

The Historical Depth of the Tiberian Reading Tradition of Biblical Hebrew

AARON D. HORNKOHL



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Cover image: T-S AS 8.129. A leaf from a Cairo Geniza biblical codex containing Gen. 30.17–20 and showcasing Moshe Mohe's non-standard Tiberian pointing of the standard Tiberian pronunciation of *Issachar* (see within, ch. 4), courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

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*In fond memory of Michael Rand,
friend and colleague*

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st-person
2	2nd-person
3	3rd-person
A	Aleppo Codex
b.	Talmud Bavli
BA	Biblical Aramaic
BCE	Before the Common Era
BDSS	Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BS	Ben Sira
c.	circa
C	common (gender)
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
CE	Common Era
ch.	chapter
chs	chapters
col.	column
cols	columns
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DSSBA	Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Aramaic
DSSBH	Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Hebrew
F	feminine
fn.	footnote
intr.	intransitive
L	Leningrad Codex
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew (Esther, Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, Chronicles)

LBH+	Late Biblical Hebrew+ (Ps. 119; Job 1–2; 42.7–17; Qohelet, Esther, Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, Chronicles)
ln.	line
lns	lines
LXX	Septuagint
m.	Mishna
M	masculine
MT	Masoretic Textual Tradition
NBDSS	Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls
PL	plural
QA	Qumran Aramaic
QH	Qumran Hebrew
RH	Rabbinic Hebrew
s	singular
SH	Samaritan Hebrew
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
t.	Tosefta
TA	Targumic Aramaic
TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood
TBH	Transitional Biblical Hebrew
TJ	Targum Jonathan
TO	Targum Onqelos
tr.	transitive
y.	Talmud Yerushalmi

INTRODUCTION

This book focuses on an acknowledged dimension of the received Tiberian Masoretic biblical tradition the extent and significance of which is seldom fully appreciated: dissonance between its pronunciation and spelling arising from its composite nature. At issue are cases of linguistic disharmony wherein the written and reading components of the tradition, i.e., its consonantal text and vocalisation, diverge.¹ Sometimes, such differences are explicitly signalled within the Tiberian manuscript tradition via the mechanism known as *ketiv-qere* and/or are noted in masoretic grammatical treatises. In many other cases, however, dissonance is not so acknowledged, and is detectable only in apparent mismatch between orthography and vowel pointing.

The composite nature of the Tiberian tradition is not a novel object of enquiry; nor are apparent instances of resulting dissonance.² Indeed, in the case of many of the individual phe-

¹ Of course, the extant so-called consonantal text is not purely consonantal, as it includes numerous *matres lectionis* that represent vowel sounds. There is also a degree of dissonance internal to the Tiberian reading tradition itself, i.e., between vocalisation and accentuation; see M. Breuer (1980; 1981, 262); Y. Breuer (1991, 191–242; 2022); Kogut (1994); Price (2006); Revell (2015, 1–3); Habib (2021, esp. 13–14, 186–315).

² See Ginsberg (1934; 1937); Kahle (1959, 78–86, 100, 171–79); Barr (1981, 27, 35–36; 1984, 31; 1987, 207–22); Morag (1974); Hughes (1994); Tov (2012, 46–47); Joosten (2015); Hendel (2016, 31–32); Khan (2013a, 45–52, 68; 2013b; 2021, 1:56–85); Habib (2020); Hornkohl (2020a; 2020b).

nomena summarised in this introduction or discussed in chs 1–18 below, scholars have previously raised the possibility of discord within the combined Tiberian written-recitation tradition. It is also commonplace to attribute the dissonance in question to secondary developments in the reading tradition vis-à-vis the tradition reflected in the consonantal text. Against this scholarly background, the present monograph is intended to make a pair of contributions.

One is the mere collection of relevant features in a single resource. It is hoped that this will serve to improve upon the current situation, in which important discussions of Tiberian written-reading dissonance are scattered among various studies, so that the frequency of the phenomenon goes underestimated and the combined significance under-appreciated.

The other innovation involves the attempt to contextualise more precisely than is often done secondary deviation of the pronunciation tradition from the ostensible earlier pronunciation reflected in the consonantal tradition. Sensing secondary development, scholars often correctly, but rather cursorily and vaguely, declare the pronunciation tradition that has been preserved in the Tiberian vocalisation anachronistic and unreliable, without plumbing its historical depth. Obviously, the pronunciation tradition predates the medieval development of the graphic symbols with which it was eventually recorded, but by how much? As is repeatedly emphasised in this study, though the Tiberian pronunciation tradition regularly preserves Iron Age features and is not immune to Byzantine and medieval developments, the regularity of meaningful affinity between its apparent

secondary developments and acknowledged Second Temple forms of Hebrew demands that the Tiberian reading tradition be considered a product of Second Temple times.

But this is not the whole story. First, because much of the Tiberian pronunciation tradition accompanies a consonantal tradition anchored in First Temple times, its linguistic testimony cannot be considered exclusively representative of the Second Temple Period. The Tiberian reading tradition may have largely crystallised in the Second Temple Period, with clear indications of drift in the direction of later norms, especially where the ambiguity of certain consonantal forms made them amenable to secondary realisations. Yet, beyond the fact that the similarity between Iron Age and Second Temple Hebrew far exceeds the difference that distinguishes them, some degree of linguistic evolution was prevented by the unambiguousness of many consonantal forms that were not amenable to secondary realisations. In other words, in the marriage of the reading and written components, the latter acted as a brake of sorts, preventing fuller development of the reading tradition in line with Second Temple linguistic conventions.

Second, as is regularly stressed below, many of the secondary, characteristically late developments discussed in this study, have clear antecedents in CBH and/or Iron Age epigraphic Hebrew. This means that, while they may accurately be described as especially typical of Second Temple Hebrew, they often crop up as minority alternatives in earlier material. Thus, even in palpable cases of dissonance there is continuity between the First Temple Hebrew of the CBH consonantal tradition and of Iron Age

epigraphy and Second Temple deviations in the Tiberian pronunciation tradition.

1.0. *Ketiv-Qere, Qere Perpetuum, and Beyond*

The works that comprise the Hebrew Bible reflect diverse authors, sources, genres, locales, social groups, time periods, and secondary hands. It would be reasonable to expect substantial linguistic diversity. Yet various processes of standardisation have resulted in the levelling of a great deal of the expected diversity, so that the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition is remarkably uniform. Even so, Tiberian BH shows signs of diverse idiolects, registers, genrelects, regional dialects, sociolects, and chronolects.

Another aspect of BH diversity stems from variation in the traditions in which the Hebrew Bible has been transmitted. For example, the Tiberian, Babylonian, and Samaritan traditions present different manifestations of BH, with differences ranging from pronunciation to grammar.

Even within the dominant Tiberian Masoretic tradition, readers confront differences between the written and reading components of the tradition, i.e., the consonantal text and the vocalisation, respectively. In many places in the text, such dissonance is explicitly acknowledged and marked by the mechanism known as *ketiv-qere*. In the majority of such cases—the approximate number of which, estimated between 800 and 1500, varies depending on the manuscript and expert opinion (Yeivin 1980, 55; Ofer 2019, 92; Habib 2020, 285)—divergence between what is written (*ketiv* = the Aramaic passive participle כתיב ‘written’) and what is read (*qere* = the Aramaic passive participle קרי

‘read’) is indicated via vocalisation of the written form with the vowels of the form to be read, the consonants of which are given in the side or intercolumn margin. The discrepancy can involve a single letter, a whole word, or spacing between words. In other cases, the reading tradition has no parallel for a word or phrase, or, alternatively, requires the recitation of a word or words not included in the accompanying consonantal text. Sometimes, the *qere* specifies the meaning of a *ketiv* (Khan 2013a, 45–46; 2021, 33–49).

In cases of consistent conflict between the written and reading components of the tradition, no marginal note signals the discrepancy between consonantal spelling and pronunciation. Rather, the vocalisation alone signals the correct reading (Khan 2021, 34). Examples include realisation of the tetragrammaton יהוה *yhwh* as יהוה־יְהוָה *ʾăḏōnāy* ‘LORD’ (= אֲדֹנָי ‘Lord’) or יהוה־יְהוֹיָחִים *ʾēlōhīm* ‘GOD’ (= אֱלֹהִים ‘God, god’); see below, ch. 1) and of ירושלים **yərūšālēm* ‘Jerusalem’ (cf. שָׁלֵם ‘Salem’ Gen. 14.18) as *yərūšālayim* (see below, Introduction, §3.1). The phenomenon of consistent replacement of the *ketiv* with the *qere* is commonly known as *qere perpetuum*.

Whatever the exact explanation for individual cases of *ketiv-qere*, they constitute, at their most basic level, acknowledged instances of divergence between the written and pronunciation traditions, wherein the latter supersedes the former for purposes of oral recitation.

The *ketiv-qere* phenomenon is relevant to the subject of this monograph in two respects. First, many such divergences apparently reflect secondary developments in the reading tradition vis-

à-vis the corresponding earlier, i.e., more original, consonantal feature, e.g., the tetragrammaton יהוה *yhwh* realised as יהוה or יהוה ³ *ʾăḏōnāy* ‘LORD’ or יהוה ³ *ʾēlōhīm* ‘GOD’.

Additionally, notwithstanding their secondary character—and despite the fact that evidence for the (inter)marginal mechanism for signalling *ketiv-qere* and of *qere perpetuum* in masoretic codices comes no earlier than medieval manuscripts—the specific forms encountered in the *qere* tradition are clearly not just Byzantine or medieval developments, but are rooted in antiquity. This is borne out by several pieces of evidence, be it rabbinic, textual/versional, or perceptible within the Masoretic tradition itself.

First, several types of *ketiv-qere* are mentioned in the Talmud (Yeivin 1980, 56, §98, 58–59, §§102–4).

Euphemistic *qere*:

ת"ר (=תנו רבמן) כל המקראות הכתובין בתורה לגנאי קורין אותן
לשבח...³

Our Sages taught: All of the scriptures that are written in the Torah in impolite language are read in language beyond reproach...’ (Megilla 25b; see below, ch. 3)

Qere wela ketiv ‘read but not written’ and *ketiv wela qere* ‘written but not read’:

אמר רבי יצחק מקרא סופרים ועיטור סופרים וקריין ולא כתיבן וכתיבן
ולא קריין הלכה למשה מסיני...³

³ But cf. the discussion in Hornkohl (2022), where it is emphasised that there is not always clear diachronic linguistic progression between *ketiv* and *qere* readings of more or less equal plausibility.

Rabbi Yitzḥak said: “The vocalisation of the scribes, and the ornamentation of the scribes, and the verses with words that are read, but not written, and those that are written, but not read, are all *halakha* transmitted to Moses from Sinai...” (b. Nedarim 37b)

Qere perpetuum:

ר' אבינא רמי כתיב זה שמי לעלם וזה זכרי לדור דור אמר הקב"ה לא כשאני נכתב אני נקרא נכתב אני ביו"ד ה"א ונקרא אני באל"ף דל"ת

Rabbi Avina posed a challenge: “It is written זה שמי לעלם וזה זכרי לדור דור ‘This is my name forever and this is my memorial for all generations’ (Exod. 3.15). The Holy One, blessed be he, said: ‘Not as I am written am I read. I am written with *yod* and *heh*, but I am read with *’alef* and *dalet*.’” (b. Pesahim 50a)

Moreover, *qere*-type forms (along with *ktiv*-type forms) are routinely reflected in the ancient translations and non-Masoretic biblical traditions.⁴ An intriguing case discussed below (ch. 3, §1.1) is that of the Latin Vulgate rendering of *ktiv* שיניהם ‘their urine’ versus *qere* מִימֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם ‘water of their feet’ (Isa. 36.12b). Jerome’s rendering is *urinam pedum suorum* ‘urine of their feet’, which looks to be a conflation of the *ktiv* and *qere* traditions. This and other examples show that the interpretive diversity that many *ktiv-qere* cases reflect significantly preceded the literalisation of said diversity via the medieval masoretic *ktiv-qere* mechanism. As further evidence, consider the preliminary figures

⁴ See Gordis (1971, 55–66) for the relationship between *ktiv-qere* and the ancient versions. See Hornkohl (2022) for a comparison of Tiberian *ktiv* and *qere* and the combined Samaritan written and reading tradition.

given by Hornkohl (2020a, 412, fn. 5), who reports approximately equal proportions of agreement with *ketiv* and *qere* among the 159 cases of MT *ketiv-qere* paralleled in the BDSS.⁵

There are also instances of inner-biblical diversity that indicate the adoption of a secondary tradition over an earlier one in the case of parallel texts. CBH Josh. 21.11–39 presents around fifty instances of the word מְגֵרָשׁ ‘pastureland’ followed by the 3FS possessive suffix ה-. Written מְגֵרָשׁה, these show that the word was treated as a singular, presupposing a Tiberian realisation along the lines of מְגֵרָשׁה ‘its pastureland’.⁶ In the LBH parallel to Josh. 21.11–39 in 1 Chron. 6.40–66, the orthography is consistently different, מְגֵרָשִׁיה, the added *yod* indicating that the noun had come to be construed as a plural, ‘its pasturelands’. Intriguingly, the vocalisation of the form in Josh. 21.11–39, i.e., מְגֵרָשׁה, is not that of the singular implied by the orthography in Joshua, but corresponds instead to the plural morphology reflected in the spelling (and vocalisation) in 1 Chron. 6.40–66, מְגֵרָשִׁיה ‘its pasturelands’ (Barr 1984). The crucial point in the context of the present discussion is that the plural construal in question and the resulting dissonance between the written and reading compo-

⁵ More precisely, of the 159 cases of MT *ketiv-qere* paralleled in the BDSS, 70 show at least partial agreement with the *qere*, 72 partial agreement with the *ketiv*, and in 17 cases the form agrees with neither or is ambiguous. See also Kutscher (1974, 519–21).

⁶ This form may be attested in the phrase לְמַעַן מְגֵרָשָׁה לְבָזוּ (Ezek. 36.5), cf. ESV ‘that they might make its pasturelands a prey’, but the phrase is also analysable as an Aramaic-style infinitive (see below, ch. 12, §2.2, fn. 17).

nents of the tradition in Joshua should be dated no later than the consonantal text of the Chronicles passage (Khan 2020, I:57).

Beyond demonstrating special affinity between the Tiberian pronunciation of a CBH text and the orthography and pronunciation of its LBH parallel against the pronunciation tradition ostensibly reflected by the CBH orthography, the foregoing example also draws attention to an important point regarding explicit notation: *the written-reading divergence in Joshua is nowhere acknowledged in the Masoretic tradition as an instance of ketiv-qere dissonance*. This highlights the necessity of moving beyond cases of *ketiv-qere* dissonance formally acknowledged in the Masoretic tradition in order more fully to appreciate the historical depth of the Tiberian BH linguistic tradition. To be sure—and this is of critical importance in the present connection—*the extent of divergence between the Tiberian written and reading traditions exceeds instances of written-reading divergence explicitly recognised as ketiv-qere or qere perpetuum*. Indeed, most of the studies of written-reading divergence collected in the present volume have not traditionally been considered cases of *ketiv-qere*.

At this point, it is worth dedicating a few lines to terminology. In several of his studies, Khan (2013b, 464; 2020, I:34) utilises the terms *qere* and *ketiv* not just for acknowledged instances of dissonance explicitly recorded as cases of *ketiv-qere* and *qere perpetuum*, but also for cases of dissonance unacknowledged in masoretic sources. This is justified, since the extent of diversity within the Tiberian tradition is not exhausted by its recognition in masoretic sources. Notwithstanding the unassailable logic Khan's broad definitions of *ketiv* and *qere*, however, in deference

to common usage and to avoid misunderstanding, the terms *ketiv* and *qereare* in the present work reserved for traditionally acknowledged cases. For their part, instances of written-reading dissonance not explicitly recognised in masoretic notations and treatises are referred to herein as differences between ‘the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition’ or, more briefly, as differences between ‘the Tiberian written (or orthographic or spelling) and reading (or pronunciation or recitation) traditions’.

This terminology is not entirely satisfying. Beyond its verbosity, it is admitted that the labels suffer from a degree of inconsistency and imprecision. For one thing, the Tiberian written and reading forms are alternately treated as divergent elements of a single composite tradition and as related but separate traditions. The reader should bear in mind both the interrelatedness and the independence of the two elements.

Moreover, it is clear that the written tradition (or the written component of the combined tradition) was more than just the product of scribal transmission, but presupposes its own accompanying oral realisation. From this perspective, even within the composite Tiberian written-reading tradition, the reading tradition (or the reading component of the combined tradition) is not the sole pronunciation tradition reflected. The spelling of the consonantal text also presupposes a corresponding pronunciation tradition. Further, the written tradition (or component), often referred to as the ‘consonantal text’, itself likely incorporates multiple layers, probably including material that was at one time written in (more) purely consonantal orthography and only later

augmented with final and internal *matres lectionis*.⁷ This obviously means that the orthographic tradition itself likely reflects various strata of oral realisations. While this level of diversity rarely has implications for the phenomena discussed throughout the monograph, where it is significant, e.g., in the case of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms, in ch. 17, it is discussed in detail.

Finally, as already noted, the extant Tiberian pronunciation tradition manifests a degree of diversity. The occasional divergence between vocalisation and accents has already been mentioned (above, fn. 1). Beyond this, diversity in the Tiberian pronunciation tradition sometimes arises from differences in opinion and realisation among representatives of the tradition (Khan 2020, 92–99). For example, see below, ch. 4, on diversity among Tiberian authorities on the graphic representation and phonetic realisation of the proper name *Issachar*.

2.0. The Tiberian Reading Tradition in Historical Context

As is well known, it was not until the Middle Ages that the Tiberian vocalisation was definitively literised in the form of diacritics added to consonantal manuscripts. In contrast to the Tiberian consonantal tradition, which is already reflected in proto-masoretic DSS manuscripts (as one tradition among several repre-

⁷ Consider, in this connection, the orthographic disparity between Deut. 2.24–35; 3.14–4.1 as reflected in 4Q31 (4QDeut^d) and in the MT. While both show final and internal *matres*, the Qumran rendition is consistently more defective than the MT rendition, thereby almost certainly reflecting an earlier stage in orthographic development, though there is no obvious evidence of linguistic disparity and only slight textual incongruence.

sented in the Dead Sea fragments), the comparatively late written attestation of the vocalic tradition has led some to regard it with suspicion, as a largely secondary product of dubious textual, exegetical, and linguistic credibility. This scepticism arises from two considerations: first, the acknowledged oral nature of the reading tradition; second, the presumed temporal distance between textual composition and crystallisation of the reading tradition, at least as far as CBH material is concerned. All things being equal, it is reasonable to suspect that an unwritten tradition temporally far removed from its written counterpart would be more vulnerable to change than a similar written tradition, a temporally proximate oral tradition, or a temporally proximate written tradition.

While such concerns cannot be dismissed, they arguably betray a degree of misunderstanding. First, it is important to bear in mind that there was never a time when the written tradition of the Hebrew Bible was unaccompanied by audible tradition. Barr (1981, 35) states:

Reading traditions existed in the temple and synagogue from ancient times. Such reading traditions may well have antedated, rather than followed, the acceptance of a particular manuscript tradition as authoritative. When a more or less authoritative written text came to be accepted, it was found that no manuscript agreed entirely with the reading tradition that was already deemed to be correct.

In this way Barr accounts for acknowledged instances of *ketiv-qere* dissonance. But it is equally applicable to divergences between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition unregistered as instances of *ketiv-qere* in masoretic sources.

As to the matter of the presumed relative vulnerability of an orally transmitted pronunciation tradition vis-à-vis a written tradition, it is illustrative to present as a corrective the Karaite view noted by Khan (2021, I:123–24):

The Karaite Hebrew grammarians of the tenth and eleventh centuries were, in general, concerned with the reading tradition (*qere*) reflected by the Tiberian vocalization signs and showed little concern for the orthography of the written text (*ktiv*) (Khan 2000b; 2003; 2013b). The Karaite al-Qirqisānī, in his discussions of the bases of authority for the Hebrew Bible, contended that the ultimate authoritative source was the reading tradition of the people of Palestine (by which he meant Tiberias), rather than the written form of the text with orthographic inconsistencies. One of his justifications was that the reading tradition had been transmitted by the whole community (*ʿumma*) since the time of the prophets whereas the written orthography had been transmitted on the authority of small circles of scribes, which is, therefore, more liable to corruption or wilful change. (Khan 1990c)

The textual centrality of the oral tradition among the Karaites is illustrated by, among other things, their practice of recording biblical texts in Arabic letters. Crucially, the letters are not mere transliterations of the Hebrew consonantal tradition, but transcribe the oral realisation of the biblical text (Khan 2021, I:122–23). Similarly, as already seen, while masoretic scribes were obliged to reproduce the established consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible without changes, the definitive form of the biblical text read in public was that represented by the consonants with the vocalisation and accentuation, and—decisively—the *qere* when this differed from the *ktiv*.

And what of the time span that is thought to separate the composition of the biblical texts and their final vocalisation? Even if one or more communities eventually managed to preserve an ancient oral tradition, is it reasonable to imagine that such traditions might extend back to the biblical period? In the present volume an effort is made to answer this question. In the meantime, several preliminary considerations may be raised.

First, it is important to acknowledge that, as far as the relationship between the consonantal text and the vocalisation is concerned, instances of written-reading dissonance, while not rare, are far from the norm. Throughout the vast majority of the biblical text, the consonantal text and pronunciation tradition seem to be in harmony, with no reason to suspect divergence between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition.

Second, focusing on the relatively rare cases of written-reading dissonance, it is true that points of divergence between the Tiberian tradition's written and reading components often reflect secondary developments in the reading tradition. Significantly, however, these secondary divergences frequently correspond to developments especially characteristic of the language of Second Temple sources. The marked affinity between the Tiberian reading tradition and Second Temple Hebrew is strong evidence that the reading tradition was largely finalised in the Second Temple Period.

But there is need for nuance. The reading tradition's late crystallisation should not be taken to mean that it is uniformly comprised of Second Temple Hebrew. Beyond the fact that com-

monalities linking First and Second Temple Hebrew far outnumber differences that divide them, there is no reason to doubt the routine preservation of genuine Iron Age linguistic features in a tradition that acquired its final shape in the post-exilic period.

Finally, it is here emphasised that many cases of dissonance between the Tiberian consonantal and vocalisation traditions, though secondary and relatively late, are not in fact Second Temple innovations. Rather, they frequently constitute minority Iron Age developments whose distinctive Second Temple character relates to late *proliferation*. Indeed, it was precisely on the basis of such Second Temple proliferation that their use was extended within the biblical reading tradition to pre-Second Temple material. In other words, the anachronistic character of the recitation tradition's deviations from the pronunciation implied by the consonantal text frequently lies not in the *nature* of the deviation—many of which are attested in early material—but in the *extension* of such secondary features, often to the point of their *standardisation*. It is this standardisation, rather than mere occurrence, that is diagnostic of Second Temple crystallisation.

If the arguments in this volume prove compelling, then the Tiberian reading tradition must be deemed a linguistic artefact of considerable historical depth. The analogy of depth can be understood in two ways, i.e., the linguistic tradition both extends deeply into history and comprises multiple layers of material (Hornkohl 2020b, 228–29). Indeed, its most obvious secondary features, in the form of divergences from the written tradition—which, again, it must be emphasised, are comparatively few—reflect dates no later than the Second Temple Period and, in many

cases, represent secondary developments already attested in the CBH consonantal tradition and/or Iron Age epigraphy. This, in turn, demands a broad scholarly reassessment of the ramifications of the reading tradition's antiquity for exegetical, textual, and linguistic research. No longer can the Tiberian vocalisation be summarily dismissed as hopelessly anachronistic, with little to no connection to the earliest linguistic forms of the biblical texts. Rather, it merits serious consideration, even in its most obviously secondary and most conspicuously late features.

3.0. Examples

Before turning to the eighteen individual studies that make up the bulk of this monograph, it will be helpful to prime the reader with brief summaries of known cases of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition, most of which have been discussed elsewhere. In the following cases, the Tiberian reading tradition is characterised by the standardisation of a secondary development known from post-exilic sources. Even so, in some cases, the secondary feature has roots in CBH and/or Iron Age epigraphy.

3.1. The Toponym 'Jerusalem': יְרוּשָׁלַיִם versus יְרוּשָׁלַיִם⁸

The accepted Tiberian pronunciations of the toponym 'Jerusalem'—namely, contextual יְרוּשָׁלַיִם *yərūšālayim* (pausal יְרוּשָׁלַיִם *yərū-šālāyim*) and contextual directional יְרוּשָׁלַיְמָה *yərūšālaymā* (pausal directional יְרוּשָׁלַיְמָה *yərūšālaymā*)—conflict with the dominant spellings of the name in the written component of the Tiberian

⁸ Hornkohl (2013a, 91–95).

biblical tradition, namely ירושלם and ירושלמה (which spellings occur in all but five of 643 cases). The orthography does not reflect the triphthong in the ending *-ayim* (pausal *-āyīm*) or the diphthong in the ending *-aymā* (pausal *-āymā*). This mismatch has resulted in the unique situation of two vowels being marked between the last two consonants of the word: יְרוּשָׁלַם (pausal יְרוּשָׁלַם) or יְרוּשָׁלַמָה (pausal יְרוּשָׁלַמָה). A similar strategy is employed in the Babylonian tradition, though it not infrequently shows just a single vowel between the *lamed* and *mem*. Yeivin (1985, 1088–89) attributes such incomplete vocalisations in the most ancient stratum of the tradition and in the composite vocalisation to no more than a lack of rigour on the part of punctuators, whereas he entertains the possibility that the frequency of such vocalisations in the tradition's intermediate stratum reflects a different phonological realisation.

Aside from dominating in the Tiberian and Babylonian written traditions, the spelling ירושלם is also found in the earliest epigraphic attestation of the city's name, in an inscription from Khirbet Beit Lehi (5.2), which dates to the late sixth century BCE. And such spellings persist in Second Temple documents and literature. The realisation represented by the spelling might have been expected to yield something along the lines of Tiberian יְרוּשָׁלַם* **yərūšālēm*. Similar realisations with monophthongs in the final syllable are found in BA יְרוּשָׁלַם, TA יְרוּשָׁלַם-/לַם, Syriac ܝܪܘܫܠܡ/ܝܪܘܫܠܡ, Greek Ἱερουσαλήμ, and Latin *Hierusalem* (HALOT 437a). Consider also the form of the toponym שָׁלֵם 'Salem' (Gen. 14.18; Ps. 76.3).

However, against the view that the Tiberian reading tradition's pronunciation *yərūšālayim* is a medieval innovation, spellings presupposing the diphthongal ending, in the form of ירושלים and ירושלימה, appear five times in the Tiberian written tradition (Jer. 26.18; Est. 2.6; 1 Chron. 3.5; 2 Chron. 25.1; 32.9) and are common in non-Tiberian biblical and post-biblical sources, e.g., DSS biblical and non-biblical material, coins from the Second Temple Period, and rabbinic literature.

The overall distribution of the spelling ירושלים in ancient Hebrew sources, including the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition, indicates that a realisation along the lines of *yərūšālayim* represented a Second Temple convention that was standardised in the Tiberian reading tradition despite the dominant orthography. This is consistent with the view that the Tiberian reading tradition took its essential shape in the Second Temple Period. Evidence is insufficient to substantiate whether or not the sort of pronunciation preserved in the Tiberian reading tradition predates the Second Temple Period.

3.2. Univerbalisation of the Infinitive Construct with Prefixed ל⁹

In the Tiberian tradition, the phonetic realisation of the *qal II-bgdkpt* construct infinitive varies depending on whether or not the form is preceded by a prefixed preposition and on the identity of the preposition. Blau (2010, 213–14) explains as follows:

The construct infinitive is frequently governed by prepositions, especially by ל. Originally this ל had a fully preposi-

⁹ Hornkohl (2020a, 230–57).

tional meaning, as, e.g., ‘in order to’ (e.g., וַיֵּרַד יְהוָה לִרְאֹת אֶת־הָעִיר ‘and the Lord came down to see the town’ Gen 11:5); later the ל became a part of the infinitive.... This is reflected both by the form and by the syntactic usage of the preposition. Formally, the ל became integrated into the infinitive. In some forms of the *qal* infinitive, the ל appears to be in close internal juncture: the *šwa* that begins the infinitive behaves as a genuine quiescent *šwa*, and subsequent ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת letters are vocalized as stops, e.g., לִנְפֹל ‘to fall’, as opposed to simple נָפַל and כָּנַפַל/בָּנַפַל ‘when falling’. In Rabbinic Hebrew the univerbalization of the infinitive with ל is even more progressed: the ל is always attached to the infinitive, even after other prepositions, and the infinitive is totally remodelled after the prefix-tense.... The special vocalization of the construct infinitive in Biblical Hebrew after ל, corresponding to the vocalization of the prefix-tense... is undoubtedly in the line of Rabbinic Hebrew (and may even reflect the impact of Rabbinic Hebrew on the Masoretes) (see also Blau 2010, 115).

However, several lines of argumentation converge to show that the apparent distinction between the Tiberian written and reading traditions is not as neat and tidy as a mere dichotomy of BH versus RH. Rather, pre-rabbinic evidence, including some from the Tiberian written tradition itself, shows that the process of univerbalisation that is attested in the reading tradition and that culminated in RH, was also earlier very much underway. Significant pieces of evidence include:

1. apparent DSS transitional forms, e.g., **liggoa*^c ‘to touch’ (4Q53 f2–5i.5; cf. BH לָגַעַת/לִגְעַת and RH לִיַעַ), which was secondarily corrected to **lingoa*^c, and לִשׁוֹל **liššol* ‘to clear away’ (1QM 10.1–2; cf. BH לִנְשַׁל* and RH לִישַׁל*)—

- the apparent assimilation of *n* in these forms was possible only after the vowel following *n* had shortened to zero;
2. the distinction in preposition vocalisation, -לְ, on the one hand, versus -בַּ and -בְּ, on the other, in *qal* I-y and II-w/y verbs, e.g., בְּלִדָּתָא ‘when bearing’ versus לְלִדָּתָא ‘to bear’ and בְּבוֹאָא ‘in coming’ and אַחֲרֵיבוֹאָא ‘after coming’ versus לְבוֹאָא ‘to come (in the Tiberian as well as Babylonian traditions, and with parallels in the Samaritan tradition);
 3. the overall rarity of infinitives construct without a preceding preposition in all biblical consonantal traditions and the dominance of infinitives with -לְ in late material, e.g., Tiberian LBH, BA, DSS Hebrew, the Hebrew of BS, and RH;
 4. the predominantly late character of structures involving an infinitive with -לְ preceded by another preposition;
 5. the substitution in late material of infinitives with preceding -לְ for CBH infinitives without preceding -לְ.

