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**The *qal* Passive
in Ugaritic**

The internal passive verbal construction of the qal conjugation (qutala, yuqtalu),¹ which is common in the Arabic dialects,² has long been recognized in biblical Hebrew³ and has also been identified in

¹ Because of the fact that a considerable number of pual perfects in Hebrew are really qal passives, it is likely that the original vocalization of the passive perfect in Canaanite was qutala (and not qutala as in Arabic). Cf. Frank R. Blake, "The Internal Passive in Semitic," JAOS 22 (1901), pp. 53-54; H. Bauer and P. Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des alten Testaments, I (Reprint: Hildesheim, 1962), 38a¹, 40h¹ (hereafter, Grammatik); H. L. Ginsberg, "Review of the Development of the Canaanite Dialects by Z.S. Harris," JBL 59 (1940), p. 548. Note, however, Moran's arguments that the perfect passive in Amarna was qatila not qutala, "A Syntactical Study of the Dialect of Byblos as Reflected in the Amarna Tablets" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1950), pp. 116-117.

² The internal passive of the first conjugation in Arabic is qutala, yuqtalu. For classical Arabic, see Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Vol. I (Reissue: Cambridge, 1962), 100; for the Arabic dialects, see the list assembled by K. Petráček, "Die inner Flexion in den semitischen Sprachen," ArOr 28 (1960), pp. 590-595.

³ By circa 1000 C.E. Ibn Janaḥ and Samuel Ha-Nagid held that a number of pual perfect and hophal imperfects were to be regarded as qal passives. Indeed, the exact identification of the qal passive in the Hebrew Bible was a source of contention between these and later scholars such as Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, Abraham Ibn Ezra and David Qimḥi (W. Chomsky, David Kimḥi's Hebrew Grammar [Mikhlol] [New York, 1952], pp. xvii-xix, 88-89 and 103). In modern times the existence of the qal passive in biblical Hebrew has been demon-

Amarna Akkadian⁴ and in certain Aramaic dialects.⁵
 Since this construction is a characteristic feature of

strated by Friedrich Böttcher, Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache, II (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 98-107; J. Barth, "Das passiv Qal und seine Participien," Israel Hildesheimer Festschrift (Berlin, 1890), pp. 147-153; Mayer Lambert, "L'Emploi du Nifal en Hébreu," REJ 41 (1900), p. 201f.; Blake, "Internal Passive," pp. 53-54; H. L. Ginsberg, "Studies on the Biblical Hebrew Verb," AJSL 46 (1929-1930), pp. 53-56; idem, "From behind the Massorah," Tarbiz 5 (1933), pp. 208-223 (in Hebrew); and the standard Hebrew grammarbooks. This thesis has been doubted by E. Dhorme, Recueil Dhorme, pp. 419-420, and opposed by G. Garbini, Il Semitico di nord-ovest (Napoli, 1960), p. 130. Under the stimulus of Ugaritic studies, Mitchell Dahood has attempted, by repointing the text, to increase the list of qal passives identified by the above scholars in the Hebrew Bible. See Dahood, Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology (Rome, 1963), p. 8; idem, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology (Rome, 1965), p. 21; idem, Psalms, Vol. III, The Anchor Bible, Vol. 17a (Garden City, 1970), p. 388.

⁴ See F. M. T. Böhl, Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe (Leipzig, 1909), 30; E. Ebeling, "Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe," BA, 8/2 (1910), pp. 59-60. Note the qal passive tumḥaṣu in the famous "ant proverb" of EA 252:17-19: šānitam kī namlu tumḥaṣū lā tiqabbilū u tanšukū qāti awīli ša yimḥaššī, "further, when ants are smitten, they do not accept (it), but bite the hand of the man who smites them" (Albright, "An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Amarna Letter from Central Palestine," BASOR 89 [1943], p. 31, n. 15). The Amarna letters also provide important evidence for the existence and vocalization of the qal passive participle in the gloss on yapu/hamūdu (EA 138:126); see CAD, I/J, p. 325.

