CHAPTER FOURTEEN

INDEPENDENT USE OF 3

14.1 INDEPENDENT USE OF 3 WITH THE MEANING
‘THAT OF...’ / ‘THOSE OF...’

In the preceding chapters we have seen two usages of 3. In the first usage it is followed by a noun that specifies the preceding word. In this case 3 shares many syntactic characteristics with prepositions.1 In the second usage it is followed by a predication structure. A. Wertheimer has argued that these two usages are related because in both cases 3 serves as a *translatif*, which marks the ‘syntactic operation which transfers a word from one grammatical category to another’. Thus in the so-called genitive construction it marks the translation from a noun to the function of an attribute, and in relative clauses it marks the translation from a predication structure to a noun.2 Her attempt to explain the relationship between the various usages of 3 is attractive, but her analysis of relative 3 applies only to structures with embedding, whereas 3 is also used for hypotaxis.3 From a diachronic perspective, both usages are related in that 3 derives from the Semitic determinative-relative *tu/du*. In his *Semitic Languages* E. Lipiński describes the relationship as follows:

The determinative-relative *tu/du* introduces a determination which can consist either in a noun or proper name (...) or in a relative clause (...). In the first case, it functions in a genitival structure; in the second, it acts as a pronominal or adjectival antecedent of a relative clause (...) In Aramaic, the determinative-relative *di* in the genitive case is used in its original function and as element of demonstratives.4

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1 Thus Dyk, ‘Desiderata’, 147–148. Note however, that *d*-Noun and Prep-Noun occupy different positions in the phrase; see §§ 11.6, 15.4.
3 For the distinction between embedding and hypotaxis see § 26.2.
4 Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 332 and 334. The relation of the *κατά* pattern to the *κατά* construction is disputed. According to Goldenberg the ‘head-less’ con-
According to Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, § 209A the 'superior independence' of the 'Demonstrative-(Relative)-Pronoun ı ("that of")' is shown in those cases where d-Noun is separated from the governing noun. But it 'becomes still more conspicuous when no governing word is expressed.'6 In Syr there occur the following examples.6

14:9 доллар (he who takes) what belongs to his neighbour’ (MS A
רעות).
25:15 _sprite_(there is no enmity more bitter) than that of a wife’
(Heb not extant).
45:5 לייתא ולסוח ‘to those of the House of Israel’ (MS B
לישיא לכסמה).
47:21 לייתא שלמה ‘from those of the House of Ephraim’ (MS B
לאירפת).
47:23 לייתא יוחנן לכסמה ‘to those of the House of Ephraim’ (MS B
ליבית רוד).
48:15 לייתא יוחנן לכסמה ‘to those of the house of David’ (MS B
לאירפת).

The construction with independent ı + (proper) noun occurs parallel to constructions without ı. Thus in 45:5 לייתא לכסמה occurs parallel to
לייתא 'to Jacob' and in 47:23 לייתא לכסמה stands in parallelism to
לייתא 'Israel'. In 48:15 יוחנן 'Judah' is attested besides ı לכסמה. In 25:15 יוחנן לכסמה: 'And there is no en-
mity more bitter than that of a wife' (without repetition of לכסמה)
occurs parallel to יוחנן לכסמה 'There is no head more bitter than the head of a serpent' (with repetition of לכסמה). Sometimes there is variation in the textual witnesses. Thus in 48:15 most manuscripts have יוחנן לכסמה, but 7α1 has the construction without ı. Where Syr has ı and Heb is extant, ı is a plus vis-à-vis Heb.

14.2 ı + CARDINAL NUMBER

To the demonstrative-relative use of ı discussed in § 14.1 also belongs the use of ı + cardinal number in the sense of 'the first, the second, etc.'7 This use is attested two times in a numerical proverb with יוחנן, in 23:16 and 50:25:

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6 Compare also 47:22, where 7h3 and 8α1* read יוחנן לכסמה instead of יוחנן לכסמה (Heb [B]: יוחנן).