It has been argued that the Tiberian phonological realisation of *qal* II-*bgdkpt* construct infinitives is a rabbinic or later anachronism alien to older BH phonology. Against this claim, phonological, morphological, and syntactic evidence may be adduced to demonstrate that the univerbalisation of the infinitive construct with -לְ was underway in the linguistic stratum reflected in classical biblical consonantal material. The corresponding CBH reading tradition may indeed reflect a later stratum, perhaps vaguely contemporaneous with the combined Tiberian LBH written-reading tradition, but the difference more of degree than essence, since both strata lie at points on the same developmental line, which culminated in RH.

3.3. יום הַשֵּׁשִׁי versus הַיּוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי ‘The Sixth Day’ and Similar¹⁰

BH norms of noun-attribute concord typically involve agreement in gender, number, and definiteness. However, exceptions, especially in terms of agreement in definiteness, have long been known. Further complicating matters is the apparent dissonance between the written (consonantal) and reading (vocalic) components of the Tiberian biblical tradition, especially in poetry (Ley 1891; Lambert 1898; GKC §126h; Barr 1989, 310–12, 325–33). In poetic compositions in the Hebrew Bible, when the sequence [noun + article + adjective] is preceded by a clitic preposition, e.g., *-כּ*, *-בּ*, or *-לְ*, the double-article DETERMINED NOUN + DETERMINED ADJECTIVE formulation dominates; but when the noun has no attached preposition, the construction occasionally has a single-article ANARTHROUS NOUN + DETERMINED ADJECTIVE formulation.

Conspicuous in this connection—even outside of poetry—are expressions comprising the noun יום ‘day’ and an attributive ordinal numeral. In the Tiberian biblical tradition, when this combination is preceded by a clitic preposition, it consistently comes in the symmetrical, double-article formulation DETERMINED NOUN + DETERMINED ORDINAL (of the 126 occurrences, 125 involve *-כּ*, one *-לְ*). Conversely, on eight occasions when there is no preceding clitic preposition, an alternative, asymmetric, single-article ANARTHROUS NOUN + DETERMINED ORDINAL syntagm obtains. The incongruity is especially conspicuous in the local discord

¹⁰ Hornkohl (2020b).

among the three relevant cases in (1), which occur in successive verses.

- (1) וַיְבַל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיִּשְׁבַּח בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי
 מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה: וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־יְוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדְּשׁ אֹתוֹ...
 ‘And **on the seventh day** God finished his work that he had done, and he rested **on the seventh day** from all his work that he had done. So God blessed **the seventh day** and made it holy...’ (Gen. 2.2–3a)

Consider also the diversity between the three cases in (2):

- (2) וּשְׁבַעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ אֶדְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבִּיתוּ שְׂאֵר מִבֵּיתְכֶם כִּי
 | כֹּל־אֵבֶל חֶמֶץ וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד־יְוֹם
 הַשְּׁבִיעִי:

‘Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread. **On the first day** you shall remove leaven out of your houses, for if anyone eats what is leavened, **from the first day until the seventh day**, that person shall be cut off from Israel.’ (Exod. 12.15)

Broadly speaking, there are two approaches to explaining the clash between single- and double-article יום + ordinal constructions in the Tiberian biblical tradition. According to the first approach, they are to be viewed as abbreviations of common phrasal constructions in which the initial article has been deleted, perhaps under vernacular pressure. This is in line with S. R. Driver’s ([1892] 1998, §209) observation on such RH cases as יצר הרע ‘the great synagogue’ (m. ‘Eruvin 10.10) and יצר הרע ‘evil inclination’ (m. ‘Avot 2.11) that “the usage appears to have arisen in connexion with familiar words, which were felt to be sufficiently definite in themselves without the addition of the ar-

title.” Parade Masoretic BH examples of single-article constructions include *הַצֵּר הַפְּנִימִי* ‘inner court’ (Ezek. 40.28), *בְּשָׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית*, *לִיהוֹיָקִים* ‘in the fourth year of Jehoiakim’ (Jer. 46.2), and *בְּדֶרֶךְ הַטּוֹבָה וְהַיְשָׁרָה* ‘in the good and right way’ (1 Sam. 12.23). While some such ‘pseudo-construct’ expressions are likely genuine vestiges that reflect a linguistic stage before the standardisation of determination agreement (Borg 2000), others (like the three preceding examples) are probably secondary results of construal as fixed compounds, whether the resulting nouns were deemed common (lexicalisation) or proper (onymisation) (Moshavi and Rothstein 2018, 116, fn. 54).

Single-article *יֵם* + ordinal constructions are arguably to be explained differently (GKC §126w, fn. 9). Several pieces of evidence may be cited in support of the view that, in this case, an archaic single-article construction was secondarily supplanted by a double-article alternative. First, within Tiberian BH, the complementary distribution of single- and double-article *יֵם* + ordinal constructions is suspiciously suppletive. The double-article alternative obtains only where a cliticised preposition permits its articulation before *יֵם*, or, in the absence of such a preposition—crucially—in acknowledged late contexts: LBH Dan. 10.12 and Neh. 8.18 and NBDSS 4Q216 7.12 = Jub. 2.21 and 4Q284 f2ii 3–4; f3.2.

Further evidence of the Second Temple character of the symmetrical DETERMINED NOUN+DETERMINED ORDINAL construction comes from Aramaic and Syriac. Not only do the Targums and the Peshiṭta, respectively, rather consistently present double-article constructions composed of DETERMINED NOUN + DETER-

MINED ORDINAL—including, notably, in most of their renderings of the eight cases of Masoretic CBH single-article formulation—but this agreement is routine in those languages outside of biblical translations, too. It is possible that convergence with Aramaic contributed to the process of movement from single- to double-article םי + ordinal structures, though the process may well have begun within Hebrew in connection to the standard norm of adjectival agreement.

If double-article םי + ordinal structures are indeed secondary in ancient Hebrew, then this explains the suppletion in Tiberian CBH. The single-article construction was preserved only where the consonantal text was not amenable to double-article vocalisation. On the basis of the consistency of single-article םי + ordinal when םי is preceded by -ב or -ל, it stands to reason that BH at one time knew structures of the type םי* + הַשְׁשִׁי, in accord with the type םי הַשְׁשִׁי. If so, at least some portion of the extant cases of the type בַּיּוֹם הַשְׁשִׁי must be due to secondary reinterpretation, which has led to the current dissonance between the vocalisation implied by the consonantal tradition and the Tiberian vocalisation.

As already noted, the recognition of dissonance is not new (Lambert 1895; GKC §126h; Sperber 1966, 603; Barr 1989, 310–12, 325–33; Borg 2000, 31, 33; JM §138b). It is commonly hypothesised that the consistent double-article syntax of expressions of the type בַּיּוֹם הַשְׁשִׁי is due to secondary recasting in line with both standard BH noun-adjective concord and post-exilic consonantal evidence of the double-article structure םי + ordinal. Borg (2000, 33) goes so far as to speculate that *all* biblical and

DSS יום + ordinal expressions with cliticised prepositions were originally single-article constructions. This seems extreme, given the occurrence of consonantly unambiguous double-article constructions in LBH and the DSS. A plausible hypothesis in light of the evidence is that Second Temple Hebrew was characterised by genuine cases of the type בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי as well as persistence of the type בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי*.

Barr's (1989, 330) comments on early poetry have broader application:

[A]lthough we cannot assume that every 'article' marked upon a preposition *b*, *k*, or *l* in early poetry was 'really' there, it is unwise scepticism to suppose that none of them were really there or that only those marked with the consonantal *h* can be taken as actual.... Though the reading tradition was not always 'right', this is not an adequate reason for supposing that in this respect it was always wrong....

The use of the article was in a process of change during—perhaps one should even say 'throughout'—the biblical period; and I have said nothing of the post-biblical usage, which certainly deserves to be taken into consideration here as well. This could mean that some of the reconstitution of patterns in the later reading tradition was in continuity with processes that were taking place during biblical times; it could even mean that some of this reconstitution was already under way within the formation of the Bible.

The Second Temple consonantal evidence adduced above for הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי gives a latest possible date for the development of the syntax reflected in masoretic vocalisations of the type בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי. Significantly, however, establishing an earliest possible

date is precluded by a frustrating lack of evidence. One might speculate that, with a larger sample size of CBH cases without clitic prepositions, sporadic CBH cases of the type היום הששי might conceivably have occurred. Irrespective of this eventuality, a scenario can be imagined in which doubly-determined ביום הששי structures developed without double-article היום הששי ever having enjoyed widespread currency. Indeed, this is the most straightforward reading of the evidence, since double-article היום הששי is very rarely attested in any phase of ancient Hebrew. Indeed, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that doubly-determined expressions with clitic prepositions, like ביום הששי, preceded and influenced the development of doubly-determined cases without clitic prepositions, like היום הששי. If suppletive syntax could take hold in the Tiberian reading tradition, why not earlier? One cannot discount the possibility that the double-article structure ביום הששי developed in Iron Age Hebrew, coexisting with single-article היום הששי, and that the Tiberian reading tradition merely standardised the double marking where possible.

In sum, while single-article constructions without prepositions of the type היום הששי likely predate double-article היום הששי alternatives, the Tiberian vocalisation of double-article expressions with prepositions, as in ביום הששי, are likely secondary in some CBH contexts, but are in line with unequivocal LBH and DSS Hebrew consonantal evidence. A dearth of evidence precludes determining when the double-article formulation was coined. It was certainly established by Second Temple times; it may well have arisen earlier.

3.4. The 3MPL Gentilic: יִי־ versus יִי־¹¹

The typical Tiberian BH MPL gentilic ending is generally the same as that characteristic of MPL substantives, i.e., יִי־ *-im*. It seems clear in the case of 3MPL gentilics that this is due to secondary syncope of an earlier phonetic realisation with consonantal *y*, e.g., *-iy(y)im/-i:im/-i'yim/-im* < *-iyyim*.¹² In view of the consistently defective spelling of plural *-im* in Iron Age Hebrew inscriptional sources (Gogel 1998, 61–73), the *yod* in such forms as the Arad letters' כתיים 'Kittites' is almost certainly consonantal, i.e., *kittiy(y)im*. A similar picture emerges from cognate inscriptions, with spellings like Phoenician דננים *danuniy(y)im* and Ugaritic /ʔugrtym/ ʔugaritiy(y)im 'Ugarites'.

Turning to Second Temple sources, the DSS present orthographic evidence consistent with both the continued consonantal realisation of *y* (or some reflex thereof) and contraction to simple *-im*. Forms spelled with double *yod* outnumber those with a single *yod* by counts of 23:18 in the BDSS and 11:3 in the NBDSS (for details, see Hornkohl 2018a, 89, fn. 51). While the phonetic values of the relevant spellings cannot be determined with certainty, it is reasonable to assume that they reflect a variety of pronunciations, presumably a continuum from geminated or singleton consonantal realisation, through hiatus, glottal epenthesis, and/or extended *i*-vowel, to complete contraction to *-im* (Reymond 2014, 120–22; cf. Qimron 1986, 24; 2018, 95–97). Codex

¹¹ Hornkohl (2018, 86–91).

¹² The gemination of *y* in such cases may itself be secondary, though early (Suchard 2019, 59 and fn. 8).

Kaufmann of the Mishna, material from BS, and the Samaritan reading tradition, in all of which contracted MPL gentilic dominates, furnish confirmatory evidence of the late proliferation of syncope.

Coming to the relevant form in the Tiberian reading tradition, we find that it is with very few exceptions syncopated to *-īm*, corresponding to the standard MPL suffix on non-gentilic substantives, *-īm*. Given the evident incidence of syncopated realisations of MPL gentilic ם- in the DSS, BS, the Samaritan biblical reading tradition, and RH, it is clear that the Tiberian reading tradition presents a phonetic realisation in line with late Second Temple practices.

But might such a syncopated realisation date to even earlier? There is evidence, albeit ambiguous and/or limited, suggesting that it might. The Tiberian consonantal tradition presents a single potential case of contracted 3MPL gentilic ending. Consider example (3):

- (3) וַיִּקְשֶׁן יָלֵד אֶת־שֵׁבָא וְאֶת־דֶּדָן וּבְנֵי דָדָן הֵיוּ אֲשׁוּרִים וְלֶטוּשִׁים וְלֵאֲמִים:
 ‘And Jokshan fathered Sheba and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were **Asshurim** and Letushim and Leummim. (Gen. 25.3)

While identification of the form אֲשׁוּרִים as a gentilic with syncopated *-īm* ending arguably suits the genealogical context, it may be otherwise explained (Kiel 2000, 204).

More promising, but still questionable evidence for syncope comes from Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy. In contrast to the routine consonantal *y* in the Arad Letters’ כתיים *kittiy(y)im* ‘Kittites’ comes potential evidence of contraction *-iy(y)im > -īm* in the

form אַדמִים, presumably *'edomim* 'Edomites' (Arad 3.12). Though the context is broken, mention of Edom elsewhere in the corpus, most explicitly in Arad 24.20 (see also 21.5; 40.10, 15) lends support to this interpretation. Intriguingly, the main argument raised in objection to the reading of a MPL gentilic here is the otherwise unattested contracted realisation of the MPL gentilic ending in the ancient Hebrew epigraphic corpus (see Gogel 1998, 182, fn. 217, and the works cited there).

The most secure supporting evidence for the early contraction of the MPL gentilic ending is found in the relatively frequent Phoenician reference to צִדְנִים 'Sidonians', which goes as far back as the 8th century BCE.¹³

In its consistent presentation of a syncopated MPL gentilic ending, the Tiberian reading tradition reflects standardisation of a secondary development. Though secondary, the development in question is not only well represented in Second Temple consonantal sources, but apparently sporadically evidenced in even earlier written material. The contraction *-im* < *-iy(y)im* is presumably an early vernacular phenomenon, only sporadically preserved in early sources, that came to dominate in certain Second Temple traditions, including the Tiberian reading tradition.

¹³ *KAI* 31.1 (8th cent BCE); 13.1–2 (5th cent BCE); 14.1–2, 13–15, 18, 20 (5th cent BCE); Gibson 1971–1982, no. 29 (3x) (400 BCE).

3.5. The 3MS Possessive Suffix on Singulars and Similar: ה- versus י-¹⁴

In all traditions of BH, the dominant 3MS possessive (nominal) suffix for singular nouns and similar is י-. In the Tiberian tradition, the written and reading components agree on this morphology in 7710 of 7765 cases (Andersen and Forbes 1986, 183, 323). In the 55 exceptions, the written tradition presents ה-. Sometimes this is the *ketiv* and the accompanying *qere* calls for י-. On other occasions, the standard vocalisation is simply imposed upon the anomalous orthography in the form of הֿ-. Either way, these appear to be instances of phonological dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition.

The spelling ה- dominates for the 3MS possessive suffix in ancient Hebrew epigraphy (Gogel 1993, 155–56). It is generally thought to have developed to reflect realisations of the type *-ahū*, *-ihū*, or *-uhū*. Yet, given the propensity for marking final long vowels in ancient Hebrew inscriptions, it is not impossible that *-ahū* had already shifted to *-ō* (via elision of *heh* and monophthongisation of *-aw*) (Zevit 1980, 17, no. 23). Another possibility is that ה- in the inscriptions and the Bible was meant to reflect something along the lines of *-ēh*, which is the standard Aramaic parallel (Young 1993, 105–6, 126).

Assuming BH 3MS ה- reflected some realisation other than standard *-ō*, there is strong evidence that the dissonance on this point between the Tiberian tradition's written and reading components is early. In other words, though ה- is clearly archaic and

¹⁴ See Hornkohl (2012, 67–69).

was probably not originally meant to represent $-\bar{o}$, there are strong indications that 3MS $-\bar{o}$ is itself quite ancient. Not only is it the dominant form throughout the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition,¹⁵ it is also attested as a minority form in Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy (ושלחו ‘and send [MS] it!’ Arad 13.4 [verbal]; בו ‘in him’ Ketef H̄innom 1.11). Moreover, Tiberian 3ms ה- is sometimes paralleled in the BDSS by ו- (e.g.,), while in SH, it is consistently paralleled by ו- $-u$. Ancient transcriptional evidence also reflects $-o$ —the Secunda has $-\omega$ (Brønno 1943, 362) and Jerome has $-o$.¹⁶

While the difference between the majority Iron Age epigraphic orthography ה- and the majority biblical spelling ו- must

¹⁵ The orthography ה- pointed with *holam* is common in the Tiberian biblical tradition in other categories as well, especially proper nouns, like שלמה ‘Solomon’, פַּרְעֹה ‘Pharaoh’, שְׁלֹה ‘Shiloh’, שׁוֹכָה ‘Socoh’, and גִּלֹה ‘Gilo’, and the III-y *qal* infinitive absolute forms. In contrast to the spelling of 3MS ה-, which largely gave way to ו-, the spelling of such proper names and toponyms with הֹ- persists throughout all chronolects of Hebrew.

¹⁶ I am grateful to my friend and colleague, Benjamin Kantor (f.c.), for supplying the following data from his forthcoming book: *brucho* || BHS בְּרוּחֹו ‘in his spirit’ (Ps. 32.2); *dercho* || BHS דֶּרְכֹו ‘his way’ (Prov. 8.22); *baaphpho* || BHS בְּאַפֹו ‘in his nose/nostrials’ (Isa. 2.22); *mnuatho* || BHS מְנַחְתֹו ‘his residence/resting place’ (Isa. 11.10); *cadoso* || BHS קִדְשֹו ‘his holiness’ (Isa. 63.10); *chullo* || BHS כְּלֹה ‘all of it [MS]’ (Ezek. 11.15); *aphpho* || BHS אַפֹו ‘his anger’ (Amos. 1.11); *masio* || BHS מַה־שְׁחֹו ‘what his meditation [is]’ (Amos. 4.13); *messio* || comments on מְשִׁיחֹו ‘his Messiah’ (Amos. 4.13); *baemunatho* || BHS בְּאַמוֹנָתֹו ‘by his faith’ (Hab. 2.4); *iado* || BHS מִיָּדֹו ‘from his hand’ (Hab. 3.4). Note that the Tiberian form in Ezek. 11.15 ends in *heh*: כְּלֹה.

be explained (by a Second Temple orthographic revision?) and while there is no certainty that First and Second Temple spellings with ו- were necessarily read with an *o*-vowel, the combination of the unanimous testimony of the ancient transcriptions and the Masoretic Tiberian and Babylonian reading traditions makes an *o*-vowel the most likely candidate (against Samaritan *-u* < *-hu*). In this case, then, the antiquity of the Tiberian reading tradition's *-ō* where the written tradition has ה- seems to be vouchsafed by robust Second Temple evidence. Assuming that the minority epigraphic and dominant Masoretic spellings ו- also represent *-ō*, the phonology in question can be traced all the way back to First Temple times. Alternatively, the realisation was *-aw*, for which *-ō* is a later reflex.

3.6. The 3MS Possessive Suffix on Plurals and Similar:

ו- versus יוֹ-¹⁷

In the Tiberian biblical tradition, the standard 3MS possessive suffix on plural nouns is written יוֹ-, but realised as *-āw* [כ:v]. Such a written-reading correlation is counterintuitive, but sufficiently established that a number of words without the 3ms suffix that end in *-āw* [כ:v], have also acquired spellings with ו-, e.g., MT *ketiv* and *qere* יחדיו 'together', MT *qere* קתיו 'winter/autumn, rainy season', MT *qere* עגיו 'humble', DSS עישיו 'Esau', DSS תיו 'hook', RH עכשיו 'now'.

Two general explanations have been offered for the unexpected presence of a *yod* in a suffix pronounced *-āw* [כ:v]. One is that it was added secondarily as a grammatical *mater lectionis* to

¹⁷ See Hornkohl (2020, 257–73).

indicate plurality. The other is that it is not secondary, but reflects an oral realisation different from the one preserved in the Tiberian pronunciation tradition. Specifically, it is thought that it represented triphthongal *-ayu* or *-eyu* in contrast to the diphthongal Tiberian pronunciation *-āw* [ɔ:v]. Given the not-infrequent occurrence in the Tiberian written tradition of *ṭ-* without *yod* in cases where the combination of a plural with 3MS suffix is expected, along with the dominant use of *ṭ-* alone in such cases in Iron Age Hebrew epigraphic sources, the view that attributes the dissonance between the written and reading components to diversity in pronunciations of the 3MS suffix is arguably the more compelling of the two.

Crucially, however, no matter which explanation is adopted, both presuppose the relative antiquity of the form preserved in the reading tradition vis-à-vis the standard orthography. For whether the orthography *ṭ-* is due to secondary addition of a grammatical *mater* or reflects genuine phonology with consonantal *yod*, the extant historical evidence points to the antiquity of the spelling *ṭ-* and of a realisation consistent therewith, whether *-aw* (> *-o?*) or *-ew*, with inscriptional evidence from Gezer (ninth-tenth century BCE), Yavne Yam (= Mešad Ḥashavyahu; late seventh century BCE), and Lachish (early sixth century BCE). If so, this constitutes a rather rare situation in which the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition may preserve a feature older than that reflected in the corresponding written component.

But there is more to the story. The spelling *ṭ-* is also known from ancient Hebrew epigraphy, specifically from the mid-sev-

enth-century BCE Ketef Hinnom silver inscriptions. If so, then the spelling v -, apparently representative of a triphthongal realisation, might constitute an ancient minority feature, which was standardised in the Tiberian written tradition. By contrast, an apparently majority ancient spelling-pronunciation tradition underlies the dominant Tiberian pronunciation, which is also preserved in a minority of spellings in the MT. Later, the co-occurrence of the spelling v - and the realisation *-aw/-av* led to the extension of the use of written v - to other instance of realisations of *-aw/-av*, even where there was no 3MS suffix.

If the above discussion is correct, the dominant 3MS traditions of both the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition are authentically old, but the normal situation, according to which the reading tradition reflects the standardisation of an ancient minority feature in line with Second Temple conventions, has been reversed. For in this case, it is the written form v - that is the minority form in unambiguously dated early material, becoming common only in Second Temple sources. Against this, apparently diphthongal v is the majority Iron Age form and is preserved in the Tiberian reading tradition.

3.7. Attenuation of *a* to *i*

Narrowly interpreted, the Tiberian Hebrew *a* > *i* vowel shift traditionally termed ‘attenuation’ is a case of dissimilation operative when there are two consecutive closed syllables with /a/ vowels, the second of which is stressed: $C_1aC_2C_3\acute{a}C_4 > C_1iC_2C_3\acute{a}C_4$. Well-known examples include מגדל ‘tower’ (< *magdal*), מרים ‘Miriam’ (< *maryam*), and שבעה ‘seven (M)’ (< *šab‘at*). The process is said

to be blocked if $C_2 = C_3$ (i.e., if the syllable is closed by gemination), e.g., מִתְּנָה ‘gift’, מְסַע ‘journey’; if $C_1 = C_3$ or $C_2 = C_4$ (i.e., in the case of reduplication), e.g., לְלָלָה ‘wheel’ (but cf. לְלָלָה ‘Gilgal’); and by the presence of a guttural or, sometimes, /r/ or /l/, e.g., מְעֵגָל ‘circle’, מְרַבֵּד* ‘carpet, tapestry’, מְלֵמֵד* ‘prod, ox goad’. Once these cases are accounted for, there are very few exceptions (Koller 2013; see also Sivan and Qimron 1995, 20–26). Broader interpretations of attenuation that lump together various other sorts of shifts $a > i$ under the same heading are today largely rejected (Blake 1950; Lambdin 1985; Koller 2013).

Because attenuation seems to be largely absent from the Greek and Latin transcriptions, as well as from SH, and because it is far less extensive in the Babylonian biblical pronunciation tradition than in Tiberian Hebrew, its extensiveness in the Tiberian biblical tradition is widely regarded as a very late development (Blau 2010, 132, §3.5.7.6.13; Koller 2013; Hendel 2016, 32). Indeed, since Jerome still has *Magdal* in his Latin translation of the Bible (c. 400 ce), Rendsburg (2013, 108) dates the shift to sometime between 400 and 850 CE. The frequent exceptions to attenuation are also taken by some as evidence that the shift was late and never completed (Blau 2010, 132, §3.5.7.6.13).

There seems little doubt that from the perspective of the extent of attenuation a to i , the Tiberian biblical pronunciation tradition reflects greater innovation than what is seen in the pronunciation evidence of the LXX, Origen’s Hexapla, Jerome, and the Samaritan and Babylonian reading traditions (see Khan 2020, I:66–67). But does this necessarily entail the view that the sound shift began post-400 CE, i.e., that it was unknown in earlier He-

brew? In light of the historical precedence seen in other linguistic features that became standard in the Tiberian reading tradition, it seems worth entertaining the possibility that in the case of attenuation, too, a relatively early feature of limited extension was eventually regularised in Tiberian pronunciation.

Indeed, there are sporadic signs of $a > i$ attenuation in pre-Tiberian Hebrew sources. In his discussion of the Second Column of Origen's Hexapla (i.e., the *Secunda*, c. 250 CE¹⁸), Brønno (1943, 284–85) lists the forms $\mu\sigma\gamma\alpha\beta$ || MT מְשֻׁבָּב 'stronghold' (Ps. 46.8, 12) and $\mu\sigma\chi\nu\omega\theta\alpha\mu$ || MT מְשֻׁבָּבֵיהֶם 'their dwellings' (Ps. 49.12). Consider also the burial epitaph $\text{לְ[שְׁלוֹמִים] מִשְׁכְּבְךָ}$ '[peace] upon your resting' (*CLJ* 1414), dated by Tal (2008, 162, no. 23) to the third century CE. In all of the above cases, however, it is possible that the preceding sibilant triggered the shift $a > i$.

Conversely, no such conditioning factor applies in the case of the Greek $\Phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \text{Μιγδαληνων}$ 'tribe of the Migdalenes' from the Hellenistic–Roman Periods of what is modern day Syria (Waddington 1870, no. 2483; Burke 2007, 34, 52).¹⁹ Whatever the language of the people group in question—presumably, a Hebrew or Aramaic dialect—Trombley (2014, 359–61) dates the arrival of the Migdalanoi to no later than the third century CE, to which period he also dates the relevant inscription.

¹⁸ Kantor (2017, 9–17) argues for a late Roman date, i.e., 150–225 CE ("mid-to-late second or early third century CE") for the compilation of the pre-*Secunda*, on which source Origen is thought to have based the Second Column of the Hexapla.

¹⁹ I owe this citation to Jan Joosten.

Consider also the spelling מִרִּים ‘Miriam’ in a burial inscription from Beth Shearim that Mazar (1973, 54, 197–98) dates to the third-century CE (Tal 2012, 187, no. 5, fn. 13, dates it more generally to “Pre-352,” because “This is the year in which Beth She‘arim was destroyed”; see also Tal 2012, 38, §7.5.1). The *plene* form representing an *i*-vowel in the first syllable is especially striking in contrast to the Greek form *Μαριαμένη* with *a*-vowel in another inscription in the same chamber, evidently referring to the same person (Mazar 1973, 197).

Though admittedly meagre, the foregoing come as indisputable evidence of a pre-400 CE *a* > *i* shift consistent with Tiberian attenuation representing various times and locales in pre-Tiberian Hebrew. Though they do not prove the antiquity of attenuation’s extensiveness as reflected in the Tiberian tradition, they at least show that Tiberian pronunciation standardised a feature sporadically documented in late antiquity. What is more, given the limited, fragmentary, and equivocal state of the extant relevant data from the period, it is likely that the historical picture remains somewhat obfuscated. One should bear in mind, among other considerations, that though *plene* spellings with *yod* unambiguously represent an *i*-vowel, defective spellings do not unequivocally reflect *a*. It is thus not unreasonable to speculate that results of the *a* > *i* shift in question were more common in various types of Hebrew and Aramaic far earlier than the Masoretic tradition crystallised and, therefore, that the apparent innovation that Tiberian Hebrew exhibits might rather be a case of the preservation and standardisation of a relatively early second-

ary development, perhaps especially characteristic of specific types of Hebrew or Aramaic.

4.0. Structure of the Monograph

Like the seven cases summarised above, the vocalic realisations treated in the body of this monograph must be regarded as departures from the pronunciation tradition reconstructable on the basis of the consonantal text. In this sense, the extant Tiberian vocalisations are secondary and relatively late. This, however, is only part of the picture. In all cases, the realisations attested in the pronunciation tradition are themselves characterised by substantial historical depth. Their innovation in no case postdates the Second Temple Period, as is clear from their attestation in the combined Tiberian LBH written and reading tradition, DSS Hebrew, SH, the Hebrew of BS, Tannaitic RH, and forms of Second Temple Aramaic. What is more, in several instances, CBH and/or Iron Age epigraphic material shows that the relevant secondary feature had already developed as a minority alternative prior to Second Temple times. In such cases, the Tiberian reading tradition engages in what may be characterised as the late extension of an otherwise early peripheral feature. This is consonant with the reading tradition's profile as one that crystallised during Second Temple times, simultaneously absorbing late features and preserving genuine Iron Age traits.

The monograph is divided into two parts. The shorter Part I focuses on what may be considered conscious, theologically motivated developments. In such cases, certain phenomena the oral realisation of which had come for various reasons to be deemed

problematic were substituted in the pronunciation tradition, though not in the consonantal text, with more acceptable alternatives. Such examples serve as a useful introduction into the conceptual domain of written-reading dissonance in the Tiberian biblical tradition. They differ in kind, however, from many of the features discussed in Part II. These seem to reflect written-reading dissonance that resulted from developments within Hebrew that had greater effect on the pronunciation tradition than on the orthographic tradition. Crucially, whatever the character of the development—whether motivated by concerns of propriety or driven by unconscious linguistic evolution—all the features listed below are similarly characterised by a degree of mismatch between their written representation and their oral realisation. This is most often due to secondary development—again, either deliberate or unconscious—in the Hebrew preserved in the reading tradition. In a few cases, conversely, it seems that the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition present alternatives of more or less equal antiquity that became fused in the combined written-reading tradition.

