kerr 2005: 7–8):

<?> /o/ /e/ /u/ <h> /a/

<h>/a/

 $\langle \hat{\varsigma} \rangle /a/$



FIGURE 20.2 A 10TH-CENTURY BCE PHOENICIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTION. THE ELIBAAL INSCRIPTION (KAI 6) PICTURED HERE IS INSCRIBED ON A BUST OF PHARAOH OSORKON I, WHO RULED OVER EGYPT FROM 924 TO 889 BCE

Open source: Wikimedia.

The use of these letters as vowels gives Late Punic inscriptions a somewhat alien look, with non-etymological "consonants" appearing in the middle of words, e.g., m q m 'place' (KAI 124: 2) for earlier mqm.

The Canaanite languages are occasionally attested in other writing systems. Amarna Canaanite was written in cuneiform, and after the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE, Punic was occasionally written in Greek or Latin script due to the loss of scribal facility in the Neo-Punic script.

3 PHONOLOGY

The consonantal phonology of the Canaanite languages differs from language to language. Standard Phoenician (Table 20.1) distinguished 22 consonantal phonemes, reflecting the following mergers from the point of view of Proto-Aramaeo-Canaanite:

```
*s, *\theta, *\text{t} > s

*\dz, *\delta > dz

*\Gamma, *\gamma > G

*\text{h}, *\gamma > h

*\text{ts'}, *\theta', *\text{t'} > s'
```

Other languages, by contrast, preserve a more archaic phonemic repertoire. Greek transcriptions of Hebrew, for example, show that Hebrew maintained the distinction between *y and *f and between *x and $*\hbar$ until the 1st or 2nd century ce (Steiner 2005: 266).\frac{1}{2} Hebrew also maintained the voiceless lateral fricative *l, which is distinguished from *s > f in the orthography of the Hebrew Bible by the use of diacritics ($\psi = [f]$ and $\psi = [l]$). A Neo-Assyrian transcription of the Moabite personal name <kmš-fsh> as ka-ma-as-lal-ta suggests that Moabite also preserved *l (Knauf and Maani 1987: 93). And finally, the different outcomes of *l in Deir fAll \bar{a} compared to the rest of the Canaanite languages shows that *l was a distinct phoneme in Proto-Canaanite. In the orthography of the Deir fAll \bar{a} inscription, the ejective lateral fricative *l is represented with <q>, which suggests that *l had either merged with k or shifted to a phoneme similar enough to k (k χ ?) that it could be represented with the letter for k. In the other Canaanite languages, by contrast, *l merges with *s and $*\theta$. Based on these survivals, Proto-Canaanite can be reconstructed with 26 consonantal phonemes, which are summarized in Table 20.2.

Even though most of the Canaanite languages were written in consonantal orthography, we can glean information about the vocalic systems of the Canaanite languages using the comparative method, orthographic anomalies and transcriptions of some Canaanite

TARLE 20 1	THE CONSONANTAL	PHONEMES OF STANDARD	PHOENICIAN
I A DI II ZU. I	THE CONSUMANTAL	THUNDING OF STANDARD	FIIOPHICIAN

MANNER	BILABIAL	DENTAL	LATERAL	PALATAL	Alveolar-Palatal	VELAR	PHARYNGEAL	GLOTTAL
Stops Fricatives Affricates	p b	t d t'			f ts dz ts'	kgk'	ħς	? h
Nasals Approximants	m W	n r	l	j				

		**********	~
TARLE 20.2	THE CONSONANTAL	PHONEMES OF PROTO.	CANAANITE

MANNER	BILABIAL	DENTAL	LATERAL	PALATAL	Alveolar-Palatal	VELAR	PHARYNGEAL	GLOTTAL
Stops	p b	t d t'				kgk'		?
Fricatives			₹ ₹'	S		xy	ħſ	h
Affricates					ts dz ts'			
Nasals	m	n						
Approximants	w	r	l	j				

TABLE 20.3 THE OUTCOME OF THE DIPHTHONGS IN THE CANAANITE LANGUAGES

	Ammonite	Deir SAllā	Edomite	Moabite	PHOENICIAN
*aj	e:	aj	<i>aj</i>	$aj \sim e$:	e:
*aw	aw	aw	<i>aw</i> > <i>o</i> :	$aw \sim o$:	o:

languages in cuneiform, Greek and Latin. The Canaanite family's immediate ancestor, Proto-Aramaeo-Canaanite, possessed six vocalic phonemes -a, i, u and their long counterparts a:, i:, u: - and two diphthongs, *aj and *aw. In Proto-Canaanite, however, the phonemic opposition between long and short vowels began to disintegrate with the shift of *a: > o:. Although this type of shift is typologically common and even occurred in the history of English, Semitists refer to this change as the Canaanite shift. Amarna Canaanite seems to preserve the inherited Canaanite system of vowels. In other languages, by contrast, one or both of the diphthongs contracted. In Edomite, the contraction of aw to o: occurred in the historical period, sometime between the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, and in Moabite, the diphthongs were in the process of collapsing during the 9th century (compare <bt> [be:t] 'house' in KAI 181:7, 23 with <byt> [bajt] 'house' in KAI 181:25). Table 20.3 summarizes the outcome of the diphthongs in the Canaanite languages where attested.

Only in the case of Phoenician do we possess adequate data to detect significant diachronic changes in phonology. These data show that the already diminished Phoenician consonantal system underwent further reductions and modifications in the last centuries of the first millennium BCE. In the 2nd century BCE, Punic lost ∂ , h, \mathcal{S} and h. Around the same time the voiceless stops p, t and k underwent spirantization to f, θ and x; w shifted to v and b shifted to w; and θ was lost in the word-final position. In contrast to the upheaval in the inventory of "gutturals" and stops, the affricates \mathcal{B} , \mathcal{L} and \mathcal{B} remained stable, at least in the Late Punic spoken in North Africa. The use of the Greek letter $\langle \zeta \rangle$ to write \mathcal{L} and a ligature of T and S to write \mathcal{B} in Latin transcription suggests that these consonants retained their affricated pronunciation. This state of affairs stands in contrast to Hebrew, where the affricate \mathcal{B} shifted to s during the 7th century BCE (Wilson-Wright, forthc.).

