This paper seeks to examine one grammatical feature of the Aramaic documents from the Judean Desert: the 2nd feminine singular pronominal suffix on singular nouns and prepositions. In general, forms of the 2nd feminine singular are attested poorly, if at all, in early Aramaic sources. Thus, it is not surprising that there are no examples in inscriptions dating from the Old Aramaic period. Although the suffix does occur in Official Aramaic in the papyri from Egypt (Elephantine and Hermopolis), it is absent from Biblical Aramaic. The 2nd feminine singular pronominal suffix is found in Middle Aramaic, though there, too, it is not frequent and is not attested in all corpora. There are some dozen examples in targums Onqelos and Jonathan, but to the best of my knowledge, the suffix is attested only once in Palmyrene and not at all in Nabatean or Hatran. The Judean Desert texts contain several additional examples of the suffix and, for this reason, provide important evidence for its history.

The 2nd feminine singular suffix is represented orthographically in documents from the Judean Desert by ’- ’, - , - , and - . Do the four spellings reflect only one underlying realization of the suffix, or do the different orthographies represent the different phonetic realizations that are known elsewhere in Aramaic from vocalized texts: [ik] in targums Onqelos and Jonathan, and [-ek] in Syriac? Cf. also -[-eki], which is reflected in the Syriac ketiv. Few scholars have discussed the pronunciation underlying the orthographies. One is K. Beyer, who, without elaborating, has reconstructed [-eki] for the forms - and (’ - ). Another is T. Muraoka, who, in discussing the forms - and ’- in the Genesis Apocryphon, cautiously remarks that “The
final Yod may be silent, thus historical orthography. The nature of the vowel preceding the Kaf is problematic. Both Ѓ (Syr.) and Є (TO/TJ) are attested.\textsuperscript{3} The purpose of the present study is to investigate all the attested Judean Desert forms of the 2nd feminine singular suffix on prepositions and singular nouns in the light of other Palestinian and non-Palestinian Aramaic sources.

A. Data from the Judean Desert

The orthography 'Y is attested in manuscripts from the Qumran caves.\textsuperscript{4} It is found once in the Genesis Apocryphon \( \text{ס} \) (19:19), and it seems to occur twice in \( \text{תא} \) ar, \( \text{ס} \) and \( \text{כ} \) 3:9\textsuperscript{5} and 13:13.\textsuperscript{6} It is better attested in marriage and divorce contracts from Wadi Murabba'at: \( \text{לע} \) 19:3,7,9,10,14,20,24; 20:14; \( \text{หลายๆ} \) 19:6,18. The suffix also is found in the Babatha archive from Nahal Hever,\textsuperscript{7} where it is frequent in 5/6Hev 7 (pYadin 7): \( \text{לע} \) 34, 37, 52, 60?, 63; \( \text{ד} \) 60 (twice?), 66; \( \text{ל} \) 66,71.

A second spelling, 'Y, occurs twice in the Genesis Apocryphon in the same line (19:20):

A third spelling, 'Y, is attested twice in a ketubba from Wadi Murabba'at (Mur 21 ar): \( \text{לע} \) 10; \( \text{לע} \) 13.

Yet another spelling, 'Y, appears in Babatha's ketubba from Nahal Hever, 5/6 Hev 10 (pYadin 10):\textsuperscript{8} \( \text{לע} \) 5,16; \( \text{לע} \) 5,11; \( \text{לע} \) עלות \( \text{לע} \) 5; \( \text{לע} \) 7; \( \text{לע} \) 7,10; \( \text{לע} \) 7,9.

B. Evidence from Other Aramaic Periods and Corpora

Official Aramaic

The legal documents from Egypt contain several examples of the suffix. The usual form is 'Y, which occurs in the papyri from Elephan-

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\textsuperscript{4} Beyer, \textit{ATTM} 1:268, 2:287. According to Beyer, \( \text{לע} \) also occurs in the extremely fragmentary 6Q8 10:2 (\textit{ATTM} 1:268). Baillet reads \( \text{לע} \) (\textit{DJD} 3:118).

\textsuperscript{5} PAM 43.176 (Beyer, \textit{ATTM} 2:137).

\textsuperscript{6} PAM 43.178 (Beyer, \textit{ATTM} 2:145).

\textsuperscript{7} SHR 5209, 5211, 5212, 5216. The line numbers follow Beyer, \textit{ATTM} 2:167-73.