The structure of the monograph is as follows:

Part I: Conscious Replacement

- ch. 1: The Tetragrammaton
- ch. 2: לְרִאֲוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה and Similar
- ch. 3: *Ketiv-Qere* Euphemisms

Part II: Linguistic Development

- phonology
 - ch. 4: The Proper Name Issachar

- ch. 5: ת(א)לקר *liqra(ʿ)t*
- pronominal morphology
 - ch. 6: The 2MS Endings
 - ch. 7: The 2FS Endings
 - ch. 8: The *Qere Perpetuum* קוּא
 - ch. 9: The 2/3FPL Endings
- verbal stem morphology
 - ch. 10: Nifalisation
 - ch. 11: Hifilisation
 - ch. 12: Pielisation
 - ch. 13: Hitpaelisation
- verbal morphosyntax
 - ch. 14: *Ṭerem Qaṭal*
 - ch. 15: *Ha-qaṭal*
 - ch. 16: *Wayyiqṭol*
 - ch. 17: 1st-person *Wayyiqṭol*
 - ch. 18: I-y *We-yiqṭol* for *Weqaṭal*

In some of the cases discussed, the notion of divergent pronunciation traditions—one embodied in the Tiberian vocalisation, the other underlying the Tiberian written text—is uncontroversial or, at the very least, represents a commonly suggested scholarly option, e.g., those discussed in chs 1–3 and 10–13. In other cases, such an explanation has been only rarely proposed and alternative accounts are far more frequently suggested in the literature.

For example, according to a common approach to the Tiberian 2MS endings הַ- and הֶ- in ch. 6, there is no written-reading

dissonance. Rather, both components of the tradition are thought to reflect vowel-final endings, with the routine lack of a final *mater* attributed to an anomalous (though now standard) orthographic convention. Likewise, explanations for the *qere perpetuum* אִתְּךָ in the Tiberian Pentateuch in ch. 8 typically hang on the move from defective to *plene* orthography and similarity in letter shape. Though the rather implausible prospect of an epicene 3CS form has also been raised, the possibility that the spelling and vocalisation might both correctly reflect divergent realisations of the 3FS independent subject pronoun has been rarely entertained.

Notwithstanding the existence of plausible and accepted alternative explanations in the case of some of the phenomena discussed in the studies below, the approach here is intentionally programmatic. That is, a conscious effort is made to explore the suitability and ramifications of the view that phonetic dissonance plays a determinative role in all of the relevant features and, as such, is a reality that should routinely be taken into consideration in biblical studies, whether linguistic, exegetical, textual, or literary.

The study closes with a conclusion that summarises results, highlights meaningful trends, and discusses ramifications and potential avenues of future study.

PART I:
CONSCIOUS REPLACEMENT

1. THE TETRAGRAMMATON

The routine spelling יהוה in both biblical and extra-biblical sources implies an originally phonetic realisation along the lines of **yahwε*. Additionally, the contraction חיהוה **ḥa(y)-yahwε* (< חיהוה **ḥay yahwε*) in Iron Age epigraphy (Arad 21.5; Lachish 3.9; cf. Lachish 6.12; 12.3) presupposes that the form יהוה was realised with an initial consonant identical to that with which חי ends (Suriano 2013, 752).

Whatever the exact ancient pronunciation of the divine name, by the time that the medieval Tiberian Masoretic reading tradition was textualised in the form of vowel points, any phonetic pronunciation had long been eclipsed by alternative realisations:

1. Usually, the phonetic realisation is that of the dedicated plural-of-majesty + 1CS possessive suffix אֲדֹנָי 'my Lord',¹ resulting in such consonant-vowel combinations

¹ The trifold division of labour of forms of the noun אֲדֹן 'lord, master' with 1CS possessive suffixes is itself a result of secondary development. Almost without exception, possessed forms of אֲדֹן are plurals of majesty, whether the referent is human or divine: thus אֲדֹנֶיךָ 'your (MS) lord/Lord' (22x), אֲדֹנֶיךָ 'your (FS) lord/Lord' (2x), אֲדֹנָיו 'his lord/Lord' (42x; *ketiv* אֲדֹנו with no *yod* 1x), אֲדֹנֶיהָ 'her lord/Lord', אֲדֹנֵינוּ 'our lord/Lord' (11x; אֲדֹנֵינוּ with no *yod* 1x), אֲדֹנֵיכֶם 'your (MPL) lord/Lord' (11x), אֲדֹנֵיהֶם 'their (MPL) lord(s)/Lord' (11x). This points to a single early 1CS form אֲדֹנִי in the sense of 'my lord/lords/Lord'. If so, the current Tiberian trichotomy of אֲדֹנִי 'my (human) lord', אֲדֹנָי 'my (divine) Lord', and אֲדֹנֵי 'my (human) lords' is secondary, having added a special singular form for human referents and a special pausal-like form for reference to the Israelite

as יהוה (L Gen. 3.14) and יהוה (L Gen. 3.13), both pronounced *ʾădōnāy*.²

2. Alternatively, when preceded or followed by the word אֲדֹנָי *ʾădōnāy* ‘my Lord’, the realisation is that of אֱלֹהִים *ʾēlōhīm* ‘god’, e.g., יהוה (L Gen. 15.2) or יהוה (L Deut. 3.24), both pronounced *ʾēlōhīm*.³

deity. Cf. the lone instance of preservation of the non-divine plural אֲדֹנָי *ʾădōnāy* ‘my lords’ (Gen. 19.2). In the Samaritan reading tradition, phonological processes have resulted in the levelling of any distinction between forms of אֲדֹנָי with 1CS suffixes that refer to humans—Tiberian אֲדֹנָי ‘my (human) lord’ and אֲדֹנָי *ʾădōnāy* ‘my lords’ are both realised as אֲדַנִי *ādanni*. The form אֲדַנִי in reference to the deity in the Samaritan tradition is generally realised as *ādāni*, i.e., with no gemination. The Samaritan realisation of the tetragrammaton is *šēmā*.

² JM (§16f fn. 1) opines that the vocalisation יהוה (lacking *ḥolam*) common in L (as opposed to the rarer יהוה, with *ḥolam*) is based on Aramaic *šmā* ‘the name’, also known from the Targumic reading tradition and similar to the Samaritan. However, beyond the fact that the realisation *ʾēlōhīm* is also often represented by forms lacking an explicit *ḥolam* vowel sign, e.g., יהוה (L Gen. 15.2), certain features in the Masoretic vocalisation (also noted in JM §16f) show that *šmā* cannot have been the Tiberian realisation. For example, the vocalisation of the prepositions -ב, -ב, and -ל presuppose a following *ā*-vowel, as in *ʾădōnāy*, whereas *šmā* would have required preceding -ב, -ב, and -ל, respectively.

³ According to Khan (2013b, 464), the vocalisation of יהוה with simple *shewa* (as opposed to the composite *shewas* in אֲדֹנָי and אֱלֹהִים) “is a vestige of a primitive stage of the development of Tiberian vocalization, in which a *shewa* rather than a *ḥateph* sign was written on the *ʾalef*.” Cf. the vocalisation of יהוה with composite *shewa* in accord with the vocal-

In other words, according to the medieval Tiberian tradition, the written form יהוה is consistently to be read with the consonants and vowels of an alternative divine epithet.⁴

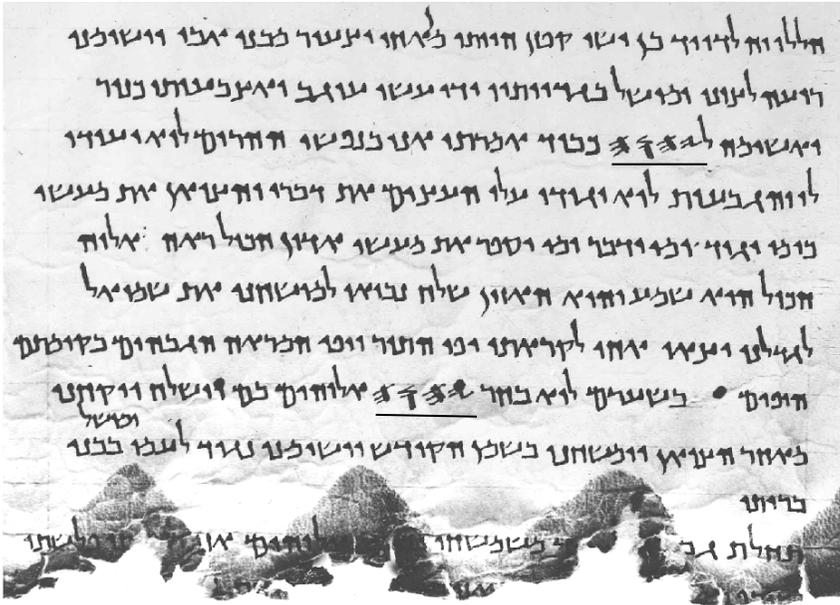
1.0. Second Temple Evidence

But this medieval convention has far earlier roots. Against the suspicion that substitutive readings for יהוה such as *ʾădōnāy* and *ʾēlōhīm* should be chalked up to rabbinic or medieval hypersensitivity to sacrilege, it should be noted that the practice of reserving special treatment for the divine name was already widespread in the last centuries before the Common Era and may extend more deeply into history. In some DSS Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts, e.g., 11Q5 (= 11QPs^a); 1QpHab; 4Q243 (= 4QpsDan^a ar), and in certain some Greek manuscripts, as well, e.g., 8HēvXII gr (Roberts 1951, 173–75; Vasileiadis 2014), the name is distinguished from the surrounding words via the use of old Canaanite script. In some Aramaic DSS, the name is replaced by dots (see, e.g., 4Q196 f18.15). Presumably reflecting special reverence for the name (Yeivin 1980, 59, §103), such strategies had the practical effect of reminding readers to avoid pronouncing it as written. Consider, e.g., יהוה in Ps. 151 as preserved in 11QPs^a 28.6, 11 (underlined below in lns 3, 8 of Figure 1).

isation of *ʾădōnāy* in some Babylonian manuscripts (Yeivin 1985, II:912; Khan 2013a, 44).

⁴ Readers unfamiliar with the convention of pronouncing יהוה with the vowels of יהוה, inadvertently coined on the basis of the written-reading combination יהוה, the hitherto unknown divine name *yēhōvā*, i.e., ‘Jehovah’.

Figure 1: 11QPs^a (11Q5) 28.3–14. Image used by permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority



Similarly, as already noted, in the Samaritan and Aramaic reading traditions, God's name was replaced with the Aramaic word שמה *šmā* 'the name'. In the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions, it was replaced with words meaning 'Lord'—κύριος,ܡܠܝܚ, and *Dominus*, respectively—an approach commonly perpetuated in modern Bible translations. And in some cases where the Masoretic Bible vocalises יהוה as 'ādōnāy 'my LORD' or 'ēlōhīm 'GOD', a parallel DSS text has the actual consonants of the replacement form, e.g., יהוה (MT Deut. 32.27) || אדני (1Q5 f16–19.9), אדני יהוה (MT Isa. 50.5) || אדוני אלהים (1QIsa^a 42.6).

2.0. Iron Age Epigraphy and the Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

But at least two questions remain: (1) does the convention of reference to the Israelite deity as אֲדֹנָי ‘my Lord’ predate the Second Temple Period and, if so, by how much? (2) Does the convention of replacing the original pronunciation of יהוה with that of אֲדֹנָי predate the Second Temple Period and, if so, by how much?

On the first question, epigraphic evidence seems clear. In the admittedly meagre corpus of Iron Age Hebrew inscriptions, referents designated by the forms אֲדֹנָי and יהוה are kept rigidly distinct, the former consistently referring to a human and never substituting for the latter. The Aramaic equivalent to אֲדֹנָי, i.e., מֶרַא, does, however occur in the fifth-century documents from Elephantine.

Moreover, אֲדֹנָי appears in reference to the Israelite deity as a minority form throughout the Tiberian consonantal tradition, including in acknowledged CBH texts in the Pentateuch, Former Prophets, and Latter Prophets. Excluding sequences of אֲדֹנָי יהוה and יהוה אֲדֹנָי (where אֲדֹנָי was originally in apposition to **yahwe*), MT instances in which אֲדֹנָי refers to the Israelite deity total some 133 cases (against more than 6800 cases of יהוה). In books where אֲדֹנָי occurs, it normally makes up a small minority of references to the Israelite deity. See Table 1. There may be a diachronic factor in the above distribution, as the statistical outliers are the post-exilic compositions of Daniel (where cases of אֲדֹנָי in reference to the Israelite deity outnumber those of יהוה; Daniel also has instances of מֶרַא in reference to the Israelite deity: Dan.

2.47; 5.23) and Lamentations (where אדני comes in over a third of the cases).

Table 1: אדני for יהוה in the written component of the Tiberian biblical tradition

Instances of אדני	Book	Instances of יהוה	% אדני	Instances of אדני	Book	Instances of יהוה	% אדני
11	Dan.	8	57.9	0	Lev.	311	0
14	Lam.	32	30.44	0	Deut.	550	0
2	Neh.	17	10.53	0	Sam.	473	0
47	Ps.	695	6.33	0	Jer.	726	0
23	Isa.	450	4.86	0	Hos.	46	0
4	Amos	81	4.71	0	Joel	33	0
8	Gen.	165	4.62	0	Obad.	7	0
2	Mal.	46	4.17	0	Jon.	26	0
1	Job	32	3.03	0	Nah.	13	0
1	Ezra	37	2.63	0	Hab.	13	0
1	Mic.	40	2.44	0	Zeph.	34	0
6	Exod.	398	1.49	0	Hag.	35	0
5	Ezek.	434	1.14	0	Prov.	87	0
2	Judg.	175	1.13	0	Song	0	0
5	Kgs	534	.93	0	Qoh.	0	0
1	Zech.	133	.75	0	Est.	0	0
1	Josh.	224	0.44	0	Chron.	559	0
1	Num.	396	0.25				

One is inclined to question the authenticity of CBH cases of אדני for יהוה. However, when it comes to the fourteen occurrences in the Pentateuch (Gen. 18.3, 27, 30, 31, 32; 19.18; 20.4; Exod. 4.10, 13; 5.22; 15.17; 34.9, 9; Num. 14.17), it is worth noting that the composite Samaritan written-reading tradition agrees with the Tiberian consonantal tradition on thirteen; the exception is Exod. 15.17 where MT מקדש אֲדֹנָי כּוֹנֵן יָדָיְךָ (the) sanctuary, O LORD, that your hands established' || SP מקדש יהוה כוננו ידך || SP *maqdaš šēmā kūnenu yēdāk*, which also in 4Q14 6.41 reads מקדש יהוה כוננו ידך.

Beyond the Pentateuch, MT Isaiah's אדני is regularly paralleled by the same in 1QIsa^a; of the 23 MT instances, 1QIsa^a reads אדוני in seventeen of them (Isa 3.18; 4.4; 6.1, 8; 7.20; 8.7 [erasure of יהוה]; 9.16; 10.12; 11.11; 21.6, 8; 29.13; 30.20; 37.24; 38.14, 16; 49.14). MT אדני is also paralleled by the same in other DSS Isaiah material (MT Isa. 3.17 || 4Q56 3i.12; MT Isa. 21.16 || 4Q55 f10–11i+12–14.35; MT Isa. 38.16 || 1Q8 16.4; MT Isa. 49.14 || 4Q58 4.23) and elsewhere (MT Amos 9.1 || Mur88 8.7; MT Ps. 2.4 || 11Q7 f1–2.3; MT Ps. 35.17 || 4Q83 f6.3; MT 38.16 || 4Q83 f9ii.2; MT Ps. 38.23 || 4Q83 f9ii.5; MT Ps. 54.6 || 4Q83 f11–12.8; MT Ps. 66.18 || 4Q83 f14ii.30; MT Ps. 86.5 || 1Q10 f1.1; MT Ps. 89.50 || 4Q87 f8.1; MT Ps. 89.51 || 4Q87 f8.2; MT Lam. 1.15 || 4Q111 3.6).

On the above evidence, the interchange of אדני and יהוה dates back to at least the late Second Temple Period. The fact that the Tiberian Torah and the SP agree on אדני as nomenclature for the Israelite deity points to a convention that had become rooted before the separation of the proto-Tiberian and proto-Samaritan traditions (see Kartveit 2009; Pummer 2012; Kantor 2020, 108–9 for background).

Regarding the antiquity of the avoidance of the pronunciation of יהוה, unambiguous information is much harder to come by, since it is difficult to reconstruct the pronunciation that originally accompanied the Tiberian consonantal text, before it became wedded to the Tiberian reading tradition. In other words, assuming that the graphic sequence יהוה was originally pronounced along the lines of *yahwe, does the Tiberian written tradition give any hint as to avoidance of this pronunciation in

accord with what is seen in the Tiberian reading tradition and the other Second Temple traditions listed above?

Schniedewind (2004, 32) notes that Chronicles “often replaces the sacred four letter name of God in its source (known from the books of Samuel and Kings) with the more generic *Elohim* (which translates simply as ‘God’)” (see Japhet 2009, 24, fn. 64). Japhet (2009, 24–30) disagrees with this assessment of Chronicles, but makes a similar claim about Qohelet and the Elohist Psalter (on the latter see also Ben-Dov 2010, 81–82, 87–88, 101–4; Suriano 2013, 752). The latter, encompassing Pss 42–83 and showing no signs of LBH, are apparently classical works evincing reticence to overuse of the tetragrammaton.⁵ Suriano (2013, 752) sees even earlier avoidance of יהוה in the preference for אלהים in the E source of the Pentateuch, though this is considered a separate issue by Japhet (2009, 29, fn. 85).

3.0. Conclusion

Given the extant evidence, it is not entirely clear how long the supposed realisation **yahwe* persisted. However, avoidance of the name dates as far back as the composition of CBH texts (the Elohist Psalter, if not the putative E source of the Pentateuch). Further, the pronunciation of the tetragrammaton as *ʾădōnāy* reflected in the medieval Tiberian vocalisation signs clearly preserves pre-medieval sensitivities characteristic of multiple Second Temple biblical traditions, wherein early use of the *pluralis majestatis* epithet אדני ‘my Lord’ for the Israelite deity was

⁵ In the Elohist Psalter the counts of divine epithets are אלהים 245 times, יהוה 45 times, and אדני 23 times.

extended and became standard, even where יהוה was still written. Indeed, the graphic form of name of the Israelite deity יהוה was so identified with pronunciations along the lines of *ʾādōnāy*, that the writing of אדני itself came to be proscribed in Second Temple texts (Japhet 2009, 16–19; cf. 31, fn. 96).

2. לְרֹאֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה AND SIMILAR

Eleven times in the Tiberian biblical tradition readers encounter an expression composed of a form of the *nif'al* נִרְאָה and the phrase פָּנֵי אֱלֹהִים/יְהוָה, with or without an intervening direct object marker or preposition. Standard renderings include ‘appear before the face of God/the LORD’ and ‘appear in God’s/the LORD’s presence’.

It has been claimed, however, that in all such cases the consonantal spelling was actually intended to represent a form of the *qal* verb רָאָה, with the meaning ‘see God’s/the LORD’s face’, and that the form was only secondarily interpreted as *nif'al* out of concerns for theological propriety (BDB 816b, 908a). Such changes were presumably made both in deference to a general aversion to anthropomorphising the Israelite deity and for the sake of theological harmony in adherence to the prohibition against seeing the divine visage, which employs *qal* רָאָה ‘see’, in (1).

- (1) וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא תִרְאֶה לְרֹאֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי כִי לֹא־יִרְאֶנִי הָאָדָם וְחַיִּי:.... וְהִסְרַתִּי אֶת־
כְּפֵי וְרִאִיתָ אֶת־אֲחֶרַי וּפְנֵי לֹא יִרְאוּ:

‘And he said, “You cannot **see my face**, because no mortal **will see me** and live.... And I will remove my hand, and you will see my back, **but my face will not be seen.**”’
(Exod. 33.20, 23).

By avoiding the *qal* form in other verses, readers might be helped to avoid the misconception that God’s face could be seen.

Instances where *qal* in רָאָה (אָת-/אֶל-) פָּנֵי אֱלֹהִים/יְהוָה ‘see the God’s/the LORD’s face’ are thought to have been reinterpreted as *nif^cal* due to theological concern may be contrasted with cases in which רָאָה (אָת-/אֶל-) פָּנֵי X ‘see X’s face’ has no divine referent and was maintained.¹ There are even comparable cases in which *qal* רָאָה is preserved with the face of a divine referent as object.²

The current chapter examines cases of apparent substitution for *qal*, attempting to determine whether the hypothesis of secondary development is equally applicable to all of them. It then seeks to gauge the antiquity of the reinterpretation.

1.0. Unambiguous Cases of Dissonance

Evidence of morphological mismatch involving both orthography and vocalisation suggest that at least some cases of *nif^cal* רָאָה* (אָת-/אֶל-) פָּנֵי אֱלֹהִים/יְהוָה are secondary reworkings of original formulations with *qal* רָאָה. The most conspicuous cases of mismatch between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition are reproduced in examples (2)–(4).

- (2) וְלֹא-יִחַמְדוּ אִישׁ אֶת-אֶרְצְךָ בְּעֹלְתְךָ לְרֵאוֹת אֶת-פָּנַי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ...
שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בְּשָׁנָה:

‘...and no one shall covet your land, when you go up **to appear before the face of the LORD your God** three times in the year.’ (Exod. 34.24; SP להראות *lērā’ot*; Greek *ὀφθηγαί*; Vulgate *et apparente*; TO לאתחזאה; Syriac ܠܘܬܚܙܐܐ)

¹ Gen. 31.2, 5; 32.21; 43.3, 5; 44.23, 26; 46.30; 48.11; Exod. 10.28, 28; 34.35; 2 Sam. 3.13, 13; 14.24, 32; 2 Kgs 25.19 (|| Jer. 52.25); Jer. 52.25 || (2 Kgs 25.19); Est. 1.14; Dan. 1.10.

² Gen. 32.31; 33.10; Judg. 6.22; Jer. 18.17; Job 33.26.

- (3) בָּבוֹא כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְרֵאוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֵל־הַיָּד בַּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר...
 ‘When all Israel comes **to appear before the face of the Lord your God** at the place that he will choose,...’ (Deut. 31.11; SP להראות *lěrrā’ot*; Greek *ὁφθῆναι*; Vulgate *ut appareant*; TO לאתחזאה; Syriac ܠܚܘܘܐ)
- (4) כִּי תָבֹאוּ לְרֵאוֹת פְּנֵי מִי־בִקֵּשׁ זֹאת מִיַּדְכֶם רַמְס חֲצָרִי:
 ‘When you come **to appear before me**, who has required of you this trampling of my courts?’ (Isa. 1.12; 1QIsa^a לראות; Greek *ὁφθῆναι*; Vulgate *ante conspectum meum*; TJ לאתחזאה; Syriac ܠܚܘܘܐ)

In all of the above, an infinitive construct with transparently *qal* spelling (i.e., lacking the *heh* of the corresponding *nif'al* infinitive) is realised as *nif'al* in the pronunciation tradition. While syncope of *heh* is common in certain environments in ancient Hebrew, the *nif'al* infinitive is not one of them. For example, unambiguous *nif'al* infinitive construct forms of נָרָא come ten times in the Hebrew Bible, consistently with the expected *heh*, even following a cliticised preposition.³ The three exceptional cases in (2)–(4) above, where the infinitives are read as *nif'al* despite apparent *qal* orthography, all make reference to the deity’s face/presence. The exclusive connection between the mixed *qal-nif'al* form לְרֵאוֹת and contexts including reference to the divine face/presence is unlikely to be random.

In all instances, ancient versional evidence agrees with the Tiberian reading tradition on the meaning ‘appear’. This extends to the Samaritan written tradition, which has the unambiguous

³ Lev. 13.7, 14; Deut. 31.11; Judg. 13.21; 1 Sam. 3.21; 2 Sam. 17.17; 1 Kgs 18.2; Isa. 1.12; Ezek. 21.29; Mal. 3.2.

nif^{al} theological *lectio facilior* להראות in both of the Pentateuchal instances.

It is of interest that in the parallel to (4) in the Great Isaiah Scroll, the spelling לראות (1QIsa^a 1.14) is also most straightforwardly analysed as a *qal* infinitive. The form in the Peshiṭta is also a match for that represented by the Tiberian written tradition, while the Greek, Latin, and TJ reflect the same understanding as the Tiberian reading tradition.

Syntactically, it is worth pointing out that, in the case of a variety of verbs, אָת־פָּנָי is synonymous with לְפָנָי, אֶל־פָּנָי, and עַם פָּנָי, meaning ‘before, in the presence of’.⁴ The particle אָת in such cases is most plausibly analysed as the comitative preposition אִתְּ ‘with’. If so, in cases (2) and (3), the *nif^{al}* realisation in the Tiberian recitation tradition also involves the reinterpretation of the originally accusative/direct object particle אָת as the homonymous preposition אִתְּ ‘with’.

In (4), the presumed original syntax of *qal* infinitive לְרֹאוֹת* followed by פָּנָי ‘my face, presence’ with no intervening preposition or particle is within the bounds of acceptable BH usage.⁵ The grammaticality of the same formulation with *nif^{al}* is more difficult to gauge. On the one hand, phrases with פָּנָי have two char-

⁴ Gen. 19.13, 27; 27.30; 33.18; 43.34; Exod. 10.11; 32.11 (?); Lev. 4.6, 17; 10.4; 1 Sam. 2.11, 17, 18; 22.4; 1 Kgs 12.6; 13.6 (2x?); 2 Kgs 13.4 (?); 16.14; Jer. 26.19 (?); Zech. 7.2 (?); 8.21, 22 (?); Ps. 16.11; 21.7; 140.14; Job 2.7; Prov. 17.24; Est. 1.10; Dan. 9.13 (?); 2 Chron. 33.12 (?).

⁵ See, e.g., Gen. 32.21; 33.10, 10; 43.3, 5; 44.23, 26; 48.11; Exod. 10.28, 29; 2 Sam. 14.32; Job 33.26, all with *qal* רָאָה ‘see’ preceding פָּנָי ‘face’ with no intervening particle.

acteristics common for so-called accusatives of place, in that (a) they begin construct phrases and (b) they begin with a bilabial (GKC §118g). Also, in some LBH texts, פָּנִים functions as a locative adverbial in the sense ‘before, toward, in front, eastward’ (see BDB 815, §6). For example, consider (5).

- (5) וּמִצְאֹתֵם אֹתָם בְּסוֹף הַנְּחָל פְּנֵי מִדְבַּר יְרוּעַל:
 ‘...You will find them at the end of the valley, east of/in front of the wilderness of Jeruel.’ (2 Chron. 2.16)

The syntax of *qal* פָּנֵי רְאָה is clearly acceptable, that of *nif'al* נִרְאָה פָּנֵי questionable.⁶ Since the orthography in (4) is transparently *qal*, syntactic considerations there only confirm the secondary status of the *nif'al* recasting. But questionable syntax may be a more decisive factor in the assessment of ambiguous cases.

Before proceeding to more ambiguous cases of possible *qal* > *nif'al* shift, it is worth examining potentially related cases involving *qal* and *hif'il*. Example (6) presents an apparent instance of the shift *qal* > *hif'il*.

- (6) הַהֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם בְּדֶרֶךְ לְתוֹר לָכֶם מְקוֹם לְחַנְתְּכֶם בַּאֵשׁ | לַיְלָה לְרֵאוֹתְכֶם
 בְּדֶרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר תִּלְכוּ־בָּהּ
 ‘...who went before you in the way to seek you out a place to pitch your tents, in fire by night and in the cloud by day, **to show you** by what way you should go.’ (Deut. 1.33; SP להראתכם; 4Q35 f2–4.26: להראות; Greek δεικνύων ὑμῖν; Vulgate *ostendens vobis*; TO לאחזויתכון; Syriac ܐܘܨܬܝܢܘܢ)

⁶ All four instances in which *nif'al* נִרְאָה precedes פָּנִים with no intervening particle are among those identified as potential cases of revocalised *qal* forms: Exod. 25.15; 34.20; Isa. 1.12; Ps. 42.3. All are discussed in the present study.

According to the *hif'il* realisation in the Tiberian reading tradition, explicit in the orthography of SP and 4Q35, the Tiberian written component's לראתכם is to be understood as the causative 'make you (MPL) see, show you (MPL)', which interpretation is supported by the versions. The ostensible *qal* לראתכם* 'for your (MPL) seeing, for you (MPL) to see' would presumably have referred to the purpose of providing light on the road at night. If this is indeed a case of recasting, the motivation would seem to be to forestall misunderstanding, lest readers conclude that God could be seen.

Example (7) exhibits a potential *hif'il* > *qal* shift.

- (7) כְּרוּח־קָדִים אֲפִיעֵם לִפְנֵי אוֹיֵב עֶרְף וְלֹא-פָנִים אֲרִאֵם בְּיוֹם אִידָם:
 'I will scatter them before their enemies like dust blowing in front of a burning east wind. (My) back and not (my) face **I will show them** on the day of disaster.' (Jer. 18.17; Greek δειξω αυτοις; Vulgate *ostendam eis*; TJ ואחזינון; Syriac ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ)

Here, were it not for the vocalisation, the most straightforward reading would arguably be as *hif'il* אראם*. This not only fits the ellipses 'knap and not face I will show them', but has the support of the versions and modern translations. The Tiberian reading tradition's *qal* may betray aversion to the notion that God might actually show his face. But the resulting phraseology, presumably entailing adverbial accusatives, gives the awkward '(with) knape and not (with) face I will see them'.

2.0. Ambiguous Cases

Whereas cases (2)–(4) above present unequivocal cases of dissonance between a written *qal* and a *nif'al* in the pronunciation tradition, other cases of mismatch are not so readily apparent.

Consider (8).