Phoenician vowels also underwent radical changes from the perspective of Proto-Canaanite. Already in the earliest inscriptions, the diphthongs *aj and *aw contracted to e: and o: respectively, and the latter vowel merged with the o: produced by the Canaanite shift. By the Hellenistic period, the product of this merger was raised to u:: $\chi o u \sigma \omega \rho$ [ku:sor] < *kaw θar (PE 1.10.11). Around the 8th century BCE short, accented a shifted to o in originally open syllables, a sound change that Semitists refer to as the

Phoenician shift: hi-ru-um-mu [hi:rom] < *?ahi:rám (Annals of Tiglath-Pileser 27, ln. 2, Fox 1996: 38–41). Similarly, short, accented i shifted to e: in originally open syllables during the Hellenistic period (βαλσιλληχ [basl-sille:k] < *basl-sillik 'Baal has sent' [CIL VIII 16]), while unaccented i shifted to e in originally open syllables (Γεραστρατος [ger-saštart] < *gir-saštart 'client of Astarte' [Contra Apion 1, 157]). In all other positions, short i was retained. By the Hellenistic period, Phoenician distinguished the following vowels: a, e:, e, i, i:, o, u and u:.

Ultimately, these changes disrupted the inherited opposition between long and short vowels, and, eventually, vowel length ceased to be phonemic in Punic (Kerr 2010: 106). Instead, vowel length came to be conditioned by stress: stressed vowels were long (even if they were historically short), while unstressed vowels were short (even if they were historically long), and tended to reduce to schwa. These developments can be seen especially clearly in the inherited 1st person independent pronoun *?ano:ki:, which is written anech [anax] in the Poenulus. The historically short a vowel in the first syllable was accented and therefore retained, while the historically long vowels o: and i: reduced to schwa and, in the case of i:, disappeared entirely.

Syllables in the Canaanite languages could take the form CV, CVC and CV:. According to the available data, this restriction on syllable type remained historically stable in all of the Canaanite languages.

4 MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Pronouns

The Canaanite languages employed two series of personal pronouns: independent and suffixed. The independent forms were primarily used for the nominative and occasionally to topicalize suffixed forms, while the suffixed forms marked nominal possession and served as the object of finite verbs. The suffixed forms could also act as the subject of an infinitive as in the following example from Moabite:

```
b-hlthm-h b-y in-fight.refl. INF.CST-3MSG in-1SG when he was fighting me' (KAI 181:9)
```

Only the 1sg suffix pronoun distinguished between post-verbal (i.e., accusative) and post-nominal (i.e., genitive) forms. Tables 20.4, 20.5 and 20.6 summarize the personal pronouns in the Canaanite languages

Most of the suffixed pronouns remained relatively stable across languages. The 3sg suffix pronouns, however, underwent several ad hoc changes in different languages and dialects. Interestingly, these changes often presume different phonetic environments, reflecting different relics of the Northwest Semitic case system. The Byblian 3MsG forms <-w> and <-ø> reflect syncope of original -hu: before the a vowel of the accusative (-ahu: > -au: > -aw> -o:) as do Standard Phoenician <-ø>, Punic <-?> and Late Punic [-o:]. The 3FsG forms <-ø>, <-?> and [-a:] probably derive from a similar sound change. Standard Phoenician 3MsG and 3FsG <-y> reflects palatalization of h following the i vowel of the genitive: -ihu: > -iju: and -iha: > -ija: (Huehnergard 1991b: 187). And the Late Punic 3MsG suffix <-m> has been explained in several ways. Huehnergard (1991b: 189–90) sees it as a rendering of [-iw], which would have been phonologically similar to [-im]

TABLE 20.4 THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN THE CANAANITE LANGUAGES

	Byblian Phoenician	Standard Phoenician	LATE PUNIC	Moabite	Deir \$Allā	Edomite	Amarna Canaanite
1sg	2nk	2nk	[anəx]	2nk			[ʔano:ki:]
2 _{MSG}		?t				?t	
2fsg		?t					
3 _{MSG}	h?, h?t	h?	[u]	h?	h?		
3 _{FSG}	h?	h?					
1 _{PL}		2nḥn					
2MPL							
2 _{FPL}							
3мрг		hmt		hm			
3 _{FPL}		hmt					

TABLE 20.5 THE SUFFIXED PRONOUNS IN PHOENICIAN

		Byblian Phoenician	Standard Phoenician	PUNIC	LATE PUNIC
1sg	/C_		-ø, -y	-	
	/V_		<i>-y</i>		
	on verbs		-n		
2 _{MSG}			-k		
2 _{FSG}			-k		
3 _{MSG}	/C_	-h, -w	- Ø	-2	[-o:], [-m]
	/V		<i>-y</i>		
	/aj_	-w	<i>-y</i>		
3 _{FSG}	/aj_ /C_	-h	- Ø	-2	[-a:]
	/V_		-y	-y	
	/aj_		-y		
1 _{PL}			-n		[-o:n]
2 _{MPL}					[-?om]
2 _{FPL}					
3мрг	/C_	-hm	-m	-m	[-no:m]
	/V_ /C_ /V_		-nm	-nm	
3fpl	/C_		-m		
	/V		-nm		

TABLE 20.6 THE SUFFIXED PRONOUNS IN THE REST OF THE CANAANITE LANGUAGES

		Amarna Canaanite	Ammonite	Deir SAllā	Edomite	Moabite
1sg	on nouns on verbs	[-ya]				-y -ny
2мsg 2fsg	on veros		-k	-k	-k	ny
3msg		[-hu:]	-h	-ky -h		-h
	on MPL nouns			-wh		-h
3fsg		[-hi:]				-h
1 PL		[-nu:]				
2mpl 2fpl				-km		-km
3mpl 3fpl		[-mu:]		-hm, -m		

in Late Punic and would reflect h syncope before the genitive: -ihu: > -iu: > -iw. Kerr (2010: 141), by contrast, relates it to the obscure 3sg pronoun -mo: occasionally found in Hebrew (e.g., Genesis 9:26, Deuteronomy 33:2).