⁵ In the Sefire inscriptions, the following have been taken as yugtalu forms: in KAI 222: t'mr (lines 33 and 36), tšbr (line 38), ygzzn, ygzr (line 40), t'crrn (line 41), yqhn, [tqh] (line 42); in KAI 223:C: y[r]šmn (line 3). Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire (Rome, 1967), pp. 15-17, 51, and 156; KAI III, pp. 250-252 and 262. In the Elephantine papyri the passive qal (qetīl) occurs in such forms as t'cynt (8:24), š'ylt (16:3;45:3), š'yltm (20:8), qtylw (30:17; 31:16) (Text references in A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. [Reprint: Osnabrück, 1967]). In the Words of Aḥiqar, line 136, ymnc is regarded as a yugtalu form. Cf. P. Leander, Laut- und Formenlehre des ägyptisch-Aramäischen (Göteborg, 1928), 21j. For the passive qal in biblical Aramaic, see E. Kautzsch, Grammatik des biblisch-Aramäischen (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 53-54; H. Bauer and P. Leander, Grammatik des biblisch-Aramäischen (Halle, 1927), 28n-t, 32b¹ and 32c¹; W. Baumgartner, "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel," ZAW 45 (1927), pp. 109-110; F. Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 62. Note that no passive forms of the imperfect occur in biblical Aramaic. For Middle Aramaic (Nabatean, Palmyrene), see G. A. Cooke, A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions (Oxford, 1903), p. 334; J. Cantineau, Le Nabatéen, Vol. I (Paris, 1930), pp. 74-75; F. Rosenthal, Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften (Leipzig, 1936), pp. 55-57.

West Semitic,⁶ it is no surprise to find that Ugaritic, too, has been thought of having an internal passive of the first conjugation included in its verbal system.⁷ But while this fact has been accepted by most scholars, it has never really been demonstrated that a qal passive does in fact exist in Ugaritic.⁸ It is true that the exact identification of the internal passive in Ugaritic is very difficult, because in the consonantal script the required form could be a third person used impersonally⁹

⁶ Ginsberg, "From behind the Massorah," p. 88, n. 109; A. Goetze, "The Tenses of Ugaritic," JAOS 58 (1938), p. 273, n. 40; Z. S. Harris, Development of the Canaanite Dialects (New Haven, 1936), p. 7. The existence of the qal passive in Phoenician (in Eshmunazer, line 5) has been accepted by M. Dahood ("Qoheleth and Northwest Semitic Philology," Biblica 43 [1962], p. 354) and by M. Held (oral communication), but the passive meaning required by the context (k 'y šm bn mnm, "for nothing whatever has been placed in it") can be obtained by parsing the form šm as a 3rd person plural used impersonally. See note 9 below; KAI III, p. 21; Friedrich, Phönizisch-punische Grammatik (Rome, 1951), 166; C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des Inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest (Leiden, 1965), p. 297. Likewise, the form št in KAI 69:17, 18 and 20 (Marseilles) can be interpreted either as a qal passive perfect/participle (Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language [New Haven, 1936], p. 148) or as a third person plural (Friedrich, op. cit., 166). Note that East Semitic does not have an internal passive construction. The Akkadian stative (paris), while it sometimes has a passive meaning can in no way be thought of as an inner passive. In the first place, not only verbs but nouns and adjectives can be in the stative, e.g., sinnišā, "they are women," damiq, "it is good," (GAG, 77a and d). Secondly, the passive stative which only goes with transitive verbs is really a "passive participle used in the predicate sense" (A. Goetze, "The So-Called Intensive of the Semitic Languages," JAOS 62 [1942], p. 5). Thirdly, the meaning of the stative is durative or timeless--it denotes a condition or state of being--and as such is tenseless. The future passive cannot be expressed by the stative but by the IV conjugation, which is the functional equivalent of the West Semitic qal passive. For example, "he will be executed" is iddâk IV/1 present of dâku(m), not dîk, I/1 stative; "he will be struck" is immahpaš, not mahîš.

⁷ E.g., Driver, CML, p. 129; Gordon, UT, 9.13 and 9.31; Dahood, UHP, p. 21, etc.

⁸ The valuable attempt by Hammershaimb in Das Verbum, pp. 7-9, is clouded by some incorrect interpretations and his acceptance of the existence of a hophal conjugation in Ugaritic.

⁹ Cf. Gordon, UT, 9.13; M. Pope, "Marginalia to M. Dahood's Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology," JBL 85 (1966), p. 463. For the 3rd person plural expressing an indefinite subject in Hebrew, see GKC, 144g. For example, Proverbs 2:22 (N // 3rd person) and Job 7:3

or a form of the N conjugation,¹⁰ as well as a qal passive. The evidence of the three aleph's, usually quite helpful, is of limited use here because of the paucity of forms containing aleph's in the texts under discussion.¹¹

However, the existence of the internal passive in contexts requiring passives can be strongly argued in cases where the form a) corresponds to the use of the N conjugation in a similar context, b) corresponds to the use of the qal passive participle in a similar context, c) cannot be explained as a third person used impersonally, and d) cannot be explained as a form of the N conjugation. The following examples illustrate these four categories.¹²

(hophal // 3rd person). This construction is very common in Aramaic, for instance, in Daniel 5:20-21 where the 3rd person alternates with hophal, qal passive, and hitpaCal forms. See W. F. Stinespring, "The Active Infinitive with Passive Meaning in Biblical Aramaic," JBL 81 (1962), pp. 391-394; F. Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, p. 56, #181.