- (8) צְמָאָה נַפְשִׁי | לְאֱלֹהִים לְאֵל תִּי מְתִי אֲבֹא וְאֶרְאֶה פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים:
 ‘My soul thirsts for God, for the living God. When shall I come **that I might appear before God?**’ (Ps. 42.3; Greek *ὀφθῆσομαι*; Vulgate *et parebo*; Targum וואחמי זיו שכינתא דיהוה ויאחמי;
 Syriac ܘܐܚܡܝ ܙܝܘܫܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܗ)

The lack of a preposition or particle after the verb makes it possible that consonantal וּרְאֶה represents an original *qal*, וְרְאֶה* ‘that I may see’. Additionally, while the Greek and Latin show theological concern like that ostensibly behind the Tiberian vocalisation, the Targum and Syriac support a *qal* ‘see’ reading (though the Targum mitigates by replacing ‘face’ with ‘glory of the presence of the LORD’).

Other ambiguous cases include (9) and (10).

- (9) אֶת־תֵּג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת כֶּאֱשֶׁר צִוִּיתְךָ לְמוֹעֵד תִּדְשׁ
 הָאֲזִיב כִּי־בֹ יֵצְאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם וְלֹא־יֵרְאוּ פְּנֵי רִיקָם:
 ‘You shall keep the Feast of Unleavened Bread. As I commanded you, you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of Abib, for in it you came out of Egypt. **None shall appear before me** empty-handed.’ (Exod. 23.15; SP יראו *yirra’u*; Greek *ὀφθῆσῃ*; Vulgate *apparebis*; TO יתחזון; Syriac ܘܐܘܪܝܘܢ)

- (10) וּפְטֹר חֲמוֹל תִּפְדֶּה בְשֵׁהּ וְאִם לֹא תִפְדֶּה וְעִרְפָתָו כָּל בְּכוֹר בְּנֵיהֶּ תִפְדֶּה וְלֹא־
יֵרָאוּ פָנָי רִיקִים:

‘The firstborn of a donkey you shall redeem with a lamb, or if you will not redeem it you shall break its neck. All the firstborn of your sons you shall redeem. **And none shall appear before me empty-handed.**’ (Exod. 34.20; SP יראו *yirra’u*; Greek *ὀφθῆσῃ*; Vulgate *apparebis*; TO יתחזון; Syriac (ܐܘܘܪܐܘܝܢܐ))

In both, the verb can easily be read as a *qal*. The lack of any particle or preposition between the verb and פָּנָי ‘my face, presence’ makes a *nif^{al}* reading in the sense ‘will (not) appear’ questionable. Also, the shift in referent from 2nd- to 3rd-person is jarring. Why not continue each verse with תִּרְאֶה *וְלֹא תִרְאֶה ‘and you will not be seen, appear’, if that is the intended meaning? The ancient versions universally translate ‘appear before’, as if פָּנָי were equivalent to לְפָנָי and אֶת-פָּנָי or פָּנָי were an accusative of place (see above). Some modern translations deftly sidestep part of the problem via impersonal rendering, e.g., ‘And none shall appear before me empty-handed’. Yet, this does not resolve the problem of the lack of a preposition or particle. In both cases it seems more likely that the verbs are either impersonal *qal* forms, יֵרָאוּ ‘(none) will see’, or *nif^{al}* forms with פָּנָי ‘my face’ as subject, i.e., ‘my face will not be seen in vain’. Cf. the clear instance where פָּנִים ‘face’ serves as subject of *nif^{al}* נִרְאָה in example (11) (though, in that instance, too, a *qal* reading is possible).

- (11) וְהִסַּרְתִּי אֶת-כַּפִּי וְרָאִיתָ אֶת-אַחֲרַי וּפָנָי לֹא יֵרָאוּ:
“And I will remove my hand, and you will see my back, **but my face will not be seen.**” (Exod. 33.23)

Now, consider (12)–(14).

- (12) שְׁלוֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זְכוּרְךָ אֶת־פָּנָי הָאֵלֹהִים | יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

‘Three times in the year **will all your males appear before the Lord**, the LORD God of Israel.’ (Exod. 34.23; SP יראה *yirra’i*; Greek *ὀφθίσεται*; Vulgate *apparebit*; TO יתחזן; Syriac ܐܘܘܪܐܘܢܐ)

- (13) שְׁלוֹשׁ פְּעָמִים | בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זְכוּרְךָ אֶת־פָּנָי | יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָר בְּחַג הַמַּצּוֹת וּבְחַג הַשִּׁבְעוֹת וּבְחַג הַסֻּּפּוֹת...

‘Three times a year **will all your males appear before the LORD your God** at the place that he will choose: at the Feast of Unleavened Bread, at the Feast of Weeks, and at the Feast of Booths...’ (Deut 16.16a; SP יראה *yirra’i*; Greek *ὀφθίσεται*; Vulgate *apparebit*; TO יתחזן; Syriac ܐܘܘܪܐܘܢܐ)

- (14) ...וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה אֶת־פָּנָי יְהוָה רֵיקָם:

‘...and **they shall not appear before the LORD** empty-handed.’ (Deut. 16.16b; SP יראו *yirra’u*; Greek *ὀφθίση*; Vulgate *apparebit*; TO יתחזן; Syriac ܐܘܘܪܐܘܢܐ)

In cases (12)–(14), the fact that the sequence אֶת־פָּנָי can be taken as a prepositional phrase in the sense of ‘before, in the presence of’ legitimises the *nif'al* reading of the verbal form יֵרָאֶה in the meaning ‘will appear’. This is the understanding in the versions. Admittedly, however, the *nif'al* reading is no more grammatically felicitous than *qal* יֵרָאֶה* ‘will see’ would be, in which case the ensuing אֶת would be construed as the marker of the definite accusative/direct object.

Another equivocal case is presented in (15).

- (15) וְחָנָה לֹא עָלְתָה כִּי־אָמְרָה לְאִשָּׁה עַד יִגְמַל הַנֶּעֱר וְהִבְאִתִּיו וְנִרְאָה אֶת־
פָּנָי יְהוָה וַיֵּשֶׁב שָׁם עַד־עוֹלָם:

‘But Hannah did not go up, for she said to her husband, “As soon as the child is weaned, I will bring him, **so that he may appear in the presence of the LORD** and dwell there forever.” (1 Sam. 1.22; Greek *ὀφθίσεται*; Vulgate *appareat*; TJ ויתחזי; Syriac ܪܘܘܢܐ)

Here, the graphic unit ונראה has three contextually defensible analyses: (1) 3MS *nif^{al} weqatal* ונראה ‘and he will appear’, as in the Tiberian reading tradition; (2) 1CPL *nif^{al} we-yiqtol* ונראה* ‘that we may appear’; (3) 1CPL *qal we-yiqtol* ונראה* ‘that we may see’.⁷ Thus, while the possibility that an original *qal* was recast as a *nif^{al}* exists here, the 3rd-person *nif^{al}* option is at least as fitting as the two 1st-person plural options, one of which is, in any case, also *nif^{al}*. Unsurprisingly, the ancient versions agree with the Tiberian reading tradition on the meaning ‘appear’.

3.0. The Antiquity of the Interpretation

Having identified cases in which developments in the Tiberian pronunciation tradition either likely or possibly constitute secondary shifts to avoid a theological difficulty, the most relevant question for this study is: when did the purported *qal* > *nif^{al}* (or *qal* > *hif^{il}*) recasting take place? Its secondary nature in some of the aforementioned cases seems beyond question. Yet, what should be emphasised is that, even where secondary, the *nif^{al}* reinterpret-

⁷ The ensuing spelling וישב is also contextually ambiguous: *weqatal* וישב ‘and he will dwell’ or *we-yiqtol* וישב ‘that he might dwell’. See below, ch. 18.

tation cannot be explained as Byzantine- or medieval-period intervention. Rather, it is firmly rooted in the Second Temple Period—when Hebrew was, crucially, still a living vernacular. That this is so is evidenced by the widespread agreement among the ancient translations and the consistent Samaritan *nif^cal* reading—to the point that the latter has unambiguous consonantal *nif^cal* infinitives (with *heh*) in Exod. 34.24 and Deut. 31.11, i.e., examples (2) and (3), respectively, above. The agreement between the Tiberian and Samaritan traditions on this point likely dates to a period before the two respective proto-traditions had diverged, i.e., no later than the second century BCE, and probably earlier. The DSS support for the Tiberian reading tradition's *hif^cil* form at Deut. 1.33 in example (6) also comes as evidence of the antiquity of discomfort with *qal* readings potentially understandable as indications that God could be seen.

What is more, from the perspective of the Tiberian *consonantal* tradition, in several cases, a *nif^cal* reading must be considered at least as felicitous as a *qal* reading, if not more so. This applies to the case of 1 Sam. 1.22 in example (15) above. It is also true of example (16).

- (16) שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בְּשָׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זָכוֹרְךָ אֶל־פְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה: | יְהוָה:
 ‘Three times in the year **will** all your males **appear to the Lord, the LORD.**’ (Exod. 23.17; SP יראה *yirā^āi*; Greek ὁφθῆσεται; Vulgate *apparebit*; TO יתחזון; Syriac ܐܘܘܪܐܘܢ)

Unless the preposition אֶל here is due to corruption,⁸ it would seem to furnish consonantal support for an original *nif^cal* reading,

⁸ The collocation אֶל יראה is uncommon, occurring only in Ezek. 43.3, where אֶל < על (?). In the MT the construction אֶל־פְּנֵי often involves a

since the ostensible *qal* יֵרָאֶה אֶל-פָּנָי*, while perhaps not impossible, is far less expected than יֵרָאֶה אֶל-פָּנָי ‘appear to/before the face/in the presence of’.

4.0. Conclusion

In sum, in the case of the expressions in question, the Tiberian biblical tradition presents several cases of probable mismatch between its written and reading components. In these cases, the vocalisation in the reading component almost certainly reflects the theologically motivated replacement of *qal* ‘seeing God’s face’ with *nif^cal* ‘appearing before God’. A few other morphological shifts may also be part of the same strategy. Though secondary, the ancient Hebrew and translational evidence substantiates the profound historical depth of the *nif^cal* interpretive tradition for ‘appearing before God’. This interpretation dates back to at least the Second Temple Period, as is clear from the unequivocal *hif^cil* spelling in a DSS version of Deut. 1.33 shown above in example (6). In other cases, the consonantal form is ambiguous. In any of them, the form may well represent an original *qal*; however, the apparently genuine *nif^cal* in Exod. 23.17 means that several may alternatively constitute genuine *nif^cals*.

motion verb, e.g., Lev. 9.5; 14.53; 16.2; 17.8; Ezek. 44.4; Neh. 2.13; 2 Chron. 19.2. More comparable to the case in Exod. 23.17 are Lev. 6.7; Num. 20.10; Ezek. 41.4, 12, 15, 25; 42.2, 3, 7, 10, 10, 13; 45.7, 7; 48.21; Job 2.5; 13.15. The occurrence of תָּא in SP Exod. 23.17 is unsurprising given that version’s harmonistic tendencies in the case of both content and grammar.

has only דב, and no *shewa* is written beneath the ך in the internal text, i.e., הרי יונים. A's testimony is preferable, with דב the substitute for הרי, and יונים 'doves' serving as the *nomen rectum* in a construct formation.

The lexeme דב* is a *hapax legomenon* in BH. It is thought to be an Aramaism or dialectal form related to Hebrew זב 'flow' (Cohen 2007, 266, cites Rashi and Qimḥi). Since the *ketiv* and *qere* forms are synonyms, the testimony of the ancient versions is rather opaque with regard to the identity of the term being translated, i.e., the *ketiv* or the *qere*, though TJ's explanatory gloss is reminiscent of the *qere*'s circumlocution.

Examples (2)–(5) deal with parallel verses that include both דב* and חר(א)ים.² According to the *qere*, they are to be read aloud, respectively, as צוֹאָה and *מִימֵי רְגָלִים.³

² HALOT (1479) notes that the two terms also occur together in Ugaritic. Intriguingly, the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition consistently agree on a verbal form related to *ketiv* שין* 'urine'. Six occurrences of the word מְשִׁתֵּן 'urinator' (1 Sam. 25.22, 34; 1 Kgs 14.10; 16.11; 21.21; 2 Kgs 9.8) come in BH. Thought to be a Gt-stem participle (BDB 1010; HALOT 1479), the form was reanalysed as a *hif'il* of שת"ן, from which the noun שֶׁתֶן 'urine', first attested in Talmudic Hebrew (t. Bekhorot 7.5 [44b]), was secondarily derived.

³ Cf. the development in select English translations of 2 Kgs 18.27, which testify to the shifting acceptability of English terms for excreta:

'...toordis... pisse' (Wycliffe, 1380s)

'...donge... stale' (Coverdale, 1535)

'...dounge... pisse' (KJV, 1611)

'...vilest excretions' (Webster's KJV Revision, 1833)

'...dung... urine' (RSV, 1946)

'...excrement... urine' (NIV, 1978)

- (2) וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם רַב־שָׁקָה הֲעַל אֲדֹנָיךָ וְאֲלֵיךָ שְׁלַחְנִי אֲדֹנִי לְדַבֵּר אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים
הָאֵלֶּה הֲלֹא עַל־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַיֹּשְׁבִים עַל־הַחֹמָה לֶאֱכֹל אֶת חֲרִייהֶם (K)
צוֹאֲתָם (Q)...

‘But the Rabshakeh said to them, “Has my master sent me to speak these words to your master and to you, and not to the men sitting on the wall, who are doomed to eat **their own dung**...”’ (2 Kgs 18.27a; Greek *κόπρον αὐτῶν*; Vulgate *stercora sua*; TJ מפקתהון; Syriac ܥܡܬܐܗܘܢ)

- (3) ...וְלִשְׁתּוֹת אֶת־שִׁינֵיהֶם (K) מִימֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם (Q) עִמָּכֶם:
“...and to drink **their own urine** with you?”. (2 Kgs
18.27b; Greek *οὐρὸν αὐτῶν*; Vulgate *urinam suam*; TJ מימי
רגליהון; Syriac ܥܡܬܐܗܘܢ)

- (4) וַיֹּאמֶר רַב־שָׁקָה הֲאֵל אֲדֹנָיךָ וְאֲלֵיךָ שְׁלַחְנִי אֲדֹנִי לְדַבֵּר אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
הֲלֹא עַל־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַיֹּשְׁבִים עַל־הַחֹמָה לֶאֱכֹל אֶת־חֲרֵאֵיהֶם (K) צוֹאֲתָם
...(Q)

‘But the Rabshakeh said, “Has my master sent me to speak these words to your master and to you, and not to the men sitting on the wall, who are doomed to eat **their own dung**...”’ (Isa. 36.12a; 1QIsa^a 29.19 חרייהמה; Greek *κόπρον*; Vulgate *stercora sua*; TJ מפקתהון; Syriac ܥܡܬܐܗܘܢ)

- (5) ...וְלִשְׁתּוֹת אֶת־שִׁינֵיהֶם (K) מִימֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם (Q) עִמָּכֶם:
“...and drink **their own urine** with you?” (Isa. 36.12b:
1QIsa^a 29.19 שיניהמה; Greek *οὐρὸν*; Vulgate *urinam pedum suorum*; TJ מימי רגליהון; Syriac ܥܡܬܐܗܘܢ)

The *qere* lexeme צָאָה is variously analysed as reflecting the roots א"צ 'be foul', א"צ' 'exit', and א"צ' 'pollute' (BDB 844a; HALOT 992a). Beyond the *qere* usages under discussion, it is attested in BH at Isa. 4.4; 28.9; and Prov. 30.12, where it possibly has the

more general sense of ‘filth’. It may be related to the lexeme צֶאֱזָה ‘excrement’ (Deut. 23.14; Ezek. 4.12). The lexeme צֶאֱזָה is common in RH for reference to ‘excrement’.⁴ Among the ancient versions, TJ’s rendering might be evidence of an etymological translation of the *qere*, but this is not the only explanation. It is significant that 1QIsa^a explicitly agrees with the *ketiv*.

The *qere* parallel for שִׁינִיָּהֶם in מִיָּמֵי רְגִלֵיהֶם is not found elsewhere in BH. It is a common term for ‘urine’ in RH.⁵ 1QIsa^a reflects the *ketiv*, TJ the *qere*. The Latin rendering in Isa. 36.12b, *urinam pedum suorum* ‘urine of their feet’, is noteworthy because it seems to reflect a conflation of the respective *ketiv* and *qere* traditions, ‘their urine’ and ‘water of their feet’. Other ancient renderings furnish arguably ambiguous evidence of the term being translated.

In (6), the *ketiv* noun מַחְרָאוֹת, denoting a place for defecation is read as מוֹצְאוֹת, apparently representing a common nominal pattern of the יצ"א root.

- (6) (K) וַיִּחְצְוּ אֶת מַצֵּבַת הַבַּעַל וַיִּחְצְוּ אֶת־בַּיִת הַבַּעַל וַיִּשְׁמְהוּ לְמַחְרָאוֹת
 לְמוֹצְאוֹת (Q) עַד־הַיּוֹם:

‘And they demolished the pillar of Baal, and demolished the house of Baal, and made it **into a latrine** to this day.’ (2 Kgs 10.27; Greek: εἰς λυτρῶνας; Vulgate: *latrinas*; TJ: לְבֵית מַחְרָאוֹת; Syriac: ܡܦܩܬܐܢܘܨ)

⁴ E.g., m. Berakhot 3.5; Shabbat 16.7; ‘Avoda Zara 4.5; ‘Avot 3.3; Hūllin 3.5; Kelim 10.2; Miqwa’ot. 9.2, 4; Makhshirin 5.6.

⁵ E.g., m. Shabbat 9.5; Bava Batra 2.1; ‘Eduyot 5.1, 4; Kelim 1.3; Tohorot 4.5; Miqwa’ot. 10.6; Nidda 4.3; 9.6, 7; Makhshirin. 6.5, 6; Zavim 5.7.

The MS form מוֹצֵא ‘place/time of going out, utterance, source’ is common in the Bible, while the FS מוֹצֵא* occurs only here and in Mic. 5.1, where it may mean ‘origins’ or ‘goings out = activities’. The form in 2 Kgs 10.27 is possibly a homonym that derives from א"צ ‘be foul’ or א"צ ‘pollute’ (see above). The lexical tradition reflected in the ancient versions is not sufficiently clear to identify the source word—though, again, TJ’s circumlocution בית אנש מפקת אנש looks to be a calque of the *qere*—on the assumption that מוֹצֵא* here means, or was understood to mean, ‘place of excretion’ or ‘outhouse’.

1.2. Shameful Infirmities

Six times in the Tiberian tradition, the *ketiv* plural עפלים is replaced by the *qere* טחורים. These are given in (7)–(12).

- (7) יִפְּכֶה יְהוָה בְּשַׁחֲזֵין מִצְרִים וּבַעֲפָלִים (K) וּבַטְּחֻרִים (Q) וּבַגָּרֵב וּבַחֲרָס
אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תוּכַל לְהִרְפֹּא:

‘The LORD will strike you with the boils of Egypt, and with **tumours** and scabs and itch, of which you cannot be healed.’ (Deut. 28.27; SP ובעפלים *wbāfālām*; Greek ἐν ταῖς ἔδραις; Vulgate *et parte corporis per quam stercora digeruntur*; TO ובטחורין; Syriac ܬܚܘܪܝܡܝܢ)

- (8) וַתִּכְבֵּד יְדֵי-יְהוָה אֶל־הָאֲשֻׁדּוּדִים וַיִּשְׁמֶם וַיַּךְ אֶתְּם בַּעֲפָלִים (K) בַּטְּחֻרִים (Q)
אֶת־אֲשֻׁדּוּד וְאֶת־גְּבוּלֶיהָ:

‘The hand of the LORD was heavy against the people of Ashdod, and he terrified and afflicted them **with tumours**, both Ashdod and its territory.’ (1 Sam. 5.6; Greek εἰς τὰς ναῦς; Latin *in secretiori parte natium*; TJ בטחורין; Syriac ܬܚܘܪܝܡܝܢ)

- (9) וַיְהִי אַחֲרַי | הִסְבּוּ אֹתוֹ וַתְּהִי יַד־יְהוָה | בְּעִיר מְהוּמָה גְדוֹלָה מְאֹד וַיֵּד אֶת־
 אֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר מִקְטָן וְעַד־גָּדוֹל וַיִּשְׁתְּרוּ לָהֶם עֲפָלִים (K) טַחְרִים (Q):
 ‘But after they had brought it around, the hand of the LORD
 was against the city, causing a very great panic, and he af-
 flicted the men of the city, both young and old, so that **tumours**
 broke out on them.’ (1 Sam. 5.9; 4Q51 5b–c.6:
 [ב]עפלים; Greek *ἔδρας*; Latin *extales*; TJ בטחוריא; Syriac
 ܥܦܠܝܢܐ)
- (10) וְהָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־מָתוּ הָבּוּ בַּטַּחְרִים (K) בַּטַּחְרִים (Q) וַתַּעַל שְׁוַעַת
 הָעִיר הַשָּׁמַיִם:
 ‘The men who did not die were struck with **tumours**, and
 the cry of the city went up to heaven.’ (1 Sam. 5.12; Greek
εἰς τὰς ἔδρας; Latin *in secretiori parte natium*; TJ בטחוריא; Syr-
 iac ܥܦܠܝܢܐ)
- (11) וַיֹּאמְרוּ מָה הָאֲשָׁם אֲשֶׁר נָשִׁיב לוֹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִסְפַּר סַרְגֵּי פְּלִשְׁתִּים חֲמִשָּׁה
 עֲפָלִי (K) טַחְרִי (Q) זָהָב וְחֲמִשָּׁה עֶבְרִי זָהָב כִּי־מִגֹּפֶה אַחַת לְכֻלָּם
 וּלְסַרְגֵּיכֶם:
 ‘And they said, “What is the guilt offering that we shall re-
 turn to him?” They answered, “Five golden **tumours** and
 five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of
 the Philistines, for the same plague was on all of you and
 on your lords.’ (1 Sam. 6.4; 4Q51 6a–b.13 עֲפָלִי; Greek *ἔδρας*;
 Latin —; TJ טחורי; Syriac ܥܦܠܝܢܐ)

- (12) וַעֲשִׂיתֶם צִלְמֵי עֲפָלִיכֶם (K) טְחוּרֵיכֶם (Q) וְצִלְמֵי עַבְבְּרֵיכֶם הַמְשֹׁחִיתִם
 אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וַנִּתְתֶּם לְאֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּבוֹד אֱוִלֵי יִקְלֵ אֶת־יְדוֹ מִעֲלֵיכֶם וּמֵעַל
 אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וּמֵעַל אֲרֻצְכֶם:

‘So you must make images of **your tumours** and images of your mice that ravage the land, and give glory to the God of Israel. Perhaps he will lighten his hand from off you and your gods and your land.’ (1 Sam. 6.5; 4Q51 6a–b.14: העפ[ל]י; Greek: —; Latin: *anos*; Targum: טְחוּרֵיכוֹן; Syriac: )

The matter is complicated by apparent textual divergence in the Samuel narrative, as well as by a lack of semantic certainty regarding the meaning of the *ketiv* and *qere* terms. Suffice it to say that, whatever its meaning, *ketiv* עֲפָלִים ‘tumours, haemorrhoids’ was deemed inappropriate for public reading and was replaced in the reading tradition with *qere* טְחוּרִים ‘tumours, haemorrhoids’.

As is their wont, TO and TJ agree with the *qere*. Where extant, 4QSam^a (5Q51) preserves the *ketiv*. Whether the *ketiv*, *qere*, or another reading lies behind the other ancient witnesses cannot be determined with anything approaching certainty. Interestingly, the *qere* טְחוּרִים is shared by the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition in two instances in the Samuel narrative; see (13) and (14), neither paralleled in DSS Samuel material and one without a parallel in the Greek.

- (13) וַיִּשְׂמוּ אֶת־אָרוֹן יְהוָה אֶל־הָעֲגֹלָה וְאֶת הָאֲרָזִים וְאֶת עַבְבְּרֵי הַזָּהָב וְאֶת צִלְמֵי
 טְחוּרֵיהֶם:

‘And they put the ark of the LORD on the cart and the box with the golden mice and the images of their **tumours**.’ (1 Sam. 6.11; Greek —; Latin *anorum*; TJ טְחוּרֵיהוֹן; Syriac )

- (14) וְאֵלֶּה טְחֻרֵי הַזֶּהָב אֲשֶׁר הָשִׁיבוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֲשֶׁם לִיהוָה לְאַשְׁדּוֹד אֶחָד לְעָזָה
אֶחָד לְאַשְׁקְלוֹן אֶחָד לְגַת אֶחָד לְעֶקְרוֹן אֶחָד:

‘These are the golden **tumours** that the Philistines returned as a guilt offering to the LORD: one for Ashdod, one for Gaza, one for Ashkelon, one for Gath, one for Ekron.’ (1 Sam. 6.17; Greek *ἔδραι*; Latin *ani*; TJ טחורי; Syriac ܐܢܝܐ)

1.3. Rape

Four times in the Tiberian biblical tradition, the *ketiv* has a verb with the root שג"ל in a context of wartime rape. On all occasions the *qere* calls for a verb with root שכ"ב ‘lie (down)’.

- (15) אַיֵּה תֵאָרֵשׁ וְאִישׁ אַחֵר יִשְׁגַּלְנָהּ (K) יִשְׁכַּבְנָהּ (Q) בֵּית תִּבְנֶה וְלֹא-תֵשֵׁב
בּוֹ כִּי־תִטֵּעַ וְלֹא תִחְלְלֶנּוּ:

‘You shall betroth a wife, but another man **shall ravish her**. You shall build a house, but you shall not dwell in it. You shall plant a vineyard, but you shall not enjoy its fruit.’ (Deut. 28.30; 4Q30 f50.3 [ישג]לנה]; SP *yiskāb imma*; Greek *ἐξει αὐτῆς*; Latin: *dormiat cum ea*; TO ישכבינה; Syriac ܡܫܝܒܢܐ)

- (16) וְעַלְלֵיהֶם יִרְטְשׁוּ לְעֵינֵיהֶם יִשְׁסּוּ בְּתֵיבָתָם וּנְשֵׂיהֶם תִּשְׁגַּלְנָהּ (K) תִּשְׁכַּבְנָהּ (Q):

‘Their infants will be dashed in pieces before their eyes; their houses will be plundered and their wives **ravished**.’ (Isa. 13.16; 1QIsa^a 11.24 תשכבנה; 1Q8 6a–b.2 תשׁגנה]; 4Q55 f8.13 [תשג]לנה]; Greek *ἐξουσι*; Latin *violabuntur*; TJ ישתכבן; Syriac ܡܫܝܒܢܐ)

- (17) שְׂאֵי-עֵינֶיךָ עַל-שָׁפְיִים וּרְאֵי אִיפֹה לֹא שָׁנְלִית (K) שְׂכַבְתָּ (Q) עַל-דְּרָכֵי־ם
 יִשְׁבֹּת לָהֶם כַּעֲרָבִי בַּמִּדְבָּר וּתְחַנִּיפִי אֶרֶץ בְּזוּנוֹתֶיךָ וּבְרָעָתֶךָ:
 ‘Lift up your eyes to the bare heights, and see! Where **have you not been ravished?** By the waysides you have sat awaiting lovers like an Arab in the wilderness. You have polluted the land with your vile whoredom.’ (Jer. 3.2; Greek ἐξέφύρθης; Latin *prostrata sis*; TJ אתחברת אתחברת לטעותא ליד למפלה לטעותא)
 (18) וְאֶסְפְּתִי אֶת-כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם | אֶל-יְרוּשָׁלַם לְמִלְחָמָה וְנִלְכְּדָה הָעִיר וְנִשְׁפוּ הַבָּתָּיִם
 וְהַנְּשִׂיִם תִּשְׁנַלְנָה (K) תִּשְׁכַּבְנָה (Q) וַיֵּצֵא חֲצֵי הָעִיר בְּגוֹלָה וַיִּתֵּר הָעָם
 לֹא יִכָּרֵת מִן-הָעִיר:
 ‘For I will gather all the nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken and the houses shall be plundered and the women **shall be raped**. Half of the city shall go out into exile, but the rest of the people shall not be cut off from the city.’ (Zech. 14.2; Greek *μολυνθήσονται*; Latin *violabuntur*; TJ ישתכבן; Syriac ܡܝܬܠܚܝܢ)

The euphemistic employment of שָׁכַב ‘lie (down)’ in reference to sexual relations is common throughout BH (and is matched by euphemistic renderings in the ancient versions). This usage was also extended to cases of *ketiv* שג"ל ‘rape’. The change could not be effected, however, without certain grammatical modifications. First, in reference to sex, שָׁכַב normally takes one of the comitative prepositions עִם or אֵת both ‘with’ (Orlinsky 1944). On seven occasions one encounters שָׁכַב with a form of אֶת-—apparently the definite accusative/direct object marker—but in six of the seven, the vocalisation alone indicates that the particle is not

the preposition אֶת 'with'.⁶ Second, the verb שָׁכַב nowhere in BH bears an object suffix except where it is read as the *qere* for presumably *qal ketiv* שָׁגַל, as in (15) above. Third, BH lacks a *nif'al* נִשְׁכַּב except where it is read instead of apparently *nif'al* נִשְׁגַּל*, in examples (16) and (18) above. Finally, and of crucial significance, unambiguous consonantal *nif'al* נִשְׁכַּב* is first attested in material in the NBDSS⁷ and persists in RH. Relatedly, no passive *qal* or *pu^{cc}al* cognate of שָׁכַב is known from ancient Hebrew beyond that in the *qere* of (17) above.⁸ All of the above point to the likely secondary development of -שָׁכַב אֶת-, perhaps in the early Second Temple Period (cf. -שָׁכַב אֶת- with *mater waw* in Ezekiel) (Beuken 2004, 663). In other words, the expression -שָׁכַב אֶת- is itself a case of *ketiv-qere* mismatch unacknowledged within the Masoretic tradition and is in line with the שכ"ב-שג"ל correspondence under discussion.

1.4. Potential Misunderstanding

Cohen (2007, 269–71) lists a final instance of euphemistic *ketiv-qere*, as seen in (19).

(19) (Q) וְאוֹלֵי יְרֵאָה יְהוָה בְּעֵינַי (K)

‘It may be that the LORD will look **upon my eye...**’ (2 Sam.

16.12; Greek *ταπεινώσει μου*; Latin *adflitionem meam*; TJ

דמעת עיני; Syriac ܕܡܥܬܐ ܥܝܢܝ)

⁶ -את: Gen. 34.2; Lev. 15.18, 24; Num. 5.13, 19; 2 Sam. 13.14; -אות: Ezek. 23.8.