The 3MsG suffix also exhibits several idiosyncrasies when attached to masculine plural nouns. In Deir SAllā, the masculine plural bound morpheme -aj undergoes partial assimilation to the vowel of the 3MsG suffix, leading to -awhu:, written <-wh>. In Standard Phoenician, by contrast, the h of the 3sG suffixes assimilates to the e: of the construct morpheme: -e:hu: > -e:ju: and -e:ha: > -e:ja:. Byblian <-w> probably reflects partial assimilation of the bound morpheme to the vowel of the suffix, followed by syncope of the h: -ajhu: > -awhu: > -awhu:

The Phoenician 3M pronouns exhibit several other quirks. The Byblian 3MsG independent pronoun h2t and the Standard Phoenician 3MPL and 3FPL independent pronouns hmt reflect oblique forms of the 3M independent pronouns inherited from Proto-Semitic. The origin of the distinctive Standard Phoenician, Punic and Late Punic 3MPL suffix pronoun -no:m is debated. Huehnergard (1991b: 191–4) derives the unexpected nasal element of this suffix from the old 3MPL indicative prefix ending -u:na::*yaktubu:na-hum>*yaktubu:nawm> yaktubu:no:m, which was then reanalyzed as yaktubu:-no:m by comparison with the usual 3MPL prefix form yaktubu: Kerr (2010: 143), on the other hand, derives -no:m from -Vn-humu, where -Vn- is the nasal infix occasionally used with prepositions.

In Phoenician, the 1sG and 3PL suffixed pronouns have two allomorphs whose usage is conditioned by phonetic environment. The forms <-ø> and <-m> appear after a consonant, while the forms <-y> and <-nm> appear after a vowel. This distinction demonstrates that a reduced case system was still operative in Phoenician: nouns in the genitive take the prevocalic forms, while nouns in the nominative and accusative bear the preconsonantal forms, which indicates that genitive nouns in Phoenician still ended with an -i.

The Late Punic 2MPL possessive suffix takes the form [-?om] following the spirantization of the velar stop and the loss of the voiceless velar fricative, e.g., *-kumu > *-xum > [-?om].

4.2 Demonstratives

The Canaanite languages possessed two series of demonstrative pronouns, proximal and distal. The proximal series followed a suppletive paradigm, employing a z base in the singular and an \mathcal{H} base in the plural, and only distinguished gender in the singular. In Late Punic, the feminine singular proximal demonstratives underwent devoicing, most likely due to the presence of the final -t. This devoicing then spread to the masculine forms. For the most part, the distal pronouns are identical to the 3rd person independent pronouns. Table 20.7 summarizes the various proximal demonstratives attested in Phoenician, the

TABLE 20.7	THE	PROXIMAL	DEMONSTRATIVES	IN	THE	VARIOUS	DIALECTS	OF
	PHOI	ENICIAN						

Byblian Phoenician		Standard Phoenician	PUNIC	LATE PUNIC	
MSG	zn, z	z	z, s, st	[sə]	
FSG	z?t, z?	z	zt, st	[səθ]	
PL	21	21	212	[illə]	

only Canaanite language other than Hebrew to preserve the full paradigm. Outside of Phoenician, Moabite attests to the FSG proximal demonstrative *z*?*t* (*KAI* 181:3).

4.3 Interrogatives

In contrast to the rest of the pronominal system, the interrogative pronouns were marked for animacy (animate vs. inanimate) rather than person-gender-number. The animate interrogative appears in Punic as mi [mi:] 'who?' (Poen. 1010) and in Amarna Canaanite as mi-ya [mija] 'who?' (EA 85:63; 94:12; 116:67). Amarna Canaanite also possessed an oblique form of the animate interrogative in [mijati:] (EA 220:11). The final -ati: on this form is most likely the oblique morpheme -t found on the Byblian 3MsG independent pronoun h2t and the Standard Phoenician 3MpL independent pronoun hmt. The inanimate interrogative *mah 'what?' appears in Deir SAllā (I, 5), Hebrew (Genesis 2:9 inter alia) and Punic (Poen. 1010) and came to be employed as a relative particle in Late Punic. Deir SAllā also possessed a compound interrogative t-m 'why' (literally 'for what?'). In Standard Phoenician, both interrogatives could serve as indefinite pronouns, e.g., w-my y5ht h-sprz 'and whoever destroys this inscription' (EAI 24:14), EAI0 whatever I did' (EAI 24:4).

4.4 Relative

Although both Byblian Phoenician, Late Punic and Archaic Hebrew preserve vestiges of the inherited Northwest Semitic relative pronoun *zV;, all of the Canaanite languages use a grammaticalized form of the noun $*2a\theta r$ 'place' as a relative particle (Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2016: 44–7). This particle grammaticalized differently in the various languages. In some, it retained its full morphological form; in others, it reduced to 25 or even to a clitic 5 with gemination in the following consonant (Huehnergard 2006: 124–5). In addition to forms derived from $2a\theta a$ and 2v; Late Punic also possessed a third relative marker, 2v, derived from the inanimate interrogative pronoun 2v what? Table 20.8 summarizes the different forms of the relative marker in the Canaanite languages.

4.5 Nouns and adjectives

Nouns and adjectives in the Canaanite languages were declined for gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular, plural and rarely dual), state (bound or nonbound)

TABLE 20.8	THE	VARIOUS	FORMS	OF T	THE 1	RELATIVE	MARKER	IN	THE	CANAANI	TE
	LANG	GUAGES									

	Ammonite	Deir SAllā	Edomite	MOABITE	BYBLIAN	Standard Phoenician	LATE PUNIC
*?aθar	?š, š	2š	?šr	?šr		2š	[e]]
*zV:					z		[zə]
*mah							[mu]

and in some instances, case (nominative or oblique). As in Semitic in general, nouns in the Canaanite languages could be bound (i.e., dependent on a following nominal, verbal clause or prepositional phrase) or nonbound (i.e., independent). Bound and nonbound nouns took the same form in the singular in the Canaanite languages, but the plural employed different morphemes to distinguish bound and nonbound forms. Some Canaanite languages preserved vestiges of the Northwest Semitic case system, which distinguished nominative, genitive and accusative cases in the singular and nominative and oblique cases in the plural. Phoenician preserved a distinction between the nominative and oblique case in the singular before the 1sG and 3rd person suffixes, while Amarna Canaanite preserved a general distinction between the nominative and oblique cases in the plural: *mar-ia-nu-ma* [maryanu:ma] 'chariot warriors (NOM)' (*EA* 107:43) and *li-mi-ma* [li?mi:ma] 'peoples (OBL)' (*EA* 205:6). Table 20.9 summarizes the nominal declensions of the various Canaanite languages.

With the exception of Amarna Canaanite and Deir SAllā, all of the Canaanite languages feature a prefixed definite article derived from the presentative particle *han: Ammonite h-krm 'the vineyard' (KAI 308:4); Edomite h-?kl 'the food' (Horvat Uza ln. 3); Moabite h-?rş 'the land' (KAI 181:29); Phoenician h-btm 'the houses' (KAI 4:2). In most cases, the n of the definite article assimilated to the following consonant. The resulting doubling usually remains undetectable in the purely consonantal orthography of the Canaanite languages, but several unusual Punic spellings confirm its presence, e.g., \$m-mqm [am-maqu:m] 'the place' (KAI 173:5), as does the vocalization of the Hebrew Bible, [ham-mɔjim] 'the water' (Genesis 1:2).