¹⁰ The N conjugation itself is difficult to recognize and can only be identified definitely by the presence of a nun in the imperfect of initial nun verbs and by a nun in the perfect of non-initial-nun verbs.

¹¹ Indeed the main contribution of the aleph's as regards the qal passive is that of eliminating from consideration as qal passives every imperfect of initial aleph verbs which contain an aleph u. In initial aleph verbs, a yuqtalu form will mean that the initial aleph closes the syllable, and as such will be written aleph i. Albright's suggestion ("The North-Canaanite Poems of Al'Eyan Bacal and the 'Gracious Gods,'" JPOS 14 [1934], p. 121, n. 88) followed by Harris ("A Conditioned Sound Change in Ras Shamra," JAOS 57 [1937], p. 152) and Goetze ("The Tenses of Ugaritic," p. 302, n. 185), that yuhd is a passive is therefore incorrect. Likewise the suggestion of M. Dietrich and O. Loretz in Ugaritica VI, p. 172 that tuhd in RS24.277:29 is a passive cannot be accepted. Cf. most recently Johannes C. de Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of BaClu (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), p. 132. For the latest theory of the aleph's in Ugaritic (which we will discuss elsewhere), see J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, "Zu Frage der Scriptio plena im Ugaritischen und Verwandtes," Ugarit-Forschungen 2 (1970), pp. 19-25.

¹² For additional examples, see the writer's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Aspects of the Ugaritic Verb in the Light of Comparative Semitic Grammar" (Columbia University, 1970), pp. 35ff.

I. The form corresponds to the use of the N conjugation in a similar context.

(a) ytk in ID:82-83, where someone is crying at the news of Aqhat's death; the identification of the person or persons involved is uncertain.

wl ytk [d]m[Ch] ¹³	His tears are poured out
km rbCt tq̄lm	Like quarter-shekels.

The parallel N form, tntkn, occurs at the beginning of the Legend of King Keret (IK:28-29) when Keret is be-moaning his fate.

tntkn udmCth	His tears are poured out
km tq̄lm aršh	Like shekels to the ground.

Thus, ytk is a qal passive dual from ntk (yuttakā).

(b) tq̄š in the phrase tq̄š pnt kslh, which is part of the "fear" formula in IIAB II:17-20; VAB D:30-32; and ID:94-96.

bCdn ksl ttbr	Behind, (her) tendons do break
Cln pnh tdC	(i.e., tear); above, her face
tq̄š pnt kslh	sweats; loosened are the joints
anš dt zrh	of her sinews, weakened those
	(i.e., tendons) of her back. ¹⁴

The verb ngš is used in the N conjugation with the same noun, pnt, in IIIAB A:17-18 and 25-26 in the fight between Baal and Yam.

Cz ym lymk	Yam is firm, he is not bowed;
ltngš pnth	his joints are not loosened,
lydlp tmnh	his frame does not droop.
.....
ypršh ym yql larsš	Yam collapses and falls to the
tnğšn pnth	ground; his joints are loosened,
wydlp tmnh	his frame droops.

¹³ For the restoration dmCh and not dmCth (so Herdner, Corpus, p. 88; Gordon, UT, p. 245), see Ginsberg, LKK, p. 34.

¹⁴ Translation: Held in Landsberger Festschrift, p. 405.

tnqš(n) is a third person feminine plural N form of nqš (tinnaqišā), while tqš is the corresponding gal passive (tuqšašā).

II. The form corresponds to the use of the gal passive participle in a similar context.

tḥtan in IIAB VIII:14-20, Baal's warning to his messengers to beware of Mot, who could kill them like a small animal.

wngr Cnn ilm	Yet beware, divine messengers.
al tqrb lbn ilm mt	Approach not Divine Mot lest
al y ^C dbkm kimr bph	he make you like a lamb in his
klli bṭbrn qnh tḥtan	mouth, lest ye be crushed like
	a kid in his gullet.