⁷ 4Q270 f5.19; 4Q271 f3.12.

⁸ Ancient Hebrew attests no *pi^{cc}el*.

The *ketiv* is doubly problematic, in that the context calls for a word meaning ‘suffering, misfortune, plight’, whereas, on the one hand, זָרַח presupposes an element of guilt not evident from the context and, on the other, it does not generally denote mere suffering. Some modern commentators assume that the text should reflect עָנִי ‘suffering’ or עָנִיִּי ‘my suffering’ (BDB 730b; cf. the Greek, Latin, and Syriac). Cohen (2007, 269–70, fn. 29) posits a semantic shift, whereby the meaning of זָרַח developed from ‘sin, guilt’ through ‘punishment’ to ‘trouble, suffering, torment, anguish’. Even if the proposed semantic shift is valid, the *ketiv* remains contextually difficult, given the standard force of זָרַח . The *qere* בְּעֵינַי can be taken either elliptically, for ‘tear of the eye’ (cf. the Targum), or metonymically, with ‘eye’ standing for the entire self (Cohen 2007, 270–71).

2.0. Diachronic Considerations

Given the obvious euphemistic status of the *qere* forms discussed above, there seems no need to prove their secondary status. Even so, the regular apparent agreement of the *ketiv* with the DSS (where extant) and the ancient versions is evidence of the primacy of the *ketiv* tradition (though many of the individual renderings of the ancient translations leave room for doubt).

Against the general agreement of the other ancient versions with the *ketiv*, the Targums regularly accord with the *qere* tradition. Sometimes, the *qere* and the Targums both resort to terms common in RH, as in the case of צוּאָה and מִימֵי רִגְלִים . The Vulgate’s *urinam pedum* also seems partially influenced by the rabbinic idiom.

However, it is also important to point out non- or pre-rabbinic evidence for *qere* forms. For example, the *qere* form טְחוּרִים used in place of *ketiv* עֲפִלִים is not restricted to the Tiberian reading tradition, but appears twice in the Tiberian consonantal tradition, as well. Also, *qere* שֶׁב"ב for *ketiv* שֶׁג"ל finds support in the combined Samaritan biblical written and reading tradition, the BDSS, and is in line with both general biblical euphemistic use of שָׁכַב in relation to sex as well as with an apparently secondary usage according to which the verb came to be used transitively. This latter development, manifested in the verb's use with the accusative/direct object particle, with object suffixes, and in the appearance of cognate *qal* internal passive or *nif'al* verbs, is clearly one rooted in the Second Temple Period, its initial stages seen in the orthography of exilic or post-exilic biblical passages and DSS Hebrew.

3.0. Conclusion

While the euphemistic *qere* alternatives for public reading are secondary and reflect relatively late sociolinguistic concerns, where clear evidence exists, it shows that the readings are in the main Second Temple developments, no later than Tannaitic Hebrew, and are sometimes validated by DSS and, albeit rarely, even Tiberian CBH written evidence.

PART II:
LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENTS

4. THE PROPER NAME *ISSACHAR*

In the case of the proper name *Issachar*, the relationship between orthography and phonetic realisation is famously anomalous.¹ Put simply, the name's pronunciation according to most biblical reading traditions is at odds with the dominant Hebrew spelling. The mismatch is blatant in the standard Tiberian *qere perpetuum* יִשָּׂכָר, wherein readers are consistently instructed to ignore the form's third consonant in favour of the articulation *yissākār*,² as if the form were written יִשְׂכָר*.³

The dissonance in question is evidently a result of secondary phonological development. It seems to be a case of gemina-

¹ Early awareness of variation in the name's pronunciation is evidenced in Misha'el ben 'Uzzi'el's tenth- or eleventh-century Judaeo-Arabic *Kitāb Al-Khilaf* 'Book of Differences' (Hebrew *Sefer ha-Hillufim*), which focuses on points of dispute in the respective biblical reading traditions of the leading Masoretes Ben Asher and Ben Naftali. The first difference that Ben Uzzi'el cites is that of the name *Issachar* (see the edition by Lipschütz 1964; 1965).

² For ancient realisations of ש *ś*, especially its Second Temple phonetic identity with ס *s*, see Khan (2020, I:62–65, fn. 59, 234–36).

³ The vocalisation of יִשְׂכָר is consistent in the extant cases in the A. In about one-third of the cases in L (14 of 43), the dagesh is missing from the ש: Gen. 46.13; Num. 10.15; 34.26; 1 Kgs 4.17; Ezek. 48.25–26; 1 Chron. 2.1; 6.47, 57; 7.1, 5; 12.41; 26.5; 27.18. A *rafe* is marked over the second ש once in L (Exod. 35.23), never in the extant portions of A. Yeivin (1985, 1090) lists several graphic representations of the name's vocalisation in the Babylonian tradition, all of which correspond to the accepted Tiberian convention.

tion due to anticipatory assimilation of the first of two originally distinct sibilants—likely $\text{śś} < \text{šš}$ —possibly reflecting the contraction of an earlier compound, such as ישׁ שְׂכָר * ‘there is a wage’ or אִישׁ שְׂכָר * ‘man of wage’.⁴ Aharon ben Moshe ben Asher’s representation of the standard Tiberian realisation $yisśāḱār$ by means of the accepted (but highly irregular) consonant-diacritic combination ישׁשְׂכָר , was not the only possibility. Another early Masorete, Moshe Moḥe, opted for the alternative graphic representation ישׁשְׂכָר (see the image on the front cover), which in Tiberian Hebrew would have had the same phonetic value as Ben Asher’s ישׁשְׂכָר $yisśāḱār$ (see below on the alternative Tiberian realisation given by Ben Naftali).⁵

⁴ See BDB sub. voc. and HALOT sub. voc. for these and other suggestions. Ancient interpretations can be found in Jerome’s commentaries: *unde et issachar, qui interpretatur: est merces, ex uirtutibus nomen accepit* ‘Whence is also Issachar, which is interpreted: there is a wage, has taken the name from manliness’; *unde et issachar interpretatur: est merces; et sachar μέθυσμα, id est ebrietas, ceteri que ebrios; soli lxx mercenarios transtulerunt* ‘Whence is also Issachar interpreted: there is a wage; and sachar as μέθυσμα, that is, intoxication, others also as drunken ones; only the Seventy have translated it as those hired for wages’ (on Isaiah, lib. 6, 14.24–25; Migne 1844–1855, XXIV, col. 227); *et de issachar legimus, quod supposuerit humerum suum ad laborandum, et uir agricola sit* ‘And from/about Issachar we read, that he placed his upper arm to work, and was a farmer/agricultural man’ (on Hosea, lib. 2, 6.9; Migne 1844–1855, XXV, col. 871); *issachar enim interpretatur merces ut significetur pretium proditoris* ‘For Issachar is interpreted as wage so as to signify the price of a traitor’ (on Matthew, lib. 1, 10.4; Migne 1844–1855, XXVI, col. 63).

⁵ In the Tiberian pronunciation tradition, *shewa* on the second of two identical consonants was silent after a short vowel, e.g., הַנְּי *hinnī* (Khan

The question that the present study seeks to answer involves the antiquity of the dissonance between the Tiberian written and reading traditions, specifically, how far back the reading tradition reflected by the Masoretic vocalisation signs reaches.

1.0. Diversity in Antiquity

1.1. Double-sibilant Realisations

The first thing to note is that, while converging lines of evidence point to the early emergence of a phonetic realisation similar to what was to become standard in the Tiberian tradition, there are also traditions reminiscent of the Tiberian orthography, i.e., that reflect the pronunciation of two distinct sibilants.

1.1.1. The Samaritan Tradition

For example, though the Samaritan Hebrew consonantal spelling is identical to that of Masoretic Hebrew, the Samaritan phonetic realisation is *yāšīšākār*. As Samaritan Hebrew preserves just one phoneme represented by the grapheme *š*, namely *š*, the *quality* of the sibilant is unsurprising. The Samaritan realisation of a vowel between the two sibilants is, however, unique among pronunciation traditions. The vowel in question not improbably developed from an earlier *shewa*, as Samaritan Hebrew routinely parallels Tiberian *shewa* with a full vowel, long in open syllables

2013, 100; 2020, I:352–53; cf. Ofer 2018, 196). The *Ma'agarim* website of the Academy of the Hebrew Language's Historical Dictionary Project lists a number of variant spellings in agreement with the standard received pronunciation.

(Ben-Hayyim 2000, 53–55). If so, this seems to have been an alternative to the gemination due to assimilation known from other traditions, one that allowed for the preservation of the distinct realisation of once-adjacent sibilants.

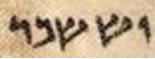
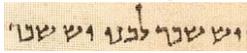
1.1.2. The Tiberian Tradition according to Ben Naftali

Possible evidence of a pre-assimilation realisation may also be reflected in the alternative Tiberian vocalisation advocated by Ben Naftali, namely, יִשְׁשָׁקָר *yīššāqār*, which shows the sequence of two distinct sibilants, i.e., šš (Khan 2020, I:94). Such a realisation might be characterised as purist and/or etymological, possibly an attempt to combat the perceived ‘lax’ or ‘slurred’ *yīššāqār* pronunciation recorded by Ben Asher and eventually accepted as the standard. Khan (2020, I:103), however, emphasises the possibility that the realisation advocated by Ben Naphtali rather represents an innovative attempt at orthoepy, and that it may not preserve a genuinely archaic pronunciation.

1.1.3. The Temple Scroll (11QT^a = 11Q19)

Similar purist and/or etymological tendencies may also have factored in the writing of the name in the Temple Scroll from Qumran (11QT^a = 11Q19). In all five of its occurrences in this manuscript (and nowhere else in the Dead Sea Scrolls), the name is written as two separate words, i.e., יש שֶׁר. These are reproduced

in examples (1)–(4) (note that the final example includes two tokens).⁶

- (1) 
 יש שכר (11Q19 24.15)
- (2) 
 יש שכר (11Q19 39.13)
- (3) 
]יש שכר] (11Q19 41.4)
- (4) 
 יש שכר לבני יש שכר (11Q19 44.16)

This written representation may be an early example of orthoepic effort, that is, the attempt to promote correct enunciation, presumably in the face of the perceived threat of hurried and/or lax articulation.⁷ Alternatively—or, additionally—the word spacing possibly reflects exegetical concerns. Crucially, if the division of the name into distinct graphic words reflects a realisation like *yīš sakar*, it comes as indirect early evidence of alternative realisations to Ben Asher's Tiberian *yīššākār*.

⁶ The images in examples (1)–(4) are from the Temple Scroll, 11Q19, Qumran, late 1st century BCE–early 1st century CE, reproduced here with permission of the Shrine of the Book, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

⁷ On the orthoepic character of the Tiberian vocalisation system see Khan (2018b).

1.2. Single-sibilant Realisations

1.2.1. The Versions

But additional direct early evidence is also available. First, in contrast to the double-sibilant realisations in Samaritan *yāšīšākār*, Ben Naftali's *yiššākār*, and 11QT's יש שכר, other ancient traditions agree on forms of the name with a single sibilant sound. Thus, Greek has *Ισσαχαρ*, Latin *Isachar*, TA יששכר, and Syriac ܝܫܫܚܐܪ. Clearly, this evidence points to the relatively early emergence and diffusion of a realisation (or realisations) in which the presumably original sequence of discrete sibilants indicated by the dominant spelling יששכר and preserved in a minority of traditions (like Samaritan, Ben Naftali, and the Temple Scroll) was realised as a one sibilant, whether geminate or singleton.

1.2.2. 4Q522: Apocryphon of Joshua

Second, and of more immediate relevance to the possibly ortho-epic motivation for the Temple Scroll's explicit representation of the name *Issachar* as two discrete graphic words, is the form of the name as presented in an apparent allusion to Josh. 17.11 found in the Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q522 f8.3), where the name is written ישכר. See example (5).



[--] [יישכר את בית שן ואשר א]ת⁸ (4Q522 f8.3)⁸

⁸ Image used by permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Cf. the Masoretic version in example (6).

- (6) וַיְהִי לְמַנַּשֶׁה בְּיִשָּׁשְׁכָר וּבְאֶשֶׁר בֵּית־שֵׁאן וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ...
 ‘And it was: to Manasseh were assigned **within Issachar’s**
 and Asher’s territories Beth Shean and its villages (Josh.
 17.11)

Under different circumstances, the spelling יִשְׁכַּר for *Issachar*—unique in the DSS—might be considered a mere scribal lapse, the accidental graphic omission of a repeated consonant with no phonetic import. However, given the aforementioned versional evidence, which demonstrates the existence in antiquity of single-sibilant realisations, the DSS יִשְׁכַּר orthography has the look of a phonetic spelling along the lines of [jis:akar] (< *yisśakar*)—apparently confirming the antiquity of the type of phonetic realisation also preserved in Tiberian יִשְׁשָׁכָר *yisśākār*.

To DSS יִשְׁכַּר one may add later spellings of this type, such as those that crop up in texts from the Cairo Geniza, where a minority of forms with single-sibilant spellings evidently reflect phonetic realisations. While the single-sibilant realisation (with or without gemination) became conventional in most Hebrew (and foreign) pronunciation traditions, the classical double-sibilant orthographic tradition was successfully preserved. In Jewish Hebrew and Aramaic pronunciation traditions, this led to mismatch, first, between the written and reading traditions and, eventually, between the consonants and vocalic diacritics that combine to make up the written Masoretic tradition.

2.0. Historical Considerations

The historical depth of single-sibilant realisations is unclear. Judging by 11QT's author's apparent call for a realisation of the type *yiššakar* via the spacing in יש שכר—possibly in the face of the *yiššakar*-type realisation underlying 4Q522's ישכר—the single-sibilant pronunciation goes back to the late Second Temple Period, at the latest. Since such realisations were sufficiently widespread to achieve representation in the LXX and at Qumran (as well as in the later Latin, Aramaic, and Syriac traditions), they may well have emerged earlier.

It is likewise difficult to assess the extent of the penetration of the single-sibilant realisations. The five cases of יש שכר in the Temple Scroll and the lone case of ישכר in 4Q522 are transparent enough, but what of the more standard DSS orthography יששכר, which comes five times in the biblical DSS and twice in non-biblical material?⁹ Does their double-sibilant spelling indicate a corresponding double-sibilant realisation, or should 11QT's יש שכר be construed as evidence that יששכר is mere historical spelling for what had already come to be pronounced as *yiššakar* or *yissakar*? Is there significance to the fact that classical double-sibilant spellings characterise DSS biblical material, while six of the eight forms in non-biblical texts (including the יש שכר cases from the Temple Scroll and ישכר from 4Q522) have unconventional orthographies? There seems no getting around the ambiguity of the DSS spelling יששכר. It could conceivably have been

⁹ BDSS: 4Q1 f17–18.1 = MT Exod. 1.3; 4Q11 f1 + 39.6 = MT Exod. 1.3; 4Q13 f1.4 = MT Exod. 1.3; 4Q27 f3ii + 5.1 = MT Num. 13.7; Mas1c faii + b.2 = MT Deut. 33.18. NBDSS: 4Q484 f1.1; 11Q20 6.14.

used by writers and scribes to reflect diverse phonetic realisations and may have been subject to various articulations on the parts of readers.

3.0. Conclusion

Be that as it may, the available evidence is plausibly interpreted as indicating relatively ancient dissonance between the standard double-sibilant Tiberian Hebrew orthography יִשְׂשַׁכַּר and single-sibilant oral articulations, of which the Tiberian reading tradition's יִשְׂשַׁכַּר *yīśśākār* is a well-known representative. In this case of divergence between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition, both are shown to reflect comparatively old realisations. The admittedly secondary single-sibilant articulation dates to no later than Hellenistic times, though there is arguable indirect evidence that it emerged and diffused earlier.

5. לְקַרְאֵת *LIQRA*(?)I

In view of its semantic link to קָרָה I (= קָרָא II) ‘meet, befall, happen’, combined with consistent orthography with the radical *’alef* characteristic of קָרָא I (= קָרָה II) ‘call, read’, the Masoretic BH infinitive-cum-preposition לְקַרְאֵת ‘to meet; opposite, toward’ is anomalous. Cf. the expected infinitive construct of קָרָא I in (ל)קָרָא and of קָרָה I in (ל)קָרוּת*.¹

It also, arguably, furnishes an especially instructive glimpse of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition of BH. In this case, not only can divergence of the spelling and vocalisation traditions be substantiated, but there is evidence that each reflects a realisation of profound historical depth, with roots stretching back to the Iron Age. If so, the disharmony, though evidently secondary, reflects truly ancient diversity. When one takes seriously the testimony of the individual components, the ostensible ‘problem’ inherent in a scriptural tradition composed of discordant elements proves invaluable in tracing the phonological development of the specific form in question as well as characterising the historicity of the components of the tradition.

¹ A clear case of conflation in the MT is לְבַלְתִּי קְרָאוֹת ‘not to call’ (Judg. 8.1). The merger of קר"ה and קר"א is more advanced in RH, where infinitival forms such as לְ(י)קְרָא(א)וֹת ‘to read, call, recite (the *Shema*)’ outnumber those of לְקָרוּא. The expected III-y infinitive of קָרָה I in (ל)קָרוּת* may be attested in 4Q179 f1i.3, but seems otherwise undocumented until *piyyuṭ* in the Byzantine Period.

1.0. The Tiberian Spelling and Similar Traditions

The Masoretic spelling—which is also the dominant orthography in the DSS, the Samaritan written tradition, and RH—is לקראת. As *ʾalef* is traditionally grouped with *heh*, *waw*, and *yod* as *matres lectionis*, in the case of phonetic realisations of לקראת along the lines of Tiberian *liqraṭ*, it is sometimes assumed that the otherwise otiose *ʾalef* serves as a *mater lectionis* for *a*. There is widespread agreement, however, that quiescent *ʾalef* in the Masoretic written tradition is nearly always etymological and that only at a relatively late date, under the influence of Aramaic spelling conventions, became a pure *mater* for *a*-vowels (GKC §7e; Andersen and Forbes 1986, 32, 49; Ariel 2013, 942). The use of *ʾalef* as a *mater* for *a* is comparatively common in the DSS (Reymond 2014, 43–47).

While the exact Iron Age pronunciation of the consonantal form לקראת, including whether it was realised with or without an audible *ʾalef*, must remain conjectural, the consistency of the spelling with *ʾalef* in Masoretic and other sources can be interpreted as evidence of the erstwhile existence of a matching pronunciation characterised by a word-internal glottal stop. How long such a pronunciation endured is difficult to determine given the available evidence.

2.0. The Tiberian Pronunciation and Similar Traditions

Conspicuous in the Tiberian phonetic realisation לקראת *liqraṭ* is syncope of the *ʾalef* consistently preserved in the orthographic tradition. Similar pronunciations are known from the Babylonian

biblical recitation tradition (Yeivin 1985, 258–59, 1133–34) and from RH.

The Samaritan realisation *alqē^rrāt̄* appears to result from normal phonological processes that resolve syllable-initial consonant clusters, presupposing a form along the lines of *lqrat*. Given SH's penchant for eliding gutturals, it is no surprise that the ʾalef goes unpronounced here, as in the Tiberian and similar traditions. Interestingly, however, the ultimate stress in the form *alqē^rrāt̄* may constitute indirect evidence of a formerly realised glottal stop, since ultimate stress in the Samaritan recitation tradition is restricted to words with a guttural second or third radical (Ben-Hayyim 2000, §§4.4.2–3).

On the assumption that the ʾalef in the standard Tiberian spelling לקראת represents historical etymology, the form is arguably best explained as an infinitive in the (*lə*)*qitlā* (*<* PS *qatlat^u* [*or* (*lə*)*qātīlā* *<* *qutlat^u*]) nominal pattern, primarily associated with semantically stative verbs, e.g., לְאַהֲבָה אוֹתָם 'to love them' (Deut. 10.15), לְאַשְׁמָה בָּהּ 'to become guilty thereby' (Lev. 5.26), אַחֲרַי וְקִנְיָתָהּ 'after becoming old' (Gen. 24.36), לְטַמְּאָהּ-בָּהּ 'to become unclean thereby' (Lev. 15.32), לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי 'to fear me' (Deut. 4.10), לְקַרְבָּה אֶל-הַמְּלָאכָה 'to approach to the work' (Exod. 36.2), לְרַבְּעָה אִתָּהּ 'to lie with it' (Lev. 20.16), לְרַחֵק 'to be far' (Ezek. 8.6), וּמִשְׂנֵאתוֹ אוֹתָם 'and from his hating them'. In the specific case of לקראת, preservation of the final *tav* is explained in line with consistent construct status. The vowel pattern is explained as follows: *qarʾat* > *qarat*, due to weakening of the ʾalef; *qarat* > *qarat* (*liqrat*), due to reduction of vowel distant from primary stress in construct state (GKC §§19k, 45d; Bauer and Leander 1922:

Nachträge und Verbesserung (Schluß.), p. II, n. to p. 425, ln. 8ff).² The use of the feminine infinitival form permitted semantic disambiguation: לְקַרְאת is ‘to meet; opposite, toward’, whereas קָרָא(ל) is ‘to call, read’. Again, the expected infinitive for קָרָה I is קָרוּת(ל)*.

3.0. Ambiguous Traditions

Jerome’s transcription *lacerath* for לְקַרְאת־ (Amos 4.12) is ambiguous. Brønno (1970) concluded that gutturals were preserved in Jerome’s Hebrew. They are often reflected by helping vowels, e.g., וּלְאִמִּים *et Loommim* ‘and Leummim’ (Gen. 25.3), or Latin *h*, e.g., הַאֲשֵׁרִיטִי *Asrihelitarum* ‘the Asrielites’ (Num. 26.31), רֵאִיָּה *Rahaia* ‘Reaiah’ (Ezra 2.47). However, the lack of any representation of *’alef* here cannot be taken as unequivocal evidence of pronunciation without a glottal stop in light of such transcriptions as פִּרָאִם *Pharam* ‘Piram’ (Josh. 10.3) and וְתִרְאָלָה *et Tharala* ‘Taralah’ (Josh. 18.27). The *a*-vowel after -ל and the *e*-vowel after ק are both conventional in the transcription of his Hebrew tradition (Yuditsky 2013, 807–8, 821).

4.0. The Antiquity of the Realisation without *’alef*

Assuming the validity of the explanations proffered above, two principal questions remain unanswered. First, how long did a pronunciation of לְקַרְאת preserving the glottal stop persist in Hebrew? While the extant reading traditions unanimously disregard it, it is legitimate, given its consistent orthographic representa-

² This paragraph is an expanded and corrected revision of Hornkohl (2013a, 124, fn. 50).

tion, to wonder whether and to what extent it may have continued to be realised. There is no definitive answer to this question. The second question is: what is the historical depth of the phonetic realisation with syncopation of the glottal stop?

4.1. Second Temple Evidence

For purposes of answering the second question, the available information is clearer. As has been noted, notwithstanding the received pronunciations of לקראת without a glottal stop, the form is regularly written with an *'alef*.

There are, however, exceptions. As early as the Second Temple Period, minority spellings without *'alef* in the DSS apparently reflect phonetic realisations with an elided glottal stop: לקרת (1QIsa^a 12.10 || לקראת MT Isa. 14.9); לקרת (4Q481a f2.4 || לקראת MT 2 Kgs 2.15); perhaps also ל[קרת] בנו 'to meet his son' (4Q200 f5.1 || Tobit 11.10); ל[קר]תנו 'ag[ain]st us' (4Q504 f1–2Riii.13). Though the exact realisation of these forms is unknown, the omission of *'alef* comes as evidence of pronunciation without a glottal stop.

4.2. Iron Age Evidence

But there is even earlier evidence of a realisation without the word-medial glottal stop. The Siloam inscription, which dates to ca. 700 BCE, includes the sentence ובימיה/ונקבה-הכו-החצבמ-אש- לקרת-רעו-גרזו-על-ג[רזו] 'And on the day of the / breach, the hewers struck, each man **to meet** (or **toward**) his partner, pick-axe against [pi]ck-axe' (KAI 189, lns 3–4). As in the case of the DSS examples above, there is no certainty regarding every phonetic

detail. Yet, the absence of *ʾalef* in an official inscription comes as compelling testimony in favour of an Iron Age pronunciation of לקר(א)ת without a glottal stop, not dissimilar from that preserved in the Tiberian reading tradition.

According to one approach, no glottal stop (i.e., *ʾalef*) was lost in the Siloam inscription's לקרת. Rather, the spelling reflects a realisation along the lines of *liqrot*. If so, the *ʾalef* in the Tiberian and other traditions is to be considered secondary. So reason, among others, Aḥituv, Garr, and Fassberg (2016, 61), thought it is not clear whether they believe that the *ʾalef* in question was ever pronounced as a glottal stop in the many traditions of BH and extra-biblical Hebrew in which it appears.

By contrast, the view propounded here is that the spelling with *ʾalef* לקראת is historical, i.e., reflects an ancient realisation with a medial glottal stop, and that the Siloam inscription's לקרת is an early manifestation of the secondary syncope of the glottal stop seen in the Tiberian reading tradition and similar pronunciations and in minority spellings in the DSS. The syncope in question was presumably due to lax realisation, possibly connected with vernacular Hebrew, but which at some point came to be recognised as standard despite the spelling convention with *ʾalef* (which may have come to be considered a *mater*). It should also be noted that phonetic erosion is comparatively more common in the case of function words that have undergone grammaticalisation (Heine 1993, 106), which here seems to have involved the shift from lexical infinitive to preposition.³

³ I am grateful to Geoffrey Khan for calling my attention to this perspective.

5.0. Conclusion

Giving due consideration to both orthographic and recitation traditions, the spelling-pronunciation mismatch of the infinitive-turned-preposition לקראת appears to reflect the intersection of divergent written and reading traditions. The written traditions bear witness almost exclusively to a pronunciation that up to some point preserved a word-medial glottal stop. Occasionally, written material omits the *ʾalef* and, in so doing, furnishes early (Iron Age, Second Temple) evidence of realisations in which the presumed word-medial glottal stop had become syncopated. This is the dominant sort of pronunciation preserved in most of the extant reading traditions (Tiberian, Babylonian, RH; Jerome's Latin transcriptions and the Samaritan form with ultimate stress are possible, though by no means certain, exceptions).

While it is not known when pronunciations without the glottal stop came to dominate in Hebrew, it is evident from minority Second Temple and Iron Age occurrences of לקראת (without *ʾalef*) that such realisations were attested long before the medieval textualisation of the Tiberian reading tradition.

It is not impossible that the ubiquity of pronunciations without the glottal stop in the extant reading traditions somewhat obscures a degree of variation in the word's realisation. Perhaps in antiquity, forms with and without glottal stops could be heard. Be that as it may, it is plausible to conclude on the basis of the earliest cases of לקראת that any potential anachronism with regard to this form in the Tiberian reading and similar traditions does not apply to the *phenomenon* of syncope of the glottal stop, but only to the *extent* of the syncope. In other words, while the

pronunciation without glottal stop is likely secondary, and while its standardisation may be late, early evidence confirms the deep historical roots of the feature eventually made standard.

6. THE 2MS ENDINGS

In the combined Masoretic biblical written-reading tradition, word-final *qameṣ* (-ā̄) typically co-occurs with a *mater heh*, i.e., הֶּ-. This norm applies across a variety of categories, including

- (a) substantives with the feminine singular ending, e.g., אִשָּׁא ‘woman’, גְּדוֹלָה ‘great, large’;
- (b) the *qatal* 3FS verbal ending, e.g., נָתַתָּה ‘she gave’;
- (c) the *qatal* of 3MS III-y forms, e.g., הָיָה ‘he was’; and
- (d) adverbial endings of various sorts, e.g., עַתָּה ‘now’, אֶרֶץ ‘to the land/ground’.

Conspicuously exceptional in this regard are the 2MS nominal (i.e., object/possessive) suffix הֶ- and the 2MS verbal ending תָּ-, both of which routinely end in -ā̄, but—anomalously—employ defective word-final orthography, regularly eschewing the respective *plene* alternatives כָּ- and תָּ-.¹ Correspondingly, note that the zero vocalisation of the -t of the 2FS *qatal* verbal ending and the 2FS independent subject pronoun תָּא are regularly represented by a written *shewa* sign, i.e., תְּ-, as are all voiceless final *kafs*, e.g., פְּ-; no other final voiceless consonants are so treated.

¹ Important discussions include Sievers (1901, §207); Kahle (1921; 1947, 95–102; 1959, 171–77); Torczyner et al. (1938, 37, 41, 51, 55); Tur-Sinai ([1940] 1987, 37–42); Cross and Freedman (1952, 53, no. 51, 65–67); Yalon (1952, 10–11); Ben-Hayyim (1954); Kutscher (1963, 264–66; 1974, 446–47; 1982, 32–35, §46); Steiner (1979); Zevit (1980, 31–32); Blau (1982; 2010, 169–71); Barr (1989b, 114–27); Sáenz-Badillos (1993, 185); Gogel (1997, 155–64); Hutton (2013b, 966–67); Khan (2013a, 48–49; 2013b, 307; 2020, I:90); Aḥituv, Garr, and Fassberg (2016, 61); Qimron (2018, 265–67).

It may be that this glaring mismatch between spelling and pronunciation is a simple idiosyncrasy of the Masoretic tradition, whereby normal spelling practices do not apply in the vast majority of cases of 2MS affirmatives. In other words, standard η - and τ - and much rarer כה- and תה- may be thought, no matter their orthographic differences, to reflect $-k\bar{a}$ and $-t\bar{a}$, respectively (e.g., Koller 2021, 18). The point of departure adopted here, conversely, is that the contrast between the spellings η - and τ -, on the one hand, and realisations $-k\bar{a}$ and $-t\bar{a}$, on the other, is linguistically significant, reflecting the merger of distinct pronunciation traditions: the written tradition with consonant-final forms and the reading tradition with vowel-final forms.