4.6 Numerals

Apart from Hebrew, Phoenician preserves the best evidence for the numerals, which were arranged in a decimal system. The units were nouns and declined for gender, with feminine forms invariably taking a final -t (Table 20.10). The tens were formed by adding the plural morpheme to the corresponding unit, with the exception of 'twenty', which was the plural of 'ten'. Separate words for 'hundred' (*m*?t) and 'thousand' (?lp) are also attested. Composed numbers took the form hundreds and tens and ones, e.g., *m*?t *w*-šlšm *w*-šlš '133' (*KAI* 130:2). In Late Punic, the units could take a pronominal suffix to refer to groups, e.g., ?rbtnm 'the four of them' (*IPT* 79:5). The existence of this construction

	Amarna Canaanite	Ammonite	Deir SAllā	EDOMITE	Moabite	Standard Phoenician	LATE PUNIC
MSG	[-ø]	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	[-ø]
MPL NBND	[-u:ma] [-i:ma]	-m	-n		-n	-m	[-i:m]
MPL BND		-Ø	- y		-ø, -y	-Ø	[-e:]
FSG		-t	-h		-t	-t	
FPL		-t	-t		-t	-t	[-u:θ]
DU					-n		[-e:m]

TABLE 20.9 THE NOMINAL DECLENSIONS OF THE CANAANITE LANGUAGES

	Masculine	FEMININE
1	?ḥd	?ḥt
2	<i>šnm</i> (NBND)	
	<i>šn</i> (BND)	
3	šlš	šlšt
4	2rb	?rb\$t
5	ḥmš	<u></u> ḥmšt
6	ŠŠ	ššt
7	šbS	šbΩt
8	šmnh /šmn	
9	tšS	
10	ζsr^2	<i>Sšrt</i>

TABLE 20.10 THE UNITS IN PHOENICIAN

suggests that numerals stood in construct with the noun that they modified. Ordinal numbers were formed in Phoenician with the addition of a final -*y* (e.g., ?rb?y 'fourth' in KAI 76B:1), which can probably be vocalized [-i:j] on the basis of Hebrew.

Outside of Phoenician the evidence for the number system is slim: 'one' (hd) appears once in Deir SAllā (II, 10), 'seven' (ši-bi or ši-bi-i/e) occurs several times in Amarna Canaanite (EA 196:4, 211:4, 215:6), and the numbers '30' (šlšn), '40' (2rbsn), '100' (m2t), '200' (m2tn) and '7,000' (šbst 2lpn) show up once each in Moabite (KAI 181:2, 8, 16, 20, 29); the texts in Ammonite and Edomite do not contain any numerals.

4.7 Verbs

Verbal morphology in the Canaanite languages, as in the Semitic languages in general, was particularly rich. Verbal roots occurred in two finite conjugations – prefix and suffix – and a variety of stems, which altered the semantics of the underlying root. Each stem also possessed its own infinitive, participle and imperative forms. In Proto-Canaanite at least, the basic stem distinguished between two morphologically and syntactically distinct infinitives.

The Canaanite languages inherited a complex TAM system from Central Semitic that distinguished between three prefix conjugations: an imperfective *yaktubu ~ yaktubu:na* form, a preterite/jussive *yaktub ~ yaktubu:* form, and a cohortative *yaktuba ~ yaktubu:* form. Any of the three prefix conjugations could be marked additionally with the suffix -(n)na (the so-called energic suffix), whose function is still poorly understood. Amarna Canaanite still retains this system largely intact, which is summarized using a G stem verb in Table 20.11. In the remaining languages, however, the morphological distinction between the three forms collapsed due to the loss of final short vowels: *yaktub, *yaktubu, *yaktuba > yaktub. The loss of distinctiveness in the singular, in turn, led to leveling in the plural form: Standard Phoenician and Deir SAllā leveled the jussive form, while Ammonite probably leveled the imperfective form. Despite this loss of morphological distinctiveness, the later Canaanite languages still preserved a regular semantic distinction between the imperfective and jussive forms. The prefixed preterite form, however, was restricted to certain syntactic environments, with the suffix conjugation being

	Indicative/Imperfect	Jussive/Preterite	Cohortative
1sg	2VktVbu	2VktVb	?VktVba
2 _{MSG}	tVktVbu	tVktVb	
2FSG			
3мѕс	yVktVbu	yVktVb	
3fsg	tVktVbu	tVktVb	
1 _{PL}	nVktVbu	nVktVb	nVktVba
2мрг	tVktVbu:na		
2 _{FPL}			
3мL	tVktVbu:na	tVktVbu:	
3fpl			
3мри		tVktVba:	

TABLE 20.11 THE THREE PREFIX CONJUGATIONS OF AMARNA CANAANITE

TABLE 20.12 THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION IN AMARNA CANAANITE, STANDARD PHOENICIAN AND LATE PUNIC

	Amarna Canaanite	Standard Phoenician	LATE PUNIC
1sg	[katabti:]	ktbt	[katabθi]
2 _{MSG}	[katabta(:)]	ktbt	
2FSG		ktbt	
3мѕс	[kataba]	ktb	[katob]
3fsg	[katabat]	ktbt	[kataba]
1 _{PL}	[katabnu:]	ktbn	
2мрг	[kataltunu]		
2fpl	-		
3мрь	[katabu:]	ktb	[katabu]
3fpl			
3мри	[kataba:]		

the preferred means of expressing the past tense. Hebrew, Moabite and Deir SAlla preserve the preterite form as a narrative tense to describe consecutive actions. Interestingly, Amarna Canaanite differs from Phoenician, Hebrew, Moabite and Ammonite in using *tV*- as the 3MPL prefix. The 3MPL prefix form is unattested in Edomite.

The suffix conjugation is far simpler than its prefix counterpart. Historically, it derives from the Proto-Semitic stative, a verbal adjective marked with enclitic pronouns, which developed into a perfective conjugation in West Semitic (see Chapter 3, §3.5.4). In the Canaanite languages, it acts as perfective form and, with certain roots, can have a stative meaning. Table 20.12 summarizes the forms of the G stem suffix conjugation in Amarna Canaanite, Standard Phoenician and Late Punic, the three languages where it is best attested.