The parallel participle form ḥtu occurs in IAB II:21-23, where Mot similarly tells Anath what would happen should he meet Baal.

ngš ank aliyn b ^C 1	(If) I encounter Puissant Baal,
Cdbnn ank <k>imr bpy	I will make him like a lamb in
klli bṭbrn q<n>y ḥtu hw	my mouth; like a kid in my
	gullet is he crushed. ¹⁵

Because ḥtu is a passive participle (ḥatū'u),¹⁶ we take tḥtan as a gal passive imperfect dual (tuḥta'āni) rather than an N imperfect.¹⁷

¹⁵ See our remarks on this passage in JANES 1 (Spring, 1969), pp. 60-61.

¹⁶ Other examples of gal passive participles in Ugaritic are šbc in IID I:31-32, 49-50 (restored); II:5-6, 19-20; asr in IIIAB B:36-37; ltšt in *ibid.*, 32-33; brkt in ID IV:194-195, etc.

¹⁷ So Hammershaimb, Das Verbum, p. 172.

III. The form cannot be explained as a third person used impersonally.

(a) tspr in the warning given first to Gpn and Ugr (IIAB VIII:7-9) and secondly to Baal (I*AB V:14-16) before they go down to the netherworld to see Mot.

wrd bt ḥpṭt arš	And descend to the underworld;
tspr byrdm arš	be reckoned among those who go down to the netherworld.

The form tspr, occurring in a command and being parallel to the imperative rd, cannot be a third person. Neither can it be an N conjugation; the verb spr does not occur in the N conjugation in Ugaritic nor in the niphal perfect in Hebrew. Also, those cases in Hebrew where it appears in the imperfect niphal have been thought to be cases of mispointing by the Massoretes of original qal passives.¹⁸ Thus we can construe tspr here as a qal passive.

(b) yld in IID II:12-15, when Danel, exulting over the news that his wife has given birth to a son, says:

aṭbn ank wanḥn	Now will I sit and rest
wtnḥ birty nṣ	and my soul will be at ease
kyld bn ly km aḥy	in my heart; for a son is born
wšrš km ary	to me like my brethren, and an offspring (to me) like my kinsmen.

yld here obviously cannot be a third person singular or plural used impersonally; nor, for morphological reasons, can it possibly be an N form, so that it must be a qal passive. Further support for this interpretation is seen in the frequent use of the qal passive yld in Hebrew.¹⁹ yld in IVAB III:36-37 is taken as a qal passive for the same reasons.²⁰

¹⁸ See M. Lambert, "L'Emploi du Nifal en Hébreu," REJ 41 (1900), p. 205.

¹⁹ For example, in Isaiah 9:5 ky yld yld lnw bn ntn lnw. For a full list of occurrences, see Lambert, "L'Emploi du Nifal," p. 202.

²⁰ The text in IVAB reads: kibr lbcl [yl]d wrum lrkb crpt, "for a wild bull is [bor]n to Baal, a buffalo to the Rider of the Clouds."

IV. The form cannot be explained as a form of the N conjugation.

(a) ysk in IID VI:36-37, where Aqhat tells Anath that in spite of her promises he will not gain immortality, that his fate will be the same as all mortals.

spsg ysk [l]riš	Glaze will be poured on my
ḥrṣ lṣr qdqdy	head, plaster upon my pate.

ysk cannot be an N conjugation because the N must appear in the imperfect N of initial nun verbs (e.g., tntkn). This fact, together with the occurrence of the qal passive of this verb in Hebrew,²¹ leads us to see ysk here as a qal passive and not a third person used impersonally.²²

(b) tlak in the instruction to the narrator of the epic to tell about Gpn and Ugr going to fetch Ktr whss (IIAB IV-V:104-105).

wṭb lmspr....	Now turn to the account....
ktlakn ḡlmm	When the lads were sent.

tlakn cannot be an N form because of the presence of the aleph a. In the N imperfect the form would be written tlikn (tilla'ikāni < tinla'ikāni). Moreover it is unlikely that tlakn is a third person used impersonally.²³

In addition to these four categories, there is a fifth, in which the form could be a qal passive, a third person used impersonally, or an N, depending upon the interpretation of the passage. Examples of these forms are

²¹Lambert, "L'Emploi du Nifal," p. 204; Bergsträsser, Hebräische Grammatik II, 15c.

²²So M. Pope, "Marginalia," p. 463.

²³Cf. yūšaru, "sent" in EA 126:19, 40.