To put this in context, leaving aside instances of orthographic-vocalic disparity traditionally acknowledged via the *ketiv-qere* mechanism—including cases of *qere perpetuum*, e.g., יהוה realised as $\text{ʾ}\bar{a}d\bar{o}n\bar{a}y$ or $\text{ʾ}\bar{e}l\bar{o}h\bar{i}m$ (see above, Introduction, §1.0, and ch. 1)—the 2MS endings arguably represent one of the most common categories of phonic divergence between the written and reading components that comprise the combined Masoretic biblical tradition. If so, they constitute a major case of unacknowledged *ketiv-qere* dissonance within the Masoretic tradition.² This chapter seeks to explore this phonetic variety in ancient He-

² Note on terminology: throughout this chapter, $\text{כה-}/\eta$ - are referred to as 2MS nominal endings, $\text{תה-}/\tau$ - as 2MS verbal endings; the orthographies η -/ τ - are termed short spellings, $\text{כה-}/\text{תה-}$ long spellings; the phonetic realisations $-k$ -/ $-t$ are designated consonant-final, $-ka$ -/ $-ta$ vowel-final; there is no presumption that the spellings η -/ τ - were originally intended as defective for vowel-final pronunciations.

brew morphology across dialects, chronolects, registers, and traditions as well as to plumb the historical depth of the variants.³

One further preliminary remark: though the cases of the nominal γ - $-k\bar{a}$ and verbal τ - $-t\bar{a}$ endings are similar, it is not assumed here that their respective orthographic and phonetic development proceeded in lockstep. Each ending merits its own study sensitive to similarities and differences, and potential analogous treatment. As such, in the present chapter a conscious effort is made to separate the relevant arguments and data.

1.0. Comparative Semitic Perspective

One similarity between the verbal and nominal affirmatives in question is that there is general agreement that both evolved from early Semitic forms that ended in some form of *a*-vowel, most likely long, though some argue for a short or anceps vowel.

In Comparative Semitic perspective, there is general agreement that the Proto-Semitic 2MS object/possessive suffix from which the various ancient Hebrew forms developed was some form of *-ka*, the precise quantity of the vowel of which remains unclear (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 15–18; Moscati 1964, 109, §13.23;

³ Other notable cases in which word-final *qameṣ* ($-\bar{a}$) goes orthographically unmarked in the Tiberian tradition include: (a) the 3FS object/possessive suffix יָהּ , e.g., אֵלֶיהָ ‘to her’, not אֵלֶיהָ^* ; (b) נֶעֱר ‘girl’, eight times the *qere perpetuum* in Genesis (24.14, 16, 28, 55, 57; 34.3, 12)—note also the 13 cases of *qere* נֶעֱרָה for *ketiv* נָעַר in Deuteronomy (22.15, 15, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 26, 27, 28, 29) against a single case of written-reading agreement in הַנֶּעֱרָה ‘the girl’ (Deut. 22.19); (c) the 2FPL/3FPL verbal endings (see below, ch. 9); (d) עַתָּה ‘now’ (Ezek. 23.43; Ps. 74.6).

Blau 2010, 169, §4.2.3.3.1; Huehnergard 2019, 54). The development of the consonant-final *-k* realisation is debated, with explanations involving variable (anceps) vowel length, Aramaic contact, and vernacular (perhaps RH) influence being suggested as factors (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 18, 59–64; Steiner 1979, 158–61; cf. Blau 1982).

The verbal ending, likewise, is thought to descend from a vowel-final proto-Semitic form with *-a*, *-ā*, or *-ã* (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 15–18; Moscati, 1964, 138, §16.41; Blau 2010, 55, §1.18.1n, 209, §4.3.3.4.3; Huehnergard 2019, 53).

As is made clear below, a number of factors complicate tracing the history of the two endings, including: widespread dissonance between the written and reading components of the Masoretic tradition; evidence of majority spellings and realisations side by side with minority alternants in both components of that tradition; evidence for the various options in other traditions of biblical material; and confirmation of contrasting orthography and/or phonology in extra-biblical material.

2.0. Diversity within the Tiberian Tradition

Turning to Tiberian BH, another point of similarity between the 2MS verbal and nominal affirmatives is that both exhibit some degree of diversity within Masoretic Hebrew. The nominal suffix has the short spelling in around 92 percent of its 2850 tokens. Likewise, the verbal suffix is written short in nearly 92 percent of its 1800+ occurrences. This means that in both cases, not insignificant minorities of the two affirmatives are written long, i.e., with *heh*.

A salient difference in this connection is that in some 200 instances of the nominal suffix, the spelling and vocalisation *agree* on consonant-final realisation. These consist of the 2MS pausal forms $\text{קָ}, \text{לָ}, \text{קָאָ}, \text{קָאָ},$ and קָאָ . As many pausal forms are thought to safeguard archaic phonology (Fassberg 2013, 54; cf. Blau 2010, §§3.5.8.8n, 3.5.12.2.5n, 3.5.13.4), in the case of the 2MS nominal suffix, they purport to preserve vocalic evidence of the consonant-final realisation that underlies the written tradition's standard ק- orthography. Similar consonant-final forms of the verbal ending are not known in the pronunciation tradition, though instances of the apparently masculine independent pronoun אָ realised as 'attā are attested in rare cases of *ketiv-qere* (1 Sam. 24.19; Ps. 6.4; Job 1.10; Qoh. 7.22; Neh. 9.6) and in still rarer cases of written-reading agreement on אָ (Num. 11.15; Deut. 5.27; Ezek. 28.14).

One way of looking at the apparent mix of vowel- and consonant-final forms in both the orthographic and recitation traditions is to see that the respective minority form in each corroborates the other's majority form Khan (2013a, 48–49).

Table 1: Majority and minority forms of the 2MS nominal suffix

	<u>spelling</u>		<u>pronunciation</u>
majority	ק-	↙ ↘	$-\underline{k}a$
minority	כה-	↗ ↖	$-\underline{a}k$

Thus, as can be seen in Table 1, the pausal realisation $-\underline{a}k$ agrees with the majority written short spelling, whereas the long spel-

ling with *heh* agrees with the majority vowel-final pronunciation *-ka*.

Likewise, in the case of the verbal ending, as seen in Table 2, the minority long spelling with *heh* comes as apparently early confirmation of the majority vowel-final realisation *-ta* and the evidence for a 2MS independent subject pronoun *'at* supports the consonant-final short spelling with *ḥ-*.

Table 2: Majority and minority forms of the 2MS verbal ending

spelling		pronunciation	
majority	ḥ-	↗	-ta
minority	ḥה-	↘	2MS ḥא 'at (<i>ketiv</i>)

Accounts of the distribution of the minority long spellings vary in terms of explanatory power and comprehensiveness. James Barr (1989b, 114–19) judiciously discusses several of them. In the case of the 39 cases in which Tiberian 2MS written *כה־* and the realisation *-kā* coincide as the nominal suffix, proposed factors favouring the long spelling include graphic word length, a root consonant *-k* adjacent to the suffix, accumulation due to attraction, or some combination thereof (see §10.1 for citations). Prosodic factors may also be at work, as one-third of the long spellings occur with a major disjunctive accent. Of course, in most of these categories, *כה־* forms nevertheless comprise a small minority of the total.

The long verbal ending is especially common in certain weak verbs, e.g., *נתן* (64 of the 147 total cases of 2MS *qaṭal* forms end in *ה־*), III-y, hollow, geminate, and *hiḥ'il* I-n (Barr 1989b,

116–19, 124–24). It also exhibits a possible prosodic connection: in 19 cases הַח- correlates with a major disjunctive accent. Be that as it may, in most of these categories, the long spellings remain the minority option (see §10.2 for citations).

Interestingly, as far as accepted theories on diachrony and linguistic periodisation go, there seems to be no discernible chronological trend (Barr 1989b, 119). A possible exception in the case of the nominal suffix is apparent evidence of the late standardisation of spellings without *heh*, which emerges from comparisons of CBH passages with LBH parallels—though Barr (1989b, 119, 123–24) also notes the preservation of residual long spellings of the nominal suffix in the “higher and more solemn style” of prayers and divine speeches.

3.0. Kahle’s View

At this point, it is worthwhile to cite the forceful opinion of Paul Kahle (1921; 1947, 95–102; 1959, 174–77) on the subject. Kahle famously opined that the consonant-final pronunciations were original in BH, regarding the Tiberian *-kā̄* and *-tā̄* realisations as Masoretic innovations of the Islamic Period imported from Qurʾānic Arabic.

4.0. Diversity beyond the Tiberian Tradition

Kahle based his view not just on the dominant spellings in the Tiberian tradition, but on evidence from beyond that tradition as well. Consonant-final forms of the nominal suffix are found in transcriptional evidence in Greek (Ben-Hayyim 1954, 22–27; Kahle 1959, 171; Yuditsky 2016, 106; 2017, 104–6, §3.1.1.2.3)

and Latin (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 22–27; Kahle 1959, 171–72; Yudit-sky 2016, 106), the written and reading components of the Samaritan biblical tradition (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 37–39; 2000, 228–29, §§3.2.2–3.2.2.0; Kahle 1959, 172–73),⁴ non-biblical manuscripts with Palestinian vowel pointing (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 27–29; Kahle 1959, 173–74), RH (Breuer 2013, 736), and *piyyuṭ* manuscripts with Palestinian pointing (Kahle 1959, 172–73; see also Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 29–32). Conversely, the Babylonian biblical reading tradition mirrors the Tiberian with $-k\bar{a}$ and, in the case of certain particles in pause, $-\bar{a}k$ (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 32–37; Yeivin 1985, 749; cf. 421).

Turning to the 2MS verbal suffix, a consonant-final $-t$ pronunciation is found in the Greek and Latin transcriptions (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 43–46; Kahle 1959, 178; Yudit-sky 2016, 109–10; 2017, 112–13, §3.2.1.1) and Palestinian liturgical texts (though not *piyyuṭ* proper) (Kahle, 1959, 178–79). Not surprisingly, these traditions also tend to favour the consonant-final form of the related 2MS independent subject pronoun, אַת 'at (Yudit-sky 2016,

⁴ The Samaritan tradition, like its Tiberian counterpart, is composite, comprising written and pronunciation components. Of the 39 cases of *plene* 2MS כה- found in the Tiberian Pentateuch (see below, §10.1.1), the Samaritan written tradition has כה- just seven times (see §10.2.1). For its part, the Samaritan reading tradition shows even greater preference for the $-k$ realisation at the expense of $-ka$, even occasionally contradicting the spelling כה- in the Samaritan consonantal tradition, e.g., in the case of אִיכָה and יכָה (see §10.2.2). In the Samaritan reading tradition, this leaves only באָכָה $b\bar{a}ka$ ‘your coming’ (Gen. 10.30; 13.10; 25.18) with the 2MS $-ka$ suffix, though Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 228, §3.2.2) observes that the suffix was often otherwise interpreted.

109–10; 2017, §3.1.1). By contrast, joining the Tiberian reading tradition with a vowel-final ending are the Babylonian biblical reading tradition (Yeivin 1985, 427), the Samaritan reading tradition (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 103, §2.0.13),⁵ and the RH written and reading tradition.⁶ In all four of the traditions just mentioned, the dominant form of the 2MS independent subject pronoun is also *a*-final (Yeivin 1985, 1103; Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 225–26, §§3.1–3.1.2; Breuer 2013, 735; but see below).⁷ Significantly, in the case of the reading components of the Samaritan biblical tradition and of RH, the *a*-final verbal ending conflicts with the characteristic consonant-final nominal suffix.

⁵ From a purely arithmetic perspective, the Samaritan written tradition, with some 49 cases of תה-, is broadly comparable to the written tradition of the Tiberian Pentateuch, with some 44. However, the two frequently diverge on details. Nearly all of the differences appear to arise from levelling within the Samaritan tradition: on the one hand, in Samaritan, the 2MS *qaṭal* form of נתן is consistently (all 49 times) written נתתה(ו) in the absence of an object suffix, whereas spelling varies in the MT (30 cases if נתתה[ו] out of 49 potential cases); on the other, in contrast to the MT, no other Samaritan's verb's 2MS *qaṭal* form is written *plene*.

⁶ Regarding RH, in Codex Kaufmann, the vocalisation is nearly always vowel-final and the spelling is תה- in 103 of 144 cases.

⁷ Samaritan Hebrew knows no remnant of the 2MS independent subject pronoun את. In the Tiberian tradition of RH, אַתּ comprises a sizable minority, e.g., in Codex Kaufmann, the 2MS independent subject pronoun is usually אַתּהּ, but 2MS אַתּ comes in 23 of 138 cases. On the Babylonian RH tradition see Yeivin (1985, 1103 and fn. 6).

Important, but somewhat complicated evidence may also be adduced from the DSS and from Iron Age epigraphy, each of which corpora is treated in detail below (§§5.0; 7.0).

5.0. The Dead Sea Scrolls: General Picture

In the case of both the nominal and verbal affirmatives, DSS biblical texts and non-biblical material exhibit divergent tendencies. See Table 3 for a summary of the incidence of the two spellings of the nominal suffix.

Table 3: Short and long spellings of the 2MS nominal suffix in the DSS

	ך-	כה-
BDSS	1050	800
NBDSS	650	2000

In the BDSS, both the short and long spellings of the nominal suffix are common, short outnumbering long by a margin approaching 1050 to 800.⁸ The NBDSS present a different picture. Here, overall, for each instance of the 650 cases of the spelling without *heh*, there are more than three instances of the spelling with *heh*.⁹

⁸ Based on Abegg et al. (2009a). Accordance (v. 13.1.4) searches of Hebrew material returned the following counts: ך- 1050; כה- 792.

⁹ The totals are approximately, ך- 650 and כה- 2000. The figures are based on Accordance (v. 13.1.4) searches using Abegg (1999–2009) and excluding probable Aramaic material. Though uncertainty about the language of composition, broken cases, and ambiguity, *inter alia*, make precise counts elusive, the picture painted is sufficiently indicative for the purposes of this study.

Turning to the verbal ending, consult Table 4 for incidence of alternative spellings.

Table 4: Short and long spellings of the 2MS verbal ending in the DSS

	ת-	תה-
BDSS	180	160
NBDSS	40	493

In biblical material, the spelling with *heh* is common, but not dominant. Against some 180 cases of the short spelling, there are around 160 occurrences of the long spelling.¹⁰ Conversely, non-biblical material displays overwhelming affinity for the form of the verbal suffix with *heh*. Indeed, the long spelling, with 493 occurrences, is twelve times as common as the short one, with just 40.

The broad statistical picture just painted is simplistic. Drilling down reveals complexities that merit discussion.

5.1. Nominal Suffix

5.1.1. Biblical Material

As indicated above, in the BDSS both ת- and תה- are common, the ratio approximately 5 to 4 (1050 to 800). There is, however, striking disparity in the relative concentrations of the two options among the scrolls. See Tables 5–7.

¹⁰ An Accordance search of the Hebrew material in Abegg et al. (2009) returned figures of 262 for ת- and 165 for תה-. However, broken endings make 80 apparent cases of ת- ambiguous; the same is true for a few cases of תה-.

Table 5: BDSS Mss with high incidence of γ - (minimum ten cases)

Manuscript	γ -	כה-	Manuscript (cont'd)	γ -	כה-
1QIsa ^a 1–27	101	18	4QSam ^a (4Q51)	37	2
1QIsa ^b (1Q8)	109	0	4QIsa ^b (4Q56)	27	0
1QPs ^a (1Q10)	11	0	4QDeut ⁿ (4Q41)	48	0
1QPhyl (1Q13)	17	0	4QJer ^a (4Q70)	10	0
4QGen–Exod ^a (4Q1)	13	0	4QJer ^c (4Q72)	12	0
4QpaleoGen–Exod ^l (4Q11)	18	0	4QPs ^b (4Q84)	14	0
4QExod ^c (4Q14)	15	0	4QPs ^c (4Q85)	20	0
4QpaleoExod ^m (4Q22)	38	1	4QPs ^s (4Q89)	17	0
4QDeut ^b (4Q29)	16	0	4QPhyl ^c (4Q130)	34	0
4QDeut ^c (4Q30)	66	0	4QPhyl ^s (4Q134)	22	4
4QDeut ^e (4Q32)	23	0	4QPhyl ^r (4Q145)	10	0
4QDeut ^f (4Q33)	25	0	5QDeut (5Q1)	17	0
4QDeut ^s (4Q34)	13	0	8QPhyl (8Q3)	64	1
4QDeut ⁱ (4Q36)	11	0	8QMez (8Q4)	20	0
4QpaleoDeut ^t (4Q45)	33	0	11QpaleoLev ^a (11Q1)	16	0
TOTALS				877	26

Table 6: BDSS Mss with high incidence of כה- (minimum ten cases)

Manuscript	γ -	כה-	Manuscript (cont'd)	γ -	כה-
1QIsa ^a 28–54	20	212	4QPhyl ^a (4Q128)	0	24
4QLev ^s (4Q27)	0	23	4QPhyl ^b (4Q129)	1	23
4QDeut ^k (4Q38a)	0	10	4QPhyl ^j (4Q137)	0	37
4QSam ^c (4Q53)	0	11	4QPhyl ^k (4Q138)	0	23
4QIsa ^c (4Q57)	0	13	4QPhyl ^l (4Q139)	0	10
4QXII ^s (4Q82)	4	12	4QPhyl ^m (4Q140)	0	21
4QPs ^a (4Q83)	0	24	11QPs ^a (11Q5)	6	232
TOTALS				31	675

Table 7: BDSS Mss with mixed use of γ - and כה- (minimum ten cases)

Manuscript	γ -	כה-	Manuscript (cont'd)	γ -	כה-
4QDeut ^j (4Q37)	8	7	4QPhyl ^h (4Q135)	4	6
TOTALS				12	13

Most scrolls show a discernible predilection for one form or the other. This includes a marked difference between the two halves of 1QIsa^a, cols 1–27 (see above, Table 5) and cols 28–54 (see above, Table 6; see Kutscher 1974, 564–66; Abegg 2010, 40–41). In two-thirds of the manuscripts listed above (29 of 45), γ - is the preferred variant. Nearly 600 of the approximately 800 occurrences of כה- in the BDSS are found in the selection of material comprised of the two large scrolls 1QIsa^a (γ - 121; כה- 230) and 11QPs^a (11Q5) (γ - 6; כה- 232), along with the phylacteries from Cave 4, 4QPhyl^a–4QPhyl^s (4Q128–4Q146) (γ - 91; כה- 164).¹¹ Among texts with ten or more cases of the nominal suffix, only 4QDeut^j (4Q37) and 4QPhyl^h (4Q135) show truly mixed usage, with no obvious preference for short or long spelling.

5.1.2. Non-biblical Material

NBDSS material presents a different picture. Here, overall, for each instance of γ -, there are more than three instances of כה-. See Tables 8–10.

Table 8: NBDSS Mss with high incidence of γ - (minimum ten cases)

Manuscript	γ -	כה-	Manuscript	γ -	כה-
CD	20	0	4Q Non-Canonical Pss B (4Q381)	67	1
1QLitPr ^b (1Q34bis)	14	0	4Q Barki Nafshi ^d (4Q437)	12	2
4Q Narrative and... (4Q372)	13	0	11QapocrPs (11Q11)	20	1
TOTALS				146	4

¹¹ However, certain individual phylacteries in this group show a decided preference for γ -, as does 8QMezuzah (8Q4).

Table 9: NBDSS Mss with high incidence of כה- (minimum ten cases)

Manuscript	כה-	Manuscript	כה-
1QS	1 28	4Q Instruction ^b (4Q416)	3 98
1Qsb (1Q28b)	0 74	4Q Instruction ^c (4Q417)	1 55
1QM (1Q33)	4 98	4Q Instruction ^d (4Q418)	6 192
1QHa (1QH ^a)	158 409	4Q Instruction ^e (4Q418a)	1 12
1QInstruction (1Q26)	0 11	4Q Instruction ^g (4Q423)	0 27
1QHymns (1Q36)	0 11	4QH ^a (4Q427)	0 16
4QRP ^a (4Q158)	0 10	4QH ^b (4Q428)	1 21
4QJub ^d (4Q219)	1 11	4Q Narrative Work... (4Q460)	0 13
4QpapJub ^h (4Q223–224)	1 11	4QM ^a (4Q491)	3 10
4QBer ^a (4Q286)	0 16	4QapocrLam B (4Q501)	0 11
4QBer ^b (4Q287)	0 10	4QpapRitMar (4Q502)	1 11
4QRP ^b (4Q364)	0 21	QpapPrQuot (4Q503)	0 21
4QPE ^{nosh} (4Q369)	1 22	4QDibHam ^a (4Q504)	4 91
4QapocrMoses ^a (4Q375)	0 15	4QPrFêtes ^b (4Q508)	1 9
4QapocrJoshua ^a (4Q378)	10 12	4QpapPrFêtes ^c (4Q509)	2 52
4Q pap paraKings... (4Q382)	1 24	4QpapRitPur B (4Q512)	0 28
4QRitPur A (4Q414)	0 14	4QBeat (4Q525)	4 30
4Q Instruction ^a (4Q415)	0 12	11QT ^a (11Q19)	1 138
TOTALS			205 1644

Table 10: NBDSS Mss with mixed usage of כה- and ט- (minimum ten cases)

Manuscript	כה-	Manuscript	כה-
4QTest (4Q175)	7 4	4QapocrJoshua ^a (4Q378)	10 12
4QTanh (4Q176)	5 8	TOTALS	22 24

Most texts strongly favour one option over the other, though co-occurrence of the two within a single text and/or line is not uncommon. The overall preference for כה- in the NBDSS is apparent, particularly in comparison to the preference for ט- in BDSS material. Beyond this, however, it is difficult to discern meaningful usage patterns. Focusing on texts with mixed usage (Table 10)—two of the three include verbatim biblical citations, but the ט-

and כה- spellings occur in biblical as well as non-biblical material, with no obvious correlation.¹²

5.2. Verbal Ending

5.2.1. Biblical Material

The 2MS *qatal* spelling תה- is common, but not dominant in BDSS material. Against some 180 cases of ת-, come around 160 occurrences of תה-. Tables 11–13 tally manuscripts with at least five total cases.

Table 11: BDSS Mss with high incidence of ת- (minimum five cases)

Manuscript	ת- תה-	Manuscript	ת- תה-
1QIsa ^a	12 73	4QPhyl ^b (4Q129)	0 6
(1–27)	8 24	4QPhyl ^m (4Q140)	0 6
(28–54)	4 49)	11QPs ^a (11Q5)	0 10
TOTALS			12 95

Table 12: BDSS Mss with high incidence of תה- (minimum five cases)

Manuscript	ת- תה-	Manuscript	ת- תה-
1QIsa ^b (1Q8)	13 1	4QDeut ^g (4Q34)	5 0
4QpaleoGen–Exod ^l (4Q11)	11 1 ¹³	4QpaleoDeut ^r (4Q45)	5 0
4QExod–Lev ^f (4Q17)	13 0	4QPs ^c (4Q85)	6 0
4QpaleoExod ^m (4Q22)	17 2	4QPhyl ^c (4Q130)	6 1
4QDeut ^f (4Q33)	9 0	5QDeut (5Q1)	5 1
TOTALS			90 6

¹² In 4QTest (4Q175) all eleven forms parallel MT forms with ת-; in 4QTanh (4Q176) the six forms that parallel MT ת- split evenly between ת- and כה- (these latter totals exclude instances of MT 2FS suffixes, in some cases of which 4QTanh (4Q176) has כה- or apparently 2MS ת-.

¹³ = MT Exod. 12.44.

Table 13: BDSS Mss with mixed use of ת- and תה- (minimum five cases)

Manuscript	ת-	תה-	Manuscript	ת-	תה-
4QDeut ^a (4Q41)	4	4	4QSam ^a (4Q51)	2	5
TOTALS				6	9

By dint of its length, the Great Isaiah Scroll often skews statistical presentations of DSS material. Such is the case here, as 1QIsa^a accounts for just under half of the cases of both 2MS *qaṭal* forms in general (85 of 180) and 2MS תה- spellings specifically (73 of 160).¹⁴ Similar outliers characterised by the use of תה- are 11QPs^a and many of the Cave 4 phylacteries. If 1QIsa^a, 4QPhyl^{a-s}, and 11QPs^a are excluded from consideration, the ת- to תה- ratio is about 150 to 50 (compared to 180 to 160, as above).

As is evident from the tables, most manuscripts show strong preference for one form or the other, with only a few manuscripts exhibiting mixed usage. It is interesting to compare the preferences for *qaṭal* ת- versus תה- in Tables 11–13 with preferences for ׀- versus כה- above, §5.1.1, in Tables 5–7. Most scrolls that prefer ת- also prefer ׀- and most that prefer תה- also prefer כה-. For instance, 1QIsa^b is strongly partial to ת- and ׀-, whereas 11QPs^a is strongly disposed to תה- and כה-. Yet, there are a few surprises. For example, while 1QIsa^a exhibits high incidence of both תה- and כה-, the dominance of תה- over ת- (73 to 12) is far more pronounced than that of כה- over ׀- (230 to 120). Moreover, the striking difference between the two halves of 1QIsa^a concerning

¹⁴ While there is some disparity in the use of *qaṭal* ת- versus תה- between the two halves of the scroll (Table 11), they are far more similar in their usage of the 2MS verbal ending than in the case of the variants of the 2MS nominal suffix (§5.1.1 and Tables 5–6).

כה- and ך- (cols 1–27: 18 versus 101; cols 28–54: 212 versus 20) obtains in the case of תה- and ת- only in the second half of the scroll (cols 1–27: 24 versus 8; cols 28–54: 49 versus 4). While cols 28–54 show striking preferences for both תה- and כה-, cols 1–27 prefer תה- to ת- (24 versus 8) but not כה- over ך-, the latter far more prevalent than the former (כה- 18 versus ך- 101). Though involving far smaller numbers, a similar situation obtains in the case of 4QSam^a (4Q51), where ך- is far more common than כה- (37 to 2), but ת- is less frequent than תה- (2 to 5). Such differences are reminiscent of the situation in the Samaritan reading tradition and RH, all confirming the importance of independent analysis of the 2MS nominal and verbal morphology.

5.2.2. Non-biblical Material

DSS non-biblical material displays overwhelming affinity for 2MS *qatal* forms ending in תה-. Indeed, תה-, with 493 occurrences, is more than twelve times as common as ת-, with just 40.

Table 14: NBDSS Mss with high incidence of ת- (minimum five cases)

Manuscript	תה-ת	Manuscript	תה-ת
4Q Non-Canonical Pss B (4Q381)	4	1	4
	TOTALS		1

Table 15: NBDSS Mss with high incidence of תה- (minimum five cases)

Manuscript	ת- תה-	Manuscript	ת- תה-
1QpHab	0 5	4Q Barki Nafshi ^c (4Q436)	0 17
1QM (1Q33)	0 22	4QDibHam ^a (4Q504)	1 30
1QHa (1QH ^a)	2 159	4QPrFêtes ^b (4Q508)	1 4
1QDM (1Q22)	0 6	4QpapPrFêtes ^c (4Q509)	0 14
4QD ^a (4Q266)	0 7	4QShir ^b (4Q511)	0 7
4QRP ^b (4Q364)	1 7	4QBeat (4Q525)	0 6
4Q pap paraKings et al. (4Q382)	0 5	5Q Rule (5Q13)	0 6
4Q Instruction ^d (4Q418)	1 14	11QT ^a (11Q19)	1 71
4QH ^b (4Q428)	0 6	TOTALS	7 386

Table 16: NBDSS Mss with mixed use of ת- and תה- (minimum five cases)

Manuscript	ת- תה-	Manuscript	ת- תה-
4Q Barki Nafshi ^d (4Q437)	3 5	TOTALS	3 5

With so few cases of ת- in the NBDSS, one wonders about the possibility of conditioning factors, e.g., conventional spellings associated with biblical passages. For example, ושמחת בחגך אתה, ובנג 'and you will rejoice in your festival, you and your son' (4Q366 f4i.10) is an exact orthographic match for the same expression in MT Deut. 16.14. Additionally, the lone unambiguous case of ת- in the Temple Scroll ובערת הרע מקרבכה 'and you will purge the evil from among you' (11Q19 54.17–18) comes seven times in MT Deuteronomy with a ת- ending (and a 2MS ת- pronominal suffix) (but there may also be other factors at work in this example; see below).

Yet, biblical citation or allusion is certainly no guarantee of a ת- spelling. Consider מוצא שפתיכה תשמור כאשר נדרתה נדבה 'What passes your lips take care, as you have vowed a freewill offering with your mouth, to do as you have vowed' (11Q19 54.13) || מוצא שפתיך תשמר ועשית כאשר נדרת ||

לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נִדְבָה אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ בְּפִיךָ ‘What passes your lips take care of and do, as you have vowed to the LORD your God a freewill offering that you have spoken with your mouth’ (MT Deut. 23.24), where MT תָּ- is consistently paralleled by תה- (and ה- by כה-). By the same token, MT תה- occasionally parallels DSS ת-, as in ונתַתַּ [ונתַתַּ] וְנָתַתָּה הַכֶּסֶף || ‘and you will give the money’ (4Q364 f32.4) || וְנָתַתָּה הַכֶּסֶף (Deut. 14.26), despite the fact that the תה- ending is dominant in the MT in the case of 2MS *qatal* נָתַן.¹⁵

Concerns of space might have influenced spelling. The lone ת- ending in the Temple Scroll’s ובערת ‘and you will purge’ (11Q19 54.17) is line-final; as are a few—but not many—other cases of the short spelling (4Q435 f2i.5; 4Q437 f2i.12; 4Q438 f4ii.2). Even so, line-final תה- spellings are not uncommon.

It is reasonable to ponder the possible effects of prosodic and phonological factors, but it is difficult to assess them given the limitations and ambiguities of the available data.

5.3. DSS Summary

Most scrolls show a discernible predilection for one form or the other. And usually, texts that prefer the short or long nominal spelling also prefer the corresponding length of verbal ending. However, this is not true of the two halves of the Great Isaiah Scroll, where each half prefers either short nominal and long verbal 2MS morphology or vice versa. In the biblical material, a few individual scrolls, including 1QIsa^a, 11QPs^a, and the phylacteries

¹⁵ Though, in the present case, it might be argued that the first *heh* in a sequence of two consecutive *hehs* has simply dropped out.

from Cave 4, contain three-quarters of the long nominal spelling and nearly 70 percent of the long verbal spelling.