In addition to the conjugation system, the Canaanite languages distinguished at least four verbal stems (G, D, C, N), which rang morphological and semantic changes on the

verbal root. The Ground stem (G), whose finite forms are summarized above, was the basic form of the verb. The Doubled stem (D) was marked by doubling of the middle radical of the verbal root in all derived forms ($kittib \sim yukattib$). The semantic effect of this stem is hard to quantify. In general, it tends to raise the valence of the verbal root by one and, therefore, is often referred to as a factitive stem. It is also used to form denominal verbs. The Causative stem (C) is marked by a prefixed hV-, which elided in the prefix conjugation ($hiktib \sim yaktib$). In Standard Phoenician, this prefix palatalizes to yi-, making it difficult to distinguish between suffix yiktib and prefix yaktib in purely consonantal orthography. True to its name, the C stem imparts a causative meaning to the verbal root. The N stem is marked by a prefixed nV-, which regularly assimilated to the following consonant, including the first root consonant of the prefix conjugation ($naktab \sim yakkatib$). It has a medio-passive or reflexive meaning.

Some stems possessed corresponding passive and reflexive forms. The passive forms of the various stems were marked by a change in vowel melody. G active *kataba~yVktVb*, for example, becomes *katiba~yuktab* in the passive, e.g., Amarna Canaanite *la-qi-hu* [lak'iħu:] 'they (M) were taken' (EA 287:56); yu-pa-šu [yupaʃu] 'it is done' (EA 114:42). The reflexive forms, on the other hand, were marked by a prefixed or infixed t in both the prefix and suffix conjugations, e.g., Moabite w-ʔlthm 'and I battled' (KAI 181:11). As usual, the purely consonantal orthography employed to write most of the Canaanite languages makes it difficult to detect most of the stems and their passive and reflexive variants. Only the suffix conjugation of the C and N stems and the reflexive variants of the four stems can be easily recognized. The following examples illustrate the distinctive morphology of these forms:

Deir $All\bar{a}$ hqrqt C 'it causes to flee' (I, 16)

nṣbw N 'they stood' (I, 6)

ytmlk tD 'he will take council' (II, 9)

Amarna Canaanite *hi-ih-bi-e* [hixbi?] C 'he hid' (*EA* 256:7)

na-aq-ṣa-pu [nak's'apu:] N 'they were angry' (EA 82:51)

Edomite *hbrktk* C 'I blessed you' (Ḥorvat 'Uza ln. 2)

Moabite $h \tilde{s} S n v C$ 'he saved me' (KAI 181:4)

w-2lthm Gt 'and I fought' (KAI 181:11)

Phoenician yqdš D 'he sanctified' (KAI 42:4)

npsl N 'it was done' (RES 1204:1) thtpk Gt 'let it be overturned' (KAI 1:2)

The Canaanite languages distinguish morphosyntactically between two different infinitive forms, at least in the G stem: the infinitive absolute and the infinitive construct; this distinction is one of the innovative features of the Canaanite branch of Aramaeo-Canaanite (Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2016: 47–52). When paired with the appropriate independent pronoun, the infinitive absolute can take the place of a finite verb as in the following Phoenician example:

w-qr? 2nk and-call.inf.ABSL 1sG 'and I called' (KAI 10:2) It can also serve as an argument of a finite verb from the same root as in the following example from Moabite:

```
w-yšr?l ?bd y?bd
and-Israel perish.INF.ABSL perish.IPFV.3MSG
'and Israel will surely perish' (KAI 181:7)
```

The infinitive construct, by contrast, is used as the object of prepositions and with pronominal suffixes:

```
b-hlthm-h b-y in-fight.refl.inf.cst-3msg in-1sg when he was fighting me' (KAI 181:19)
```

The infinitive absolute and the infinitive construct also differ in their morphology. The infinitive absolute reflects a Proto-Semitic *kata:b (Proto-Canaanite *kato:b) pattern, while the infinitive construct reflects a variety of patterns. Strong roots favor a *kutub pattern, while I—y roots and the verb ntn 'to give' usually occur in a *tib-t pattern. III—y roots tend to take a *kita:t pattern.

Each stem had a corresponding participle, which declined for number and gender like a noun. The active G stem participle in Canaanite took the form ko:tib as in Amarna Canaanite $s\acute{u}$ -ki-ni [so:kin-] 'commissioner' (EA 256:9) and Late Punic dvber [duber] < *do:bir 'speaking' (Poen. 944). The G passive participle had the form katu:b, e.g., ha-mu-du [hamu:du] 'desired' (EA 138:126). Vocalized examples of the D and C stem participles are not attested, but they can be distinguished in consonantal orthography by the presence of a prefixed m-, e.g., Ammonite mCrb 'the one who causes to enter (C)' (KAI 307:3). N stem participles are marked by an n- prefix as in Phoenician nStCm 'those who are feared' (KAI 26A II:4).

Each stem also had a corresponding imperative, which expressed 2nd person commands. Vocalized examples of the imperative are rare outside of Biblical Hebrew, but they suggest that the imperative took the form *qutul* or *qital* for strong verbs (Bjøru, forthc.), e.g., nu-pu-ul [nupul] 'fall!' (EA 252:25) and [ləbaʃ] 'put on!' (1 Kings 22:30). Some middle weak roots reflect a *qitil* pattern in the imperative, e.g., [li:m] < *liyim (Genesis 31:37). Negative imperatives were formed by using the non-indicative negative particle \mathcal{H} in conjunction with the corresponding jussive prefix conjugation as in the following example from Deir Ω

```
2l t-hgy
NEG 2FSG-remove.JUSS
'do not remove (it)!' (I, 7)
```

Commands in the 3rd and 1st person were expressed using the jussive and cohortative prefix conjugations respectively, e.g., Deir SAllā *thby* 'let her place' (I, 7) and Biblical Hebrew [?eʃmo:ro] 'I shall guard' (Psalms 59:10).

4.8 Prepositions and conjunctions

Three short proclitic prepositions, *b*- 'in, among', *l*- 'to, for', and *k*- 'like, as', did most of the heavy lifting in the Canaanite languages. Nevertheless, all of the Canaanite languages

possess longer, free-standing prepositions, many of which derive from bound nouns. The most conspicuous example is bo:d 'through', which is attested in Phoenician and Amarna Canaanite and represents a contraction of *bi-yadi 'in the hand of'. Other examples include SI 'upon' (Ammonite, Edomite, Deir SAllā, Phoenician), tht 'under' (Amarna Canaanite, Deir SAllā), mn 'from' (Ammonite, Deir SAllā, Phoenician), tht 'under' (Amarna Canaanite, Deir SAllā), tht 'before' (Phoenician) and tht 'with' (Edomite). In addition to prepositions, Amarna Canaanite and Phoenician possessed post-positive locative markers in either tht or *-tht > tht 'under' (tht 145:14).

The prepositions were subject to several ad hoc phonological changes, due no doubt to their frequent usage. In languages with a definite article, the h of the definite article underwent syncope after the three short, proclitic prepositions b-, l- and k-, e.g., *li-hap-path > lap-petah 'at the door' (Genesis 4:7). In Phoenician, prepositions could be extended through the addition of a prefixed l (e.g., l for l or a suffixed l or l (e.g., l for l or l or l or l the preposition l or l the preposition l as a freestanding preposition; the l of the proclitic variant usually assimilated to the first consonant of its nominal dependent, e.g., Ammonite l or l (Heshbon 1:4).

The Canaanite languages inherited an object marker, *?aya:t, from Aramaeo-Canaanite, which in some languages came to mark the definite direct object of a verb (Wilson-Wright 2016: 7–15). This particle is attested in Edomite and Moabite as ?t and in Standard Phoenician Punic as ?yt and ?t. The shorter form reflects vowel contraction and is transcribed as oθ in a Phoenician inscription in Greek script from Wasta Syria, reflecting perhaps ?o:t < *?ayo:t < *?aya:t. In Late Punic, the object marker reduced to [ət] (written <yth> in Poen. 930, 932, 935, 936, 937 and 940 and Wadi Chanafes LP 1:1) and even [t-] (Zliten LP 1:1) following the loss of the "guttural" consonants and the realignment of the vocalic system in Late Punic.

The conjunction in the Canaanite languages was a simple *wV*-, which should probably be vocalized *wa*- based on Hebrew and comparative Semitic evidence. In Late Punic, the conjunction underwent reduction to [və].

4.9 Negation markers

According to the available evidence, the Canaanite languages inherited a system of three negation markers from Northwest Semitic -la:, 2al and bal — which served to negate different parts of speech. Northwest Semitic la: > Canaanite lo: negated indicative verbs, 2al negated non-indicative verbs, and bal negated nouns. This system remains intact in most of the Canaanite languages. In Phoenician, however, bal replaces lo: as the standard negation for indicative verbs (Pat-El 2013). In some Canaanite languages, such as Deir SAllā, the negative particle lo: was proclitic; in others, like Hebrew, it was a freestanding particle.

5 SYNTAX

The lack of long, non-formulaic texts makes it difficult to analyze the syntax of the Canaanite languages in detail. Nevertheless, certain general features can be distilled from the available data.

5.1 Word order

Because the subject of finite verbs in the Canaanite languages is encoded in the verbal morphology, word order tends to be VO as the following example from Moabite shows:

```
w-y-\(\frac{\gamma}{r}\) wy-\(\frac{\gamma}{r}\) my 2t my2b
and-3MsG-oppress.FACT OBJ GN
'and he oppressed Moab' (KAI 181:5)
```

When an independent subject is expressed, it usually appears before the finite verb as in the following example from Moabite:

```
²nkbn-ty$r$r1sgbuild.pfv-1sggN'I myself built Aroer' (KAI 181:26)
```

Other phrases in the Canaanite languages follow head-dependent order:

```
PP
          \varsigma_{md}
                            2h2mh
          'with Ahimo' (Edomite; Horvat 'Uza In. 4)
                            21
N-N
          k-mš?
          like-oracle.cst
                            DN
          'like an oracle of El' (Deir SAllā I, 2)
N-Adj
          šn-t
                            rhq-t
          year-FPL
                            far-FPL
          'years far off' (Ammonite; KAI 308:9)
N-Rel
          2rn
                            Z
                                   pΩl
                                                       [?]tb\Omega
          coffin
                                   make.pfv.3msg
                            REL
          'the coffin that Ittobaal made' (Byblian Phoenician; KAI 1:1)
N-Dem
          h-bmt
                            z2t
          DEF-high.place
                            DEM
          'this high place' (Moabite; KAI 181:3)
```

5.2 Predication

The Canaanite languages distinguish two types of predication, nominal and verbal. In verbal predication, the predicate is a finite verb, while in nominal predication the predicate is a noun, pronoun, adjective or prepositional phrase:

Verbal predication

```
w-y-qm blsm
and-3msg-rise.pfv PN
'and Balaam rose' (Deir SAllā I, 3)
```

Nominal predication

```
hzh2lh-nh2see.PTCP.MSGgod-MPL3MSG'he was a seer of the gods' (Deir SAllā I, 1)
```

5.3 Definiteness

With the exception of Amarna Canaanite and Deir Alla, definiteness is morphologically marked in the Canaanite languages. Ammonite, Edomite, Moabite and Phoenician all attest to a prefixed definite article in h-. Interestingly, the Canaanite languages differ in terms of demonstrative agreement as it relates to definiteness. In Byblian Phoenician, the bare demonstrative modifies indefinite nouns, while in Standard Phoenician and Moabite, the bare demonstrative modifies definite nouns. In Hebrew, the demonstrative agrees with its head noun in terms of definiteness. Compare the following:

Byblian Phoenician 2rn znDEM 'this coffin' (KAI 1:2) Moabite h-bmt z2tDEF-high.place DEM 'this high place' (KAI 181:3) Hebrew h- Ωt h-zhDEF-time DEF-DEM 'this time' (Lachish 6:2)

5.4 Analytics structures

The Canaanite languages are predominantly analytic in both their nominal and verbal systems. Dependency between a noun and a following noun, clause or prepositional phrase is expressed by assigning the construct state to the head noun as in the following example from Deir SAllā:

```
k-mš? ?!
like-oracle.cst DN
'like an oracle of El' (I, 2)
```

The verbal system is also highly analytic, with both person-gender-number and TAM being encoded through verbal morphology. For the most part, pronominal objects are attached directly to both nouns and verbs. Late Punic, however, developed a synthetic genitive using a relative pronoun, the preposition *l*- and the suffixed pronouns:

```
[bə-marov zə-lo-ʔom]
in-protection REL-to-2MPL
'in your protection' (Poen. 933)
```

```
w-rdm š-l-? and-family REL-to-3MSG 'and his family' (Hr Maktar N 58:3)
```