The regularity of the long spellings in some BDSS material is indisputable evidence that a vowel-final realisation similar to Tiberian *-ka* and *-ta* was in common use in the late Second Temple Period. It thus seems gratuitous to attribute the Tiberian *-ka* and *-ta* realisations to eighth-century CE Arabic influence.¹⁶

Conversely, short spellings are ambiguous. One option is to view them as straightforward evidence of consonant-final realisations.¹⁷ This is probably legitimate in a great many, if not most cases. However, caution is in order. The co-occurrence of the two spellings in the same text, and even in the same line,¹⁸ arguably

¹⁶ *Pace* Kahle (1959, 174–77), who maintains that the *-ka* suffix reflected in DSS orthography “was lost for centuries and was reintroduced with great regularity by the Tiberian Masoretes, ... and has therefore to be regarded as an innovation of the eighth century” (175), under the influence of Qur’ānic Arabic and the orthography of DSS manuscripts. Kahle could not have known the extent to which his formulation “a certain number of Hebrew manuscripts from the Dead Sea Caves in which an ending ה appears” (1959, 176) represented a gross under-representation of the frequency of כה- and *-ka* there, nor of the existence of Iron Age epigraphic evidence for *-ka* (see below). However, the limited data did not prevent other scholars from proposing sounder approaches, e.g., Cross and Freedman (1952, 67); Ben-Hayyim (1954).

¹⁷ This was obviously Kahle’s view (1921, 234–35; 1959, 171–77). Khan (2013b, 307) seems to imply that the DSS ט- and כה- spellings represent distinct phonetic realisations. Kutscher (1974, 446–47), Reymond (2014, 35–36, 39, 156, 226), and Qimron (2018, 265–66) all to varying degrees view the issue as purely orthographic.

¹⁸ Outside of 1QIsa^a, where co-incidence of 2MS ט- and כה- in a single line is encountered 45 times, intralinear co-occurrence is chiefly, but

points to the possibility that some cases of the short spellings are defective representations of vowel-final realisations under the influence of classical biblical spelling practices.¹⁹

Given the strong evidence for the Second Temple Period coexistence of consonant-final and vowel-final variants of the 2MS sufformatives in sources representative of registers both formal and vernacular, the most prudent hypothesis would seem to be that DSS short spellings reflect both consonant- and vowel-final realisations. The one possible exception is the short spelling of the verbal ending in the non-biblical scrolls, the rarity of which might indicate that this is consistently conservative spelling for a vowel-final pronunciation. A plausible reading of the evidence is that the DSS mixture of forms reflects both competing archaic and contemporary spelling practices as well as opposing diachronic, dialectal, and registerial phonetic realisations.

not exclusively, limited to phylacteries: 4QPhyl^f (4Q133) f1.1 (|| MT Exod. 13.11–12); 4QPhyl^g (4Q134) f1.20 (erasure) (|| MT Deut. 5.14), 24 (suspended *heh*) (|| Deut. 5.16); 4QPhyl^h (4Q135) f1.11 (|| Deut. 6.2–3); 8Q3Phyl (8Q3) f1–11i.22 (|| Exod. 13.15–16); 11QPs^a (11Q5) 20.12 (|| Ps. 139.20–21); XHev/SePhyl (XHev/Se5) f1.7 (|| Exod. 13.15–16).

¹⁹ This is in line with Barr's (1989b, 123) observation regarding apparent Second Temple levelling of the perhaps once more prevalent תה- and כה- to ת- and ך-, respectively, in the Masoretic consonantal tradition. In the precious few cases of diachronically separated parallel passages, there is a tendency to replace the former with the latter according to late scribal norms. See Barr (1989b, 125) on broader textual possibilities.

6.0. Aramaic

Given the influential role attributed to Aramaic in several theories of the development of the Hebrew 2MS object/possessive suffix, it is fitting to focus briefly on the situation in Aramaic itself. Beginning with the nominal suffix, in Masoretic BA, the spelling τ - (with 99 cases) occurs to the total exclusion of כה- and it coincides consistently with consonant-final vocalisation (though there are 18 cases of *ketiv-qere* dissonance involving vocalic realisation before the suffix).

In the Aramaic of the DSS, there is greater variety, but consonant-final spellings still dominate. Thus, in biblical DSS Aramaic material, the counts are τ - 11 versus כה- 3,²⁰ while in non-biblical DSS Aramaic the totals are τ - 200 versus כה- 40. In the Genesis Apocryphon alone, the totals are τ - 74 versus כה- 1 (מנכה) ‘from you’ 1Q20 20.26 and one erasure in {א} לב ‘to you’ 1Q20 5.9). Of course, while כה- is phonetically transparent, τ - may conceivably represent a consonant- or vowel-final realisation. Even so, it is clear that neither Aramaic, in general, nor BA and QA, specifically, are uniform regarding the realisation of the 2MS object/possessive suffix. Elsewhere in Aramaic of the Judaean Desert, in Syriac, and in later Aramaic dialects consonant-final forms dominate.

²⁰ The three cases of disparity between Masoretic BA and DSSBA all come in the same scroll, 4QDan^b (4Q113), which preserves only these three cases: אבֹּוֹךְ ‘your father’ (Dan. 5.11) || אבוכה (4Q113 f1–4.3); *ketiv* עלִיךְ *qere* עֲלֶיךָ ‘about you’ (Dan. 5.16) || עליכה (4Q113 f1–4.14); אֱלֹהֶיךָ ‘your God’ (Dan. 6.21) || אלהכה (4Q113 f7ii–8.18).

In the case of the verbal suffix in Aramaic, variety ensues. Masoretic BA shows the following pattern of incidence: תִּ- 6, תָּ- 16, תָּה- 3. The related 2MS independent subject pronoun likewise shows deviation from uniformity: according to the *ketiv*, it is אַנְתָּ 1, אַנְתָּה 14; according to the *qere*, אַנְתָּ all 15 times. In DSSBA, all six 2MS suffix conjugation forms end in תִּ-, but the 2MS independent subject pronoun is thrice אַנְתָּ and twice אַנְתָּה. And in non-biblical QA, vowel-final forms of both the 2MS verbal ending and the 2MS independent subject pronoun prevail—verbal ending: תִּ- 15; אַתָּה/תָּה- 23; pronoun: 0 אַנְתָּ; 26 אַנְתָּה. Short spellings are standard in Aramaic documents from elsewhere in the Judaean Desert, as well as in Syriac and later forms of Aramaic. As in the case of the 2MS nominal suffix, it seems that early diversity eventually gave way to later preference for short spellings, whatever their phonetic realisation.

7.0. Iron Age Inscriptions

A fundamental question involves the historical depth of the Hebrew vowel-final *-ka* and *-ta* realisations. The earliest unequivocal attestation usually proffered consists of the dominant DSS long spellings. As noted above, this firmly anchors vowel-final pronunciations like those of the Tiberian reading tradition in the Second Temple Period. The affinity between the Tiberian pronunciation tradition and Second Temple written evidence is not a coincidence, as there are many salient commonalities between the Tiberian vocalisation and Second Temple Hebrew material (LBH, DSS), where both appear to deviate from the linguistic testimony of the Masoretic written tradition of CBH material. Cru-

cially, though, in many cases where it seems that the Tiberian reading tradition reflects relatively late secondary standardisation of a feature, the feature itself proves to have far earlier roots. This also applies to the 2MS affirmatives under discussion here, as is evident from Iron Age inscriptional material.

Regarding the nominal suffix—in Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy, the short spelling ך - dominates. In view of the normal use of *mater heh* to mark final *-a* (Cross and Freedman 1952, 57; Zevit 1980, 14–15, 24–25, 31–32; Gogel 1997, 59; Hutton 2013b, 966–67), this spelling is probably generally indicative of the consonant-final *-k* realisation of the 2MS nominal suffix. There are, however, a minority of inscriptional forms bearing כה- :

- (1) לשנותכה
‘to change/recount to you’ (Ḥorvat ‘Uzza Literary Text ln. 2; Hutton 2013, 967b; cf. Aḥituv 2008, 173–74)
- (2) זרעתיכה
‘your arms’ (Ḥorvat ‘Uzza Literary Text ln. 11; Hutton 2013b, 967;²¹ cf. Aḥituv 2008, 173–74)
- (3) קב[ר]כה
‘your tom[b]’ (Ḥorvat ‘Uzza Literary Text ln. 12; Aḥituv 2008, 173–77²²)
- (4) וקברכה
‘and your tomb’ (Ḥorvat ‘Uzza Literary Text ln. 13)

²¹ This is Cross’s reading according to Beit-Arieh (1993, 64); cf. Beit-Arieh (1993, 61).

²² This is Lemaire’s (1995) reading according to Aḥituv (2008, 176).

- (5) אלהיכה
 ‘your God’ (Khirbet Beit Lei Cave Inscription 1.1; see Gogel 1997, 158; Aḥituv 2008, 233)

In this connection, mention should also be made of the orthography of יברך in the following instances

- (6) יברך / יהוה / ישרמך
 ‘**may Yhwh bless you** (?), keep you’ (Ketef Hinnom 1.14)
- (7) יברך / יהוה / ישרמך
 ‘**may YHWH bless you** (?), keep you’ (Ketef Hinnom 2.5)
- (8) ברכתך. ליהוה תמן / ולאשרתה. יברך וישמך
 ‘I have blessed you to YHWH of Teman and to his Ashera.
May he bless you (?) and keep you’ (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.4–7)

If the forms written יברך are to be interpreted as including an object suffix, as in MT יברכך יהוה וישמך in ‘may the LORD bless you and keep you’ (MT Num. 6.24)—and not as simple יברך in a cataphorically elliptical יברך יהוה וישמך ‘may YHWH bless and keep you’, with no 2MS suffix on the first verb—then the omission from יברך of the expected ך- suffix is most plausibly explained as a result of assimilatory gemination,²³ which process presupposes

²³ An alternative explanation, namely, that the omission is due to scribal lapse, seems implausible, given that it assumes the mistake was made all three times the phrase was written in two separate corpora. Further, note that in only one case is the end of the word line-final.

a vowel-final form.²⁴ This is far from certain, however, and there are alternative views.

In summary, Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy presents up to eight cases of the vowel-final nominal suffix *-ka*, the most secure of which is example (4) above. Though not the majority spelling or, probably, the majority pronunciation, the inscriptional long spellings confirm the antiquity of the relevant spelling and pronunciation in the DSS and of the standard Tiberian pronunciation.

Turning to the verbal ending—as is often the case, Iron Age Hebrew epigraphic material is important as pristine evidence, but problematic due to the phonetic ambiguity of its orthography—even the most *plene* Hebrew spelling is characterised by partial vocalic ambiguity, and the spelling in Iron Age epigraphy is more defective than in most Hebrew writing. Be that as it may, the epigraphic evidence, though somewhat ambiguous, is sufficiently transparent to confirm the antiquity of a vowel-final realisation.

²⁴ For Aḥituv (2008, 53) the writing of a single \daleth - might be a labour- and/or space-saving strategy, whereby it serves double duty, like the *yod* in חיהוה 'as surely as YHWH lives' (Arad 21.5) and וביאמר 'and because (my lord) says' (Lachish 3.8–9). In ביאמר *ky'mr* for בי יאמר *ky y'mr*, -כ is defective for בי and cliticised to the following word beginning with consonantal *yod*. In the cases of חיהוה *hyhwh* for חי יהוה *hy yhwh* and יברך *ybrk* for יברכך *ybrkk(a)*, the relevant double-duty letters presumably signal geminated consonants. Cf. Aḥituv, who postulates two phonetic options without gemination: *yēḅārēk̄ka* or *yēḅārēka*. The first is arguably a poor candidate for double-duty spelling with \daleth -, because the *k* consonants are separated by a reduced vowel. The second goes one step further, assuming gemination followed by degemination (and a fricative *k̄*!). Regardless, both assume a *-ka* realisation of the 2MS suffix.

The extant inscriptional corpus includes twelve relevant examples. Some of the cases provide unequivocal evidence of ת- as the spelling of the 2MS *qaṭal* sufformative. While this spelling is phonetically ambiguous, in light of the routine usage of *matres lectionis* for final vowel sounds in the corpus (Gogel 1997, 59; Hutton 2013b, 965), they are commonly taken as evidence of a consonant-final -t phonetic realisation. Consider examples (9)–(14):

- (9) וְהַסְבִּיבְתָּ מָחָר
 ‘and you will make the rounds tomorrow’ (Arad 2.5–6)
- (10) וְאִם עוֹד חֶמֶץ וְנִתְּ/תָ לָהֶם
 ‘and if there is still vinegar, you will give (it) to them’
 (Arad 2.7–8)
- (11) וְצִרְרִיתָ/אֶתְּמִבְצֵק
 ‘and you shall bind them’ (Arad 3.5–6)
- (12) וְלִקַּחְתָּ מִשְׁמֵי שֶׁמֶן
 ‘and you will take therefrom 1 (unit of) oil’ (Arad 17.3–4)
- (13) וְהִשְׁבִּיתָ אֶת [בְּגַד עֲבָדְךָ]
 ‘[and] you [will retu]rn the [garment of] your [se]rvant’
 (Yavne Yam 14)
- (14) מִי עֶבְדְּךָ/בְּלִבִּי. [כִּי] שְׁלַחְתָּ אֶל עֶבְדְּךָ כִּי אֶת [ת] הַסְּפָרָה כֹּזֵא/ [ת]
 ‘Who is your servant (but) a dog [that] you have sent to
 your servant the letters like this? (Lachish 5.3–6)²⁵

²⁵ Against the spelling שלחתה reconstructed by some scholars, see Dobbs-Allsopp et al. (2005, 320–21); but cf. Gogel (1998, 83, 86). As-

In other cases, the spelling תה- appears. This spelling is also often ambiguous and, as such, is variously interpreted. Consider the alternative renderings in examples (15)–(20):

(15) [ו] /כתבתה לפניכי

‘and you will write before you’ – or –

‘and you will write it before you’ (Arad 7.5–6)

(16)] והנידעתה

‘And behold, you knew/know...’ – or –

‘And behold, you knew/know it...’ (Arad 40.9)

(17) ...דבר-אשר לא-ידעתה

‘anything that you do not know’ – or –

‘anything that you do not know it’ (Lachish 2.6)

(18) ועת-הפקח/[נא] אַתְּ אִזְנִי עֲבַדְכָּ לְסַפֵּר-אֲשֶׁר/שְׁלַחְתָּהּ אֲדֹנָי לְעִבְדְּךָ אָמֵשׁ

‘And now, please open the ear of your servant to the letter that you sent, my lord, to your servant yesterday’ – or –

‘And now, please open the ear of your servant to the letter that you sent it, my lord, to your servant yesterday’ (Lachish 3.4–6)

(19) כתבתי על הדלת ככל/אשר שלח[ת]ה אלי

‘I have written upon the door according to all that you have sent to me’ – or –

‘I have written upon the door according to all that you have sent it to me’ (Lachish 4.3–4)

suming a correct reconstruction as above, a 2MS *qaṭal* form with *heh* would be strong evidence of *plene* spelling of *-ta*.

(20) וְכִי אָמַר אֲדֹנָי לֹא יִדְעֶתָהּ / קְרָא סֵפֶר

‘and because my lord said, “**You do not know** (how) to read a letter” – *or* –

‘and because my lord said, “**You do not understand it**. Call a scribe!” (Lachish 3.8–9)²⁶

Scholars are divided on the interpretation of such forms: are they reflections of a vowel-final 2MS *qaṭal* ending *-ta* (as in the Tiberian reading tradition) or consonant-final *-t* with a 3MS or 3FS object suffix? Persuaded by the unambiguous cases of ת- in examples (9)–(14), above, some scholars take all cases of 2MS תה- in the relevant corpus as incorporating an object suffix (Parunak 1978, 28 [on Arad]; Cross 1985, 43–46; Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005, 23, 73, 307, 311; Rollston 2006, 62, fn. 42; Hutton 2013b, 967–68). But as Dobbs-Allsopp et al. (2005, 23, 73, 307, 311) repeatedly make clear, these judgments are based on a balance of probability, not certainty. In other words, because the Arad and Lachish evince unequivocal cases of ת-, it is reasoned that ambiguous תה- should be regarded as *-t* + object suffix. But this seems to assume a degree of orthographic and phonological consistency arguably foreign to Iron Age epigraphic Hebrew. Consider the presentatives ‘behold’ הן (Arad 21.3; 40.9) and הנה (Arad 24.18; Jerusalem 2.2; Lachish 6.5, 10). Or, perhaps more relevant, consider forms of the 1CS *qaṭal*: most cases end with י- (Arad 16.4; 24.18; 60.1; 88.1; Lachish 3.12; 4.3; 12.4; Yavne Yam 11), but several end with ת- (Kuntillet Ajrud 18.1; Meṣad Ḥashavyahu 8; Murabba‘at 1.1). It was clearly not impossible for scribes (or a

²⁶ Similarly, some render the words וְכִי אָמַר אֲדֹנָי לֹא יִדְעֶתָהּ / קְרָא סֵפֶר ‘**you do not understand it**—call a scribe!’ (see below).

single scribe) to utilise orthographic and/or phonetic variants that differed in terms of final spelling and/or phonetic realisation.

While examples (15)–(16) are truly ambiguous, in (17)–(20) there are linguistic factors that appear to favour interpretation of the spelling תה- as *plene* for a vowel-final *-ta* realisation with no pronominal object suffix.

In the case of examples (17)–(19), the pertinent considerations are grammatical and pragmatic. Wholesale interpretation of the long spelling תה- as *-t* + pronominal suffix entails positing three cases of relativising אשר followed by 2MS *qatal* and a resumptive accusative object pronoun. As Holmstedt (2008, 5, 13–14) shows, such structures are rare in BH—the combination אֲשֶׁר + 2MS finite verb + (את) resumptive accusative pronominal suffix comes in, e.g., Gen. 45.4; Lev. 23.2, 4; Num. 34.13; Deut. 33.8; Josh. 2.10. Neither are they the preferred structure in inscriptional Hebrew. The formulation ועת ככל אשר-שלה-אדני ‘and now according to all that my lord sent’ (Lachish 4.2) is a 3rd-person parallel for examples (18) and (19) above, but shows no resumptive accusative pronominal suffix after אשר; cf. שלחה ‘(your servant) has sent it’ (Lachish 3.21). Also relevant is ככל-האתת-אשר נתנו/אדני ‘according to all the signs that my lord gave’ (Lachish 4.12)—again with no resumptive accusative. It would certainly be surprising for such a rare grammatical structure to appear twice in the limited corpus presented by the Lachish letters. Further, it is altogether suspicious that the purported instances are limited to 2MS cases of תה- that are amenable to alternative readings.

Holmstedt (2008, 5, 13–14) provides an explanation for the rarity of the structure discussed above as well as an argument for why the assumed cases thereof in the Lachish letters are best explained otherwise. He applies Keenan and Comrie's (1977, 66) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH)

Subj > DO > IO > Oblique > Gen > Obj of Comparison

Holmstedt (2008, 6) explains that it strongly predicts the positions in which a language may use resumptive pronouns, i.e., first and more often for less accessible positions farther to the right on the hierarchy. He (2008, 14, fn. 12) elaborates as follows:

There are many examples of RC [relative clause] resumption in the Hebrew Bible and, as the NPAH leads us to expect, the great majority are in the genitive/NP-internal and oblique (object of preposition) positions within the RC. Resumption in the object position occurs less frequently and its use is highly constrained: it is used (1) to disambiguate verbal semantics in cases when a verb taking an accusative or oblique complement results in distinct meanings, or (2) to signal that the object carried focus pragmatics within the RC.

In agreement with Holmstedt, neither of the verbs in examples (17)–(19) requires semantic disambiguation based on meaning differences with accusative versus oblique complements. Nor does either seem a good candidate for argument focus. There is thus no grammatical or pragmatic motivation for resumption of the accusative after relativising אֲשֶׁר in examples (17)–(19).

Turning to example (20)—again, the conviction that תה must include a pronominal suffix seems to have led a number of

scholars to render לֹא־יָדְעָתָהּ/קָרָא־סֵפֶר as ‘**you don’t understand it**—call a scribe!’ (Lachish 3.8–9). While the consonantal string סֵפֶר is ambiguous, representing something along the lines of Tiberian סֵפֶר ‘scribe’ or סֵפֶר ‘letter’, Schniedewind (2000b, 160) is correct to problematise the semantic elasticity assumed for the verb יָדַע by those who render it ‘understand’ (*pace* Cross 1985, 43–46; Rollston 2006, 62, fn. 42). In this case, too, then, the long spelling תָּה- seems merely to indicate a vowel-final 2MS realisation *-ta*.

This means that the spelling of 2MS *qaṭal* תָּה- in four of the six ostensibly equivocal cases listed above is more likely to represent *-ta* with no object suffix than *-t* with an object suffix. This supports the theory of probable phonetic variety in 2MS verbal morphology in Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy (in agreement with Zevit 1980, 19, 28; Gogel 1998, 83–88; Schniedewind 2000b, 160; Holmstedt 2008, 13–14; Aḥituv, Garr, and Fassberg 2016, 61), similar to that characteristic of various other forms of ancient Hebrew, including the combined written and reading Masoretic tradition.²⁷

²⁷ Zevit (1980, 31–32) and Rainey (Aharoni 1981, 22) raise the possibility that the distinction between 2MS verbal ת- and תָּה- is somehow related to the well-known stress distinction between *qaṭal* and *weqaṭal* in Tiberian BH. The proposal, however, has not been well received (see, e.g., Pardee 1985, 69; Gogel 1998, 83–84; Hutton 2013b, 967–68). First, early *qaṭaltá* would be expected to result in Tiberian *qaṭaltá̃* (as in the 2M/FPL forms); the preservation of a full vowel in the antepenultimate syllable is evidence that the rules that resulted in the distinction between Tiberian *qāṭáltā̃* and *qaṭaltém* were no longer operative when *wəqāṭaltá̃* came into being. Second, given the BH stress distinction, one would expect תָּה- to coincide with the stress in *wəqāṭaltá̃*, but the pro-

8.0. Conclusion: Historical Depth of 2MS ף- and ן- in the Tiberian Reading Tradition

In summary, though the Tiberian vocalisation tradition's dominant vowel-final 2MS \bar{a} nominal and verbal endings likely differ from the prevailing consonant-final endings that the Masoretic consonantal spellings are probably intended to represent, there is substantial evidence indicating that vowel-final 2MS morphology was in use in the Second Temple Period. There is also evidence, albeit arguable, of minority vowel-final 2MS morphology in First Temple sources, including apparently pre-exilic biblical consonantal material and, of special importance, Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy. Vowel-final 2MS morphology thus qualifies as a departure of the Tiberian reading tradition from its written counterpart involving the secondary standardisation of an early minority linguistic feature.

posals is for the opposite. Third, there appear to be inscriptional *qaṭal* forms ending in ן- and *weqaṭal* forms ending in ןׁ-, so the most that can be said is that there is a preference for distinct spellings, not full consistency. Fourth, even if the spelling distinctions are generally characteristic, there is no certainty that they represent phonological distinctions. Finally, the Second Temple crystallisation of the Tiberian reading tradition provides a context for the secondary development of disambiguating stress, as there is mounting evidence that the proto-Tiberian reading tradition included the implementation of orthoepic strategies to preserve the precise realisation and safeguard understanding of the biblical text (Khan 2018b; 2020, I:99–105).

9.0. Appendix: Further Consideration of Complexities

While the significance of the early attestation of the long spellings כה- and תה- is obvious, the import of the ך- and ת- spellings—whether merely orthographic or phonetic—is ambiguous in many Hebrew traditions. In this section, the discussion centres on various complicating considerations regarding the nominal suffix.

For example, central to Kahle's (1921; 1947, 99–100; 1959, 175–76) argument for the secondary nature of Tiberian ך- was the view that the prevailing ך- spelling of the Masoretic consonantal tradition represents dominance of a classical, high-register *-k* realisation. Yet, in other corpora *-k* is considered representative of the vernacular and/or due to late Aramaic influence. Consider the words of Cross and Freedman (1952, 66–67):

The longer form of the suffix was native to old Hebrew, and survived in elevated speech and literary works. The shorter form developed in the popular speech at a very early date (with the dropping of the final *ā*, which is to be regarded as *anceps*). The present Massoretic [*sic*] text represents a mixture of these forms, both of which have been extended throughout the Bible. The short form is preserved in the orthography, the long form in the vocalization. The orthography was standardized, clearly on the basis of manuscripts in which the short form predominated. The vocalization, however, was based on manuscripts in which the long form was common.

It is a testament to the complexity of the problem that Cross and Freedman are compelled to make several counterintuitive claims. First, in this connection they consider the Masoretic consonantal

tradition, with the spelling ט-, more innovative than the Tiberian reading tradition, which preserved the $-k\bar{a}$ of “elevated speech and literary works.” Such a view runs counter to common scholarly attitude regarding the diachronic relationship between the Masoretic written and reading traditions, whereby the reading tradition is generally considered the more evolved of the two. Second, they argue that in this case it is the consonantal tradition that reflects the form associated with “popular speech,” the vocalisation reflecting a conservative manuscript tradition. Again, while not impossible, this is at odds with the usual linking of the Tiberian reading tradition to Second Temple vernacular conventions, especially as seen in RH.

Khan (2020, I:90) responds to Kahle’s privileging of Palestinian material, discussing the ‘vernacular’ or ‘popular’ character of multiple Second Temple traditions, including in connection to the 2MS $-k$ variant:

The distinctive features of Palestinian pronunciation, which are particularly discernible in the non-biblical manuscripts with Palestinian pronunciation, have close parallels with what is known about the vowel system of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic [Fassberg 1991, 28–57]. Unlike Tiberian and Babylonian, the Palestinian biblical reading is unlikely to be a direct descendant of the proto-Masoretic reading, but rather it has its roots in other traditions of reading that were current in Palestine in antiquity. The Greek transcription in Origen’s Hexapla (the middle of the third century C.E.) reflects a reading that has even more evidence of influence from the Aramaic vernacular, especially in the pronominal suffixes, such as the 2ms suffix $-akh$, e.g. $\sigma\epsilon\mu\alpha\chi$ ‘your name’ (Tiberian $\text{ךָ}\text{ךָ}$ Psa. 31.4) [Brønno 1943, 110, 196–200]. This is also a feature of the

Samaritan tradition, e.g. *yēdāk* ‘your hand’ (Tiberian ַךְ) [Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 228]. Some of these features, such as the Aramaic type of pronominal suffixes, appear in medieval non-biblical texts with Palestinian vocalization. In the second half of the first millennium, however, it appears that the popular biblical reading converged to a greater extent with the prestigious Tiberian tradition. As a result, the Aramaic type of suffixes were eliminated in the biblical reading [Yahalom, 1997, Introduction].²⁸

If the orthography ַךְ and the realisation *-k* are early, then perhaps even in RH they might be considered a retention rather than an innovation. After all, despite its overall late character, RH is thought to preserve individual archaisms (Pérez-Fernández 1999, 7–9; cf. Cook 2017, 5 and fn. 3). Most scholars, however, attribute RH *-k* to late Aramaic influence (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 62–64; Kutscher 1963, 264–66; Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 185; even Pérez-Fernández 1999, 5). For his part, Breuer (2013, 736) sees the conditioned distribution of RH *-k* (after consonants) and *-ka* (after vowels) in contrast to *-ak* alone in Aramaic as evidence that RH *-k* is a secondary development, but not one of Aramaic origin.

The difficulty in definitively characterising the use of *-k* and *-ka* in the DSS should now be evident. It was proposed above that the *spelling* ַךְ should sometimes be considered a retention. But what of the *realisation* *-k*? Is it to be considered an archaic phonetic retention, in line with the classical BH realisation presumed to underly MT ַךְ and assumed by some to be preserved in Tiberian pausal *-āḵ*? Or is it rather to be deemed an innovation due to contact with Aramaic and/or the influence of a late vernacular

²⁸ See also Blau (2010, 171, §4.2.3.3.5).

in the line of RH? Is only the DSS spelling כה- to be considered innovative and popular, but the *-ka* realisation it surely reflects conservative and prestigious? The intersection of various considerations to do with orthography, phonology, chronolect, dialect, register, and transmission within various traditions complicates the discussion.

Bauer and Leander (1922, 30) and Cross and Freedman (1952, 66) consider the widespread reduction of *-ka* to *-k* a very early phenomenon. Steiner (1979, 162 and fn. 9) agrees that it “must be dated to a time when Hebrew was still a living language,” but that

the evidence for Aramaic influence adduced by Ben-Ḥayyim [1954] and Kutscher [1963] makes it difficult to accept the suggestion of Bauer and Leander (1922, p. 30) that the development in question had already taken place during the Biblical period, in a dialect different from the one which formed the basis of the Masoretic vocalisation.

However, given (a) the regularity of final *-a* marked by ה- in the case of non-2MS morphology in both Iron Age inscriptional Hebrew and all traditions of BH, (b) the regular absence of ה- in cases of the 2MS suffix in Iron Age inscriptional Hebrew and the Masoretic consonantal tradition, and (c) the usual affinity between Iron Age inscriptional Hebrew and the Masoretic consonantal tradition, a relatively strong case can be made for routine Iron Age realisation as *-k*. Indeed, in both the inscriptions and the Masoretic consonantal text, it is the כה- spelling—the only unequivocal evidence for the *-ka* realisation—that constitutes the decisive minority.

It is likely that, as time passed, the original variation became further complicated, whether due to dialectal, registerial, or mixed factors. Aramaic was almost certainly a factor, both for γ - and $-k$ (RH, the DSS, the transcriptions) and thereagainst (BH reading traditions, the DSS).²⁹ Second Temple vernacular registers, such as that later documented as Tannaitic RH, must also have played a role, again, both for γ - and $-k$ (RH, the transcriptions) and against them (the DSS).³⁰ So, too, if Steiner is correct about pausal forms, elevated reading practices must also have played a part (in BH, RH, and the DSS). From this perspective, it is interesting that among the DSS the γ - spelling, while overall the minority form, is comparatively more common in biblical than in non-biblical material, though, as Qimron (2018, 266) notes, כה- occurs in DSS biblical material “even where other phases of Hebrew use the apocopated form, e.g., with the prepositions לכה, בכה, אתכה, עמכה in pausal position....” Whatever pronunciation DSS γ - represents, adherence to classical spelling

²⁹ While bilingual readers may have conflated Hebrew and Aramaic suffixes, the more careful among them may have made an effort to prevent the penetration of Aramaic features into the classical Hebrew tradition (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954, 61).