5.5 Subordination

Relative clauses are the main type of subordination attested in the Canaanite languages. Such clauses are marked with a relative particle, typically a reflex of * $2a\theta r$, but relatives in zV: and mo: are attested in Phoenician and Hebrew. Relative clauses usually mark resumption of the head noun within the relative clause except when the head noun functions as the direct object within the relative clause:

```
2nk yḥwmlk . . . ?š psl-t-n h-rbt bslt gbl mmlkt sl gbl 1sg pn REL made.pfv-3fsg-1sg def-lady dn sovereign upon gn 'I am Yahwimilk . . . whom the lady, Lady of Byblos made sovereign over Byblos' (KAI 10:1–2)
```

5.6 Negation

As mentioned previously, the Canaanite languages inherited three negation markers from Proto-Northwest Semitic: a nominal negation marker *bal*, an indicative negation marker *la*: (> *lo*: with the Canaanite shift), and a non-indicative negation marker *?al*. *?al* negated the jussive prefix conjugation and, when used in conjunction with 2nd person prefix verbs, formed the negative imperative. This system is preserved in Hebrew and survives in altered form in Phoenician, with *bal* replacing *lo*: as the negation marker for indicative verbs. Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus and Sidon also attest a negative existential marker in *?y*. The following examples illustrate the Phoenician system of negation:

```
Ы
          t-drk-n
NEG
          2-walk.ipfvfpl
'you will not walk' (KAI 27:8)
hl
          St-v
NEG
          time-1sg
'not (in) my time' (KAI 14:3)
w-21
          t-rgz-n
          2msg-disturb.ipfv-1sg
'and do not disturb me' (KAI 13:4)
Рy
          šm
                  bn-ø
                          mnm
          there in-3sg something
NEG
'there is nothing in it there' (KAI 14:5)
```

It is unclear whether this system was retained unaltered in the other Canaanite languages, due to the lack of data. In Amarna Canaanite, [bali] or [balu] negates infinitives (e.g., EA 98:17–18), and [ja:nu(m)] and [jjja:nu(m)] serve as negative existential

markers (e.g., EA 362:49–50). Deir SAllā preserves a single example of the indicative negation maker lo: (I, 9), while Moabite attests to a negative existential marker in 2n (KAI 181:24).

6 LEXICON

The Canaanite languages preserved the inherited Semitic lexicon largely intact and – as far as the available evidence suggests – shared a significant amount of core vocabulary. Nevertheless, lexical differences do exist among the various languages (Kogan 2015: 372). Moabite, for example, uses the root f or make' where Phoenician tends to use p f f.

Apart from Hebrew, only Phoenician is attested well enough for loan words to be detectable. This is not surprising. As Phoenician seafarers, traders and colonists spread across the Mediterranean basin, they borrowed words from the various speech communities they encountered. As a result, Punic contains words of Greek, Latin, Egyptian and Numidian origin including ?ksdr (< Greek ἐξέδρα 'hall'), ?mprstr (< Latin imperator 'emperor'), tn? (< Egyptian dnit 'basket') and myknd < Numidian (mnkd 'head, chief') (Watson 2013).

7 SAMPLE TEXT

The opening section of the Karatepe inscription

In this 8th-century Standard Phoenician text, the city ruler Azatiwadda enumerates his accomplishments and requests blessings from various deities. Azatiwadda ruled over the city of Karatepe in south central Turkey at the behest of Awariku, king of Adana. The text was discovered in 1946 and is published in *KAI* (Donner and Röllig I: 6–7, II: 35–43).

```
2nk 2ztwd hb-brk-bsl
                                         \varsigma hd
                                                  bsl
                                                       2š
                                                             2dr
            DEF-bless.PTCP.PASS.MSG-DN
                                                             be.strong.fact.pfv.3msg
                                         servant
                                                       REL
                                                  DN
                                                                       1-2h
Pwrk mlk dnnv-m
                           psl-n
                                               bΩl
                                                   l-dnnv-m
      king Danunian-MPL make.PFV.3MSG-1SG DN
                                                    to-Danunian-MPL
                                                                       to-father
PΝ
w-l-2m
              vhw
                                 2nk 2yt dnny-m
                                                         vrhb
                                                                               2nk
and-to-mother live.caus.inf.absl 1sg obj Danunian-mpl be.wide.caus.inf.absl 1sg
2rs
               ?dn l-m-ms?
                                          w-sd
                                                    mb?-v
                                                                   w-kn
       ſта
                                    šmš
land
      valley
              GN
                  to-from-rising
                                    sun
                                          and-until setting-3msg and-be.pfv.3msg
b-vm-t-v
                kl
                      nГm
                                    l-dnnv-m
                                                       w-šbs
                                                                    w-mnsm
in-day-FPL-1sG
                                    to-Danunian-MPL
                                                       and-satiety and-abundance
                all
                      pleasantness
w-ml?
                      ₽nk
                            Sgr-t
                                       p\Omega r
                                             w-psl
                                                                 ₽nk
                                                                             \Omega
                                                                      SS
wa-fill.fact.inf.absl
                                             and-make.inf.absl 1sg
                      1sg
                            sack-fpl
                                       GN
                                                                      horse upon
```

ss horse	w-mgn and-shield	<i>Sl</i> upon	mgn shield			?l upon		<i>b-Sbr</i> in-sake	<i>bΩl</i> DN
w-2lm and-de		ak.fact.f	PFV-1SG	mlş-m mock.c	AUS.PT	CP - MPL	w-trq and-dest	roy.inf.abs	L
kl h-r all der	<i>S</i> ?š k -evil rel t			•	<i>v-yṭnʔ</i> nd-set.	CAUS.INF	ABSL 1s		e
	<i>b-nsn</i> n-1sg in-ple		w-ps ss and-		F.ABSL		<i>l-šrš</i> for-root	<i>?dn-y</i> lord.gen	ı-1sg
nςm pleasar	w-yšt ntness and-s		nf.absl-3			<i>l</i> pon t		Р <i>b-у</i> father-3мs	G
w-št and-set	27 t.inf.absl 1s	nk šlm sg pea	ce wit		<i>mlk</i> king				

'I am Azatiwadda, blessed of Baal, servant of Baal, whom Awariku, king of the Danunians honored. Baal made me a father and a mother to the Danunians. I caused the Danunians to live. I enlarged the land of the valley of Adana from the rising of the sun to its setting. And there was in my day every pleasant thing for the Danunians, and satiety, and abundance. And I filled the grain sacks of Paara. And I made horse upon horse and shield upon shield, and army upon army for the sake of Baal and my patron deity. And I broke scoffers and I destroyed all of the evil which was in the land. And I set the house of my lord in good order. And I did a kindness for the offspring of my lord and I sat him on the throne of his father. And I made peace with every king.'

NOTES

- 1 For the possible preservation of *y in Edomite, see Lipiński (2014: 374).
- 2 For some reason, Proto-Northwest Semitic *\(\frac{r}{alr} \) 'ten (M)' is written \(\frac{r}{sr} \) in Phoenician instead of the expected \(\frac{r}{sr} \).

REFERENCES

Bjøru, Øyvind. "The Morphology of the G-Stem Imperative in Semitic." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (forthcoming).

Fox, Joshua. "A Sequence of Vowel Shifts in Phoenician and Other Languages." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1996): 37–47.

Huehnergard, John. "On the Etymology of the Hebrew Relative še-." In *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Steven E. Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz, 103–25. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006.

Huehnergard, John. "Remarks on the Classification of the Northwest Semitic Languages." In *The Balaam Text Reevaluated: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held*

- at Leiden 21-24 August 1989, edited by J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, 282-93. Leiden: Brill. 1991a.
- Huehnergard, John. "The Development of the Third Person Suffixes in Phoenician." Maarav 7 (1991b): 183-94.
- Izre'el, Schlomo. "Canaano-Akkadian: Linguistics and Sociolinguistics." In Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday, edited by Rebecca Hasselbach and Na'ama Pat-El, 171-218. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 67. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012.
- Jongeling, Karel and Robert M. Kerr (eds.). Late Punic Epigraphy. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Kerr, Robert M. Latino-Punic Epigraphy: A Descriptive Study of the Inscriptions. Forschung zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 42. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Knauf, Ernst Axel and Sultan Maani. "On the Phonemes of Fringe Canaanite: The Case of Zerah-Udruh and 'Kamâšhaltâ'." Ugarit-Forschungen 19 (1987): 91-4.
- Kogan, Leonid. Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.
- Lipiński, Edward. Semitic Linguistics in Historical Perspective. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 230. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.
- Pat-El, Na'ama. "On Negation in Phoenician." In Linguistic Studies in Phoenician in Memory of J. Brian Peckham, edited by Robert D. Holmstedt and Aaron Schade, 47-67. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013.
- Pat-El, Na'ama and Aren M. Wilson-Wright. "The Features of Canaanite: A Reevaluation." Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 166 (2016): 41–55.
- Pat-El, Na'ama and Aren M. Wilson-Wright. "Deir 'Allā as a Canaanite Dialect: A Vindication of Hackett." In Epigraphy, Philology, and the Hebrew Bible: Methodological Perspectives on Philological and Comparative Study of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Jo Ann Hackett, edited by Jeremy M. Hutton and Aaron D. Rubin, 13-23 (2015).
- Pat-El, Na'ama and Aren M. Wilson-Wright. "Features of Aramaeo-Canaanite." Journal of the American Oriental Society 138 (2018): 781-806.
- Rollston, Christopher A. Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010.
- Steiner, Richard C. "On the Dating of the Hebrew Sound Changes (*H > H and *G > S) and Greek Translations (2 Esdras and Judith)." Journal of Biblical Literature 124 (2005): 229-67.
- Watson, Wilfred G. E. "Loanwords in Phoenician and Punic." In Ritual, Religion, and Reason: Studies in the Ancient World in Honour of Paolo Xella, edited by Oswald Loretz, Sergio Ribichini, Wilfred G. E. Watson, and Josés Á. Zamora, 327–46. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 404. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
- Wilson-Wright, Aren M. "A Reevaluation of the Semitic Direct Object Markers." Hebrew Studies 57 (2016): 7–15.
- Wilson-Wright, Aren M. "Linguistic Contact between Hebrew and Ancient Egyptian." In The Oxford Handbook on Ancient Egypt and the Hebrew Bible. Forthcoming.

GENERAL CANAANITE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Further reading

Garr, W. Randall. Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 BCE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

Texts

Ahituv, Shmuel. Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period. Jerusalem: Carta, 2008.

Aufrecht, Walter E. A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1989. Donner, Herbert and Wolfgang Röllig. Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, Band I (5th ed.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.

Donner, Herbert and Wolfgang Röllig. Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, Band II: Kommentar (4th ed.). Wiesebaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1979.

Jongeling, Karel and Robert M. Kerr (eds.). Late Punic Epigraphy. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

Rainey, Anson F. The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on Collations of all Extant Tablets. 2 vols. Eds. William M. Schniedewind and Zipora Cochavi-Rainey. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Grammars

Friederich, Johannes and Wolfgang Röllig. Phönizisch-punische Grammatik (3rd ed.), revised by Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo. Analecta Orientalia 55. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1999.

Hackett, Jo Ann. The Balaam Text from Deir 'Allā. Harvard Semitic Monographs 31. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984.

Jackson, Kent P. The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age. Harvard Semitic Monographs 27. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.

Kerr, Robert M. Latino-Punic Epigraphy: A Descriptive Study of the Inscriptions. Forschung zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 42. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

Rainey, Anson F. Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by Scribes from Canaan. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Tropper, Josef and Juan Pablo Vita. Das Kanaano-Akkadische der Amarnazeit. Lehrbücher orientalischer Sprachen 1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010.

Vanderhooft, David S. "The Edomite Dialect and Script: A Review of the Evidence." In You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He is Your Brother, edited by Diana V. Edelman, 137–57. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

Overview articles

Gzella, Holger. "Phoenician." In Languages from the World of the Bible (2nd ed.), edited by Holger Gzella, 55–75. Berlin: de Gruyer, 2011.

Hackett, Jo Ann. "Phoenician and Punic." In The Languages of Syria-Palestine and Arabia, edited by Roger D. Woodard, 82-102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Parker, Simon B. "Ammonite, Edomite, and Moabite." In *Beyond Babel: A Handbook for Biblical Hebrew and Related Languages*, edited by John Kaltner and Steven L. McKenzie, 43–60. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.
- Röllig, Wolfgang. "Phoenician and Punic." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan Weniger, 472–79. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.
- Segert, Stanislav. "Phoenician and the Eastern Canaanite Languages." In *The Semitic Languages*, edited by Robert Hetzron, 174–86. London: Routledge, 1997.