³⁰ Here it seems fitting to acknowledge Schniedewind’s (1999; 2000a; 2021) theory of Qumran Hebrew as an anti-language; cf. Tigchelaar (2018). It may also be worth considering in this connection two Qumran compositions the Hebrew of which is often considered uniquely representative of contemporary vernacular traits. In the Copper Scroll (3Q15; on the language of which, see Wolters 2013), all three cases of the 2MS suffix are γ -; in 4QMMT (comprising 4Q394–397, 4Q399; on the language of which, see Yuditsky 2013a), there are four cases of γ - (all in 4Q399) and five of כה- (all in 4Q397).

norms seems to have been more common in biblical than in non-biblical sources. As for the DSS כה- spelling and *-ka* realisation—the regularity of the *orthography* is clearly a late phenomenon, but as the related phonetic realisation tallies with the minority Iron Age inscriptional orthography, there seems no reason to doubt a genetic link between the two involving *-ka*, which until the late Second Temple Period, seemingly by chance, enjoyed only sporadic orthographic representation.

Circling back to the combined Tiberian written and reading tradition, it is possible to summarise. To begin with, if the *-ka* affinity between First and Second Temple extra-biblical material (inscriptions and DSS) is organic, then *-kā̄* in the Tiberian reading tradition likely also has genuinely old roots—even if anti-Aramaic and anti-vernacular concerns may have contributed to its preservation. Second, while RH *-k* is probably rightly considered a late vernacular feature, this does not mean that Tiberian consonantal *ך*- and its presumed *-k* realisation are not, along with the Tiberian reading tradition's *-kā̄*, authentic Iron Age phenomena.³¹

³¹ In an Iron Age Hebrew dialect with 2MS *-k*, it is not clear how related and complementary morphology would be realised. For example, forms similar to the Tiberian reading tradition's 2MS independent subject pronoun *'attā̄* are the norm in the Masoretic consonantal text (where 2MS *אַתָּה* 'you' [Num. 11.15; Deut. 5.27; Ezek. 28.14] and cases of *ketiv* *קֵרֶה* read as *qere* *הִקֵּרֶה* [1 Sam. 24.19; Ps. 6.4; Job 1.10; Qoh. 7.22; Neh. 9.6] are rare), the Babylonian reading tradition (Yeivin 1985, 1103), the DSS (Qimron 2018, 260), Ben Sira, SH (Ben-Hayyim 2000, 225–26, §§3.0–3.1, 3.1.2), the Secunda [normally *αθθα*, just once *αθ*] (Yuditsky 2013b, 811), Jerome (*attha*, *ath*); RH, though *ך* occurs in a sizeable minority of cases (Breuer 2013, 735). Obviously, users of some forms of Hebrew

In terms of detailing the merger and explaining things as they now stand, Barr's (1989b, 123–25) view is an attractive place to begin. The Hebrew Bible's oldest material probably exhibited greater spelling (and, thus, phonological) variety, i.e., a larger number of cases of כה-. But early Second Temple scribes, copying and composing during the period of LBH, standardised the spelling כַּ-, leaving only a tiny remnant of כה- (a spelling that certain factors helped to preserve). This standardisation may well have been influenced by a dialect and/or register in which the use of *-k* had largely pushed out that of *-ka*, whether due to convergence with Aramaic, diffusion of liturgical or vernacular apocope, or some combination of these. Crucially, however, the scribal process responsible for depiction of the 2MS suffix in the Masoretic *written* tradition did not dictate a matching realisation in the

tolerated a difference in the realisation of a vowel-final 2MS independent pronoun and a consonant-final 2MS object/possessive suffix. (My thanks to Ben Kantor for the forms from Jerome.)

Finally, it is also interesting to consider the 2FS object/possessive suffix. As is well known, in the Tiberian reading tradition the pausal form of the 2MS suffix is identical to that of the 2FS suffix in the case of certain particles. This evinces toleration of a certain degree of ambiguity, also characteristic of various forms of the corresponding Samaritan suffixes. On the assumption that the Masoretic consonantal text regularly reflects 2MS *-ak*, the standard Tiberian 2FS *-ēk* would have been sufficient for gender disambiguation; other 2FS alternatives include RH and Aramaic כַּי- *-ik* and the variously represented כִּי- *-ki*, which is sporadic in the Tiberian written and reading traditions and rare in DSS orthography—though Qimron (2018, 267–68) posits *-ki* as the majority (defectively spelled) DSS realisation—but well attested in Aramaic dialects (including the Syriac written tradition) and Deir 'Alla.

proto-Tiberian *reading* tradition. Here, too, there was a process of levelling, but in this case $-k\bar{a}$ became the standard (except in pause in the case of a few forms)—perhaps out of resistance to the very factors that led the expansion of γ - and $-k$ in the written tradition. Of course, much of this proposal is conjecture, neither verifiable nor falsifiable, but it arguably fits the facts and is somewhat reminiscent of other cases of dissonance between the Masoretic written and pronunciation traditions examined in this monograph.

At any rate, the picture painted by the combined evidence is one of diversity as far back as the evidence goes, extending back into the late Second Temple Period and beyond. The consonantal-vocalic dissonance in the combined written-reading Masoretic tradition concerning γ - appears to be the artificial result of the merging of divergent pronunciation traditions. The anachronism lies not in the spelling γ - for $-k$ or the realisation $-k\bar{a}$ reflected in כה—as each of the respective orthographies and realisations reliably represents a genuine First Temple variant—but in the standardisation of one or the other in each component of the tradition.

The BDSS evidence points to the conclusion that $-k$ and $-ka$ were contemporary options for the realisation of the 2MS object/possessive suffix in the late Second Temple Period.

What this all means for the literary Hebrew of the early Second Temple Period, to say nothing of the Iron Age, has been a matter of some controversy. Kahle (1959, 174–77) downplayed the historical relevance of the DSS spelling כה- for the question of the dissonance between the Tiberian vocalisation and conso-

nantal text. Barr (1989b, 117–18) seems to imply that Kutscher (1982, 32–35, §46), or his followers, were guilty of overstating the importance of DSS כה-:

the discovery of Qumran texts with *-ka* written plene as כה-, many times, was hailed as proof that the ancient form had been, as the Masoretic tradition had it, *-^eka* or the like. This, however, was to claim too much: the Qumran texts which so spell prove only that in Qumran times some people *thought* that this was the pronunciation, they do not prove that it had always and universally been so. Indeed, the very fact of these writings at Qumran could be taken as an indication that opinion on the matter was divided and that efforts were then being made to induce the community to use the pronunciation *-^eka* or the like.

Though Kutscher's (1982, 32, §46) proclamation of the defeat of Kahle's hypothesis—"The discovery of the DSS... sounded the death knell of this theory"—can be interpreted as a simplistic rejection of Kahle's evidence and arguments, Kutscher's earlier (1974, 446–47) discussion in the context of 1QIsa^a shows his awareness of the possibility of multiple realisations at Qumran and in Second Temple Hebrew more generally. From this perspective, it now seems superfluous to insist on Islamic Period Arabic influence on Tiberian *-kā̄*. On the other hand, Kutscher's insistence that *-k* realisations were due to "the influence of the substandard (= Rab. Hebr.) on the standard" suggests that he considered *-ka* the standard, classical, biblical form, which may not do justice to the complexity of the situation.

10.0. Citations

10.1. Tiberian Biblical Tradition

10.1.1. Cases of the *Plene* 2MS Nominal Suffix

In order of frequency, the 39 instances according to L involve *yiqtol* forms of הָכָה ‘strike’ (8x: Deut. 28.22, 27, 28, 35; 2 Sam 2.22; Isa. 10.24; Jer. 40.15; Ps. 121.6), the infinitival expression בָּאֲכָה lit. ‘your coming’ (6x: Gen. 10.19, 19, 30; 13.10; 25.18; 1 Kgs 18.46), the prepositional forms לָכָה ‘to, for you’ (3x: Gen. 27.37; 2 Sam. 18.22; Isa. 3.6) and בְּכָה ‘on you, in you, because of you’ (3x: Exod. 7.29; 2 Sam. 22.30; Ps. 141.8), the direct object particle אֶתְכָה ‘you’ (2x: Exod. 29.35; Num. 22.33), *yiqtol* forms of בָּרַךְ ‘bless’ (2x: Gen. 27.7; Ps. 145.10), the preposition כְּמוֹ ‘like’ (2x: Exod. 15.11, 11), and single cases of אֵינְכָה ‘where are you?’ (Gen. 3.9), הִנְכָה ‘here you (see)’ (2 Kgs 7.2), יָדְכָה ‘your hand’ (Exod. 13.16), כֹּחְכָה ‘strength’ (Prov. 24.10), כַּפְּכָה ‘your hand’ (Ps. 139.5), יִמְצְאוּכָה ‘they could (not) find you’ (1 Kgs 18.10), אֶנְסֶכָה ‘I will test you’ (Qoh. 2.1), תִּנְצָרְכָה ‘(understanding) will guard you’ (Prov. 2.11), עִמְכָה ‘with you’ (1 Sam 1.26), יַעֲנוּכָה ‘they will (not) answer you’ (Jer. 7.27), יַעֲצֹרְכָה ‘(the rain) will (not) stop you’ (1 Kgs 18.44), the infinitive construct הִרְאוּחָה ‘(in order to) show you’ (Ezek. 40.4), בְּשִׁמְכָה ‘in your name’ (Jer. 29.25). This list differs slightly from Barr’s (1989b, 116, 127), in that his includes two cases of חֲלָכָה ‘helpless’ (Ps. 10.8, 14), despite his own doubts on their relevance (Barr 1989b, 115; cf. also BDB, 319; HALOT 319), and excludes אֶכָּה ‘(Why) should I strike you?’ (2 Sam. 2.22).

10.1.2. Cases of the *Plene* 2MS Verbal Ending

In order of frequency, the most salient categories are: נָתַתָּה(ו) – 64x (Gen. 3.12; 15.3; Exod. 21.23; 25.12; 26.32, 33; 27.5; 28.14, 24, 25, 27; 29.12, 20; 30.6, 36; 40.5, 6; Num. 3.9, 48; 7.5; 27.20; 31.29, 30; Deut. 11.29; 14.25, 26; 15.17; 26.10, 12, 15; Josh. 15.19; 17.14; Judg. 1.15; 1 Sam. 1.11; 1 Kgs 8.36, 36, 40, 48; 9.13; Jer. 29.26; Ezek. 4.1, 2, 2, 3, 9; 43.19, 20; Ps. 4.8; 18.41; 21.3, 5; 39.6; 60.6; Ezra 9.13; Neh. 9.15, 20, 36, 37; 2 Chron. 6.25, 27, 30, 31, 38; 20.10); III-y – 32x צִוִּיתָה (Gen. 45.19); רָאִיתָה(ו) (Num. 27.13; 2 Sam. 18.21; Ps. 10.14; 35.22; Lam. 3.59, 60); אֶצִּוֶּיְתָה(ו) (Num. 27.19; Jer. 32.23; Ps. 119.4; Lam. 1.10); וְהִיִּיתָה (Judg. 11.6; 2 Sam. 10.11), פָּצִיתָה (Judg. 11.36); עָשִׂיתָה (1 Sam. 14.43; 15.6; 24.19, 20; 2 Sam. 3.24; 12.21; 16.10; Ezek. 35.11); וְהִכִּיתָה(ו) (1 Sam. 15.3; 2 Kgs 9.7; Jer. 5.3); גָּלִיתָה (2 Sam. 7.27); בָּנִיתָה (1 Kgs 9.3); וְהִשְׁקִיתָה (Jer. 25.15); וְחִטָּתָה (Jer. 38.17); נִדְמִיתָה (Obad. 5); פָּדִיתָה (Ps. 31.6); הִרְאִיתָה (Ps. 60.5); strong verbs – 22x נִקְסַפְתָּה (Gen. 31.30); וְהִזְרַתָּה (Exod. 18.20); וְיִשְׁבַּחְתָּה (Deut. 17.14);

וְהִפְרָתָהּ (Deut. 23.14); וְזָנְתָהּ (Josh. 13.1); וְאַסְפָּתָהּ (Judg. 18.25); וְהִחְרַמְתָּהּ (1 Sam. 15.18); וְיָדַעְתָּהּ (2 Sam. 2.26); וְחִשְׁבָתָהּ (2 Sam. 14.13); הִתְחַנְנָתָהּ (1 Kgs 9.3); וְנִפְלְתָהּ (2 Kgs 14.10); גִּטְשָתָהּ (Isa. 2.6); וְשִׁמְטָתָהּ (Jer. 17.4); וְעָמְתָהּ (Zech. 1.12); בְּגִדְתָהּ (Mal. 2.14); כּוֹנְנָתָהּ (Ps. 8.4); הֶעֱמַדְתָּהּ (Ps. 30.8); סִפְרָתָהּ (Ps. 56.9); הִרְעֵשְׂתָהּ (Ps. 60.4); אֲמַצְתָּהּ (Ps. 80.16); מִגְרָתָהּ (Ps. 89.45); הִסְכַּנְתָּהּ (Ps. 139.3); II-*w/y* – 15x גִּרְתָּהּ (Gen. 21.23); וּמְלָתָהּ (Exod. 12.44); הֶעֱדָתָהּ (Exod. 19.23); וְהִמָּתָהּ (Num. 14.15; 1 Sam. 15.3); בְּאִתָּהּ (2 Sam. 3.7); וְנִסְתָּהּ (2 Kgs 9.3); הִרְיָמוּתָהּ (Isa. 37.23); רִצְתָּהּ (Jer. 12.5); וְהִכִּינְתָּהּ (Ezek. 4.3); וְמָתָהּ (Ezek. 28.8); הִבְאִתָּהּ (Ezek. 40.4); שָׁתָהּ (Ps. 8.7); הִבְשָׂתָהּ (Ps. 53.6); בְּנָתָהּ (Ps. 139.2); geminate – 6x הִרְעֵתָהּ (Exod. 5.22); וְקָעָתָהּ (Deut. 25.12); וְהִפְרָתָהּ (2 Sam. 15.34); סִבְתָּהּ (Ps. 140.8; Lam. 3.43, 44); *hiʿil* I-*n* – 4x הִגְדָּתָהּ (Judg. 14.16); הִבְיָתָהּ (1 Sam. 15.3; 2 Kgs 9.7; Jer. 5.3); II/III-*ʿ* – 4x גִּשְׂאִתָּהּ (Num. 14.19); מִאֲסָתָהּ (Judg. 9.38); מִאֲסָתָהּ (1 Sam. 15.26); גִּאֲרָתָהּ (Ps. 89.40); III-*t* – 1x הִצְמָתָהּ (73.27); miscellaneous – 1x תָּתָהּ (2 Sam. 22.41). Groves–Wheeler (1991–2010, v. 4.14) counts 148, but mistakenly tags as 2MS the 3FS וְחַיְתָּהּ ‘and (your soul) will live’ (Jer. 38.17). Barr (1989b, 116, 125–27) lists 146, omitting צִוִּיתָהּ (Gen. 45.19) and נִתְתָּהּ (Neh. 9.15), while including *ketiv* שֵׁת *qere* שָׁתָהּ (Ps. 90.8).

10.2. Samaritan Biblical Tradition

10.2.1. Cases of the *Plene* 2MS Nominal Suffix in the Written Tradition

איכה *ika* ‘how!’ (Gen. 3.9); באכה *bāka* ‘your coming’ (Gen. 10.30; 13.10; 25.18); יככה *yikkāk* ‘(the LORD) will strike you’ (Deut. 28.22, 27, 35).

10.2.2. Cases of the *Plene* 2MS Nominal Suffix in the Reading Tradition

איכה *yikkāk* ‘(the LORD) will strike you’ (Deut. 28.22, 27, 35; cf. יכך SP Deut. 28.28 || MT יִכְכֶּךָ); MT באכה is twice entirely unparalleled in SP Gen. 10.19; SP וואברכך || MT וְאַבְרַכְכָּה ‘that I may bless you’ (Gen. 27.7); SP וְלָכָה || MT וְלָכָה ‘and for you’ (Gen. 27.37); SP וּבְךָ || MT וּבְכָה ‘and on you’ (Exod. 7.29); SP יָדֶיךָ ‘your hands’ || MT יָדְךָ ‘your hand’ (Exod. 13.16); SP כַּמוֹךָ || MT כַּמֶּכָה ‘like you’ (Exod. 15.11 [2x]); SP אַתְּךָ || MT אַתְּכָה ‘you’ (Exod. 29.35; Num. 22.33). Though SP איכה (Gen. 3.9) has כה-, the realisation *ika* is identical to that of rhetorical איכה || MT אִיכָה ‘how?’ (Deut. 1.12; see Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 319, §6.3.7).

7. THE 2FS ENDINGS

A degree of diversity characterises ancient Hebrew 2FS morphology. Specifically, the 2FS independent subject pronoun, the 2FS suffix conjugation ending, and the 2FS nominal (object/possessive) suffix all exhibit both majority consonant-final forms, namely, standard $\text{תָּא}, \text{תְּ-}, \text{תְּ-}$, and their respective minority vowel-final alternants, $\text{אתִּי}, \text{תִּי-}, \text{כִּי-}$ (Hornkohl 2013, 112–19). The present chapter focuses on dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition involving the realisation of such 2FS morphological forms.

1.0. The Combined Tiberian Biblical Tradition

Examining the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition in terms of 2FS morphology, one encounters slight deviation within broad uniformity. Consider Table 1.

Table 1: 2FS morphological variety in the MT¹

	harmony		dissonance
	-C	-CV	<i>ketiv</i> -CV, <i>qere</i> -V
pronoun ($\text{תָּא}, \text{תִּי}^*, \text{אתִּי}$)	50	0	7
verbal ending ($\text{תְּ-}, \text{תִּי-}, \text{תְּ-}$)	199	6	17
nominal suffix ($\text{תְּ-}, \text{כִּי-}, \text{כִּי-}$)	1545	11	5

Table 1 demonstrates that in the case of all of the categories of 2FS morphology under discussion, the dominant scenario is one of written-reading agreement on consonant-final morphology,

¹ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.1. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures given in Hornkohl (2013, 114).

i.e., תָּא , תְּ- , and תְּ- . Instances of written-reading dissonance, in the form of *ktiv-qere* mismatches, occur in all categories, though with very different relative frequencies. The incidence of verbal תָּא in place of תָּא and of verbal ending תְּ- in place of תְּ- is relatively high in comparison to that of the nominal suffix כִּי- in place of תְּ- . Interestingly, when it comes to both the verbal ending and the nominal suffix, the *ktiv* forms are not the sole evidence of vowel-final 2FS morphology. They are confirmed by cases of apparent vowel-final 2FS morphology where the written and reading components of the tradition agree. While the vowel-final occurrences of the nominal suffix כִּי- are unambiguous, those of the verbal תְּ- merit note. In all seven of these cases, it is possible that the preservation of vowel-final forms in the reading component of the tradition owes to their having been interpreted as cases of 1CS morphology.² Also relevant are 2FS suffix conjugation forms with object suffixes; a majority of these have an *-i-* linking vowel before the suffix, which is sometimes represented by a *mater yod* in the tradition's corresponding written component (see Hornkohl 2013a, 112, fn. 17, for detail).

2.0. Beyond the Tiberian Tradition

2.1. Biblical Hebrew Material

Non-Tiberian biblical material also presents dedicated 2FS morphology. In the traditions represented by this material, vowel-

² Cf. the Syriac and TJ at Judg. 5.7, 7; Jer. 2.20, 20; the Greek, Syriac, and TJ at Ezek. 16.50; and the Vulgate at Mic. 4.13.

final endings dominate to the near exclusion of consonant-final forms—the latter of which are, however, occasionally attested.

The Samaritan tradition displays its own mixture of forms and traditions (see Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 107–8, 225–26, 228).

Table 2: 2FS morphological variety in the SP³

	harmony		dissonance	
	-C	-CV	written -C,	reading -CV
pronoun (אָתִי <i>atti/âtti</i>)	0	7	0	0
verbal ending (ת- <i>-ti</i> , תִּי- <i>-ti</i>)	0	5	6	6
nominal suffix (קִי-) <i>-k</i> , כִּי- <i>-ki</i>	54	1	0	0

The independent subject pronoun is written אָתִי and realised *atti/âtti*, i.e., both the written and reading components of the tradition attesting vowel-final morphology.⁴ According to the written component of the Samaritan tradition, the verbal ending varies between consonant-final ת- and vowel-final תִּי-, but in the reading component it is consistently vowel-final *-ti*. Conversely, the 2FS nominal suffix is written קִי(-) and pronounced with no final vowel, despite written-reading agreement on vowel-final morphology in a single case of כִּי- *-ki*: מַלְכֵי *mā līki* ‘what troubles you (FS)?’ (Gen. 21.17).⁵

The scrolls from the Judaean Desert also exhibit variety when it comes to the relevant 2FS forms.

³ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.2. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures in Hornkohl (2013, 118, fn. 28).

⁴ The apparent exception וַיִּתְּנָה *wit* (Num. 5.20) is analysed as a demonstrative (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 226, §3.1.3, 237–38, §3.3.1.3).

⁵ Similar to Aramaic and RH, SH routinely distinguishes between the 2MS and 2FS nominal suffixes via the quality of the vowel that links the noun to the suffix (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 228–29, §§3.2.2–3.2.2.1).

Table 3: 2Fs morphological variety in the BDSS⁶

	1QIsa ^a		Other BDSS	
	-C	-CV	-C	-CV
pronoun (אתי, את) (אָתִי, אַתְּ)	0	3	7	0
verbal ending (ת-, תי-) (תִּ-, תִּי-)	12	18	23	2
nominal suffix (ך-, כי-) (ך־, כִּי-)	217	27	179	1

While the independent subject pronoun is written אָתִי in the Great Isaiah Scroll (against אַתְּ in MT Isaiah), other biblical scrolls present אַתְּ: the latter include parallels to cases of Tiberian written-reading agreement on אָתְּ, parallels to Tiberian *qere* forms against *ketiv* אָתִי, and parallels to Tiberian forms that graphically resemble אָתִי. Likewise with the verbal ending: 1QIsa^a, which accounts for 30 of the 45 extant cases, has 12 instances of תִּי- and 18 of תִּי- (all תִּי- in the MT); in the rest of the biblical scrolls, there are 23 instances of תִּי- and just two of תִּי- (all but one of which parallel תִּי- in the MT, the exception a *ketiv-qere* discrepancy where the DSS = *ketiv*). In the case of the nominal suffix, the biblical scrolls show 395 cases of ך־ and 28 cases of כִּי-. Again, however, there is a distinction between 1QIsa^a and the other biblical scrolls. In 1QIsa^a, cases of ך־ outnumber those of כִּי- by a margin of 216 to 27; in the rest of the biblical scrolls, the counts are ך־ 179, כִּי- 1 (the single case of כִּי- in 4Q84 is parallel to כִּי- in the corresponding Tiberian text: Ps. 116.19; however, the five remaining instances of כִּי- in MT Ps. 103.3–5 are paralleled by ך־ in 4Q84).

⁶ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.3. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures in Hornkohl (2013, 118, fn. 27).

Precious few examples come in Greek and Latin transcriptional material.⁷ The lone extant case of the verbal ending is vowel-final: Jerome's *carathi* || MT וְקָרַאת 'and you will call' (Isa. 7.14). There is more substantial evidence for the 2FS nominal suffix, all of it indicating consonant-final morphology: Theodotion's Ἐλωαίχ 'your God' || MT אֱלֹהֶיךָ 'your (MS) God' (Mic. 6.8); Jerome's *semmathech* || MT צַמְתְּךָ 'your veil' (Isa. 47.2); Jerome's *gebulaic* || MT גְּבוּלֶיךָ 'your borders' (Ezek. 27.4); Jerome's *bonaich* || MT בְּנֵיךָ 'your builders' (Ezek. 27.4). Transcriptions of the 2FS independent pronoun are evidently unattested.

2.2. Extra-biblical Hebrew Material

Iron Age epigraphy is entirely lacking in 2FS morphology. The same is true of BS. In the NBDSS, the picture is similar to that of the BDSS, excluding 1QIsa^a (see above, §2.1).

Table 4: 2FS morphological variety in the NBDSS⁸

	-C	-CV
pronoun (אתי, את) 0	0	1
verbal ending (תי-, ת-)	2	0
nominal suffix (כי-, כ-)	39	6

Summarising Table 4, the single fragmentary instance of the 2FS independent subject pronoun appears to be vowel-final. The two consonant-final suffix conjugation endings come in a biblical citation where they are also consonant-final. Relatively more data

⁷ My thanks to Ben Kantor for the citations.

⁸ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.4. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures in Hornkohl (2013, 118, fn. 28).

are available regarding the 2FS nominal suffix: ך- outnumbers כ- by a margin of 39 to six.

RH, for its part, is more informative on Second Temple 2FS morphology. In Codex Kaufmann of the Mishna, the 2FS independent pronoun, the verbal ending of the suffix conjugation, and the nominal suffix are consistently consonant-final.⁹

2.3. Aramaic

Aramaic 2FS morphology is summarised in Table 5.

Table 5: 2FS morphology in select Aramaic dialects

	pronoun	verb ending	nominal suffix
BA	—	—	—
DSSA	—	—	כי-
TA	אנת/את	ת-	ך- (כי-)
Syriac	ܐܬܐ 'at	ܬ- (ܬܐ-) -t	ܟܝܢܐ -k

BA has no relevant forms, and DSSA has only כ- forms of the 2FS nominal suffix. In TA, the forms in all three categories are generally consonant-final, with a small minority of כ- nominal suffixes. Syriac's written-reading dissonance is well known. The written component reflects ancient vowel-final 2FS morphology in all three categories, but the final vowel goes unpronounced in the reading tradition (and is unrepresented in a minority of cases of the verbal ending).

⁹ The apparent 2FS ending ת- in m. Nedarim 10.4b is evidently an error on the part of the vocaliser. As in SH, the 2MS and 2FS nominal suffixes are frequently distinguished by an *i*-vowel before the latter, often indicated in the spelling by a *mater yod*.

2.4. Realisation of 2FS Morphology in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The orthographic evidence adduced above concerning the oral realisation of 2FS morphology in the DSS is partially ambiguous. On the one hand, it is reasonable to hypothesise that the *mater* in forms ending in *yod* reflects the vowel-final realisation *-i* (cf., however, the situation in Syriac mentioned above, §2.3). On the other hand, forms ending in \aleph - or \daleth - are variously understood by scholars. Hornkohl (2013, 112) favours assuming “the correspondence of the written and pronunciation traditions, i.e., that orthographic forms ending in a consonant were indeed pronounced without a final vowel.” Against the background of widespread gender confusion, Kutscher (1974, 213) raises the possibility that no final vowel was pronounced on the relevant 2FS (and 2MS) forms. At the other extreme, Qimron (2018, 154–55, 259–60 and fn. 11, 265, 267–68) argues on the basis of mixed usage in single texts or lines that all the relevant 2FS categories consistently ended in some shade of *i*-vowel (perhaps *e*), no matter their spelling, in which case consonant-final orthography is merely defective.

In light of the statistics given above (§§2.1–2), a nuanced view may be the most plausible. Qimron’s view of consistent vowel-final realisations seems most tenable in the specific cases of the subject pronoun and verbal ending in 1QIsa^a. The dominance of consonant-final forms of the independent subject pronoun and verbal ending outside 1QIsa^a support the view that consonant-final realisations were the norm in most of the DSS. Regarding the nominal suffix—as vowel-final spellings are rare

throughout the DSS, including 1QIsa^a, it would appear as though consonant-final realisations were the norm.

Though the patterns of phonetic realisation suggested above cannot be absolutely confirmed, they do find support in extant Hebrew pronunciation traditions. 1QIsa^a patterns like the combined written-reading tradition of SH, with vowel-final independent subject pronoun אָתִי *'atti* and verbal ending תִּי *-ti* paired with consonant-final nominal suffix ק־ *-k*. Throughout the rest of the DSS, the norm would seem to be אָת־ *'at*, ת־ *-t*, and ק־ *-k*, which is in line with the testimony of the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition.

3.0. Diachronic Considerations

The written-reading dissonance concerning 2_{FS} morphology differs from many other situations of dissonance discussed in the present work. First, apparent instances are relatively rare. Second, in contrast to cases in which the reading tradition diverges from the written tradition in agreement with late propagation of an early minority form—e.g., vowel-final 2_{MS} morphology (ch. 6)—in this instance, the consonant-final alternant standardised in the reading tradition appears also to have been the dominant option in the written tradition. More than anything, then, in this case, the departure of the reading component from its written counterpart can be described as one of levelling, whereby minority irregular forms, especially the independent pronoun and the verbal ending, were regularised. Verbal forms that escaped regularisation were evidently read as 1_{CS} forms. When it comes to the nominal suffix, genre is determinative: *ketiv* כִּי- is normalised to

qere ֩- in prose, but the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition agree on ֩- wherever it appears in poetry.

On the assumption that the written tradition's heterogeneity reflects an earlier linguistic reality than the reading tradition's more homogenous presentation of 2FS morphology, there is very little information that might aid in dating the latter's deviation from the former. If the DSS spellings are to be taken at face value—i.e., apparently consonant-final spellings are not in large measure defective and apparently vowel-final spellings are not merely graphic morphological indicators (historical spelling, as in Syriac)—then, with the notable exception of 1QIsa^a, they seem to indicate a standardisation of consonant-final 2FS morphology more advanced than what is seen in the written component of the Tiberian tradition, but consistent with the Tiberian reading component. In other words, when it contradicts its written counterpart, the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition is more or less in agreement with the normalisation of consonant-final 2FS morphology dominant in most of the DSS.

Of course, it is important to point out that the Tiberian reading tradition's divergence from the written tradition is not particularly frequent, radical, or innovative. Unless the dominant consonant-final 2FS spellings characteristic of the written tradition are regularly defective, the written tradition itself testifies to the hegemony of the same consonant-final realisations that the reading tradition further standardised. Thus, while the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition offer 'windows' on the chronological development of the spelling and realisation of 2FS morphology, there is relatively little diachronic change to

speak of. In the vast majority of cases, the images seen through the two windows are identical; in a minority, the window afforded by the reading component reveals the advance of regularisation, the effects of which are, however, already widespread in the corresponding written component. Finally, it is also important to bear in mind that other factors may have contributed to morphological diversity, e.g., especially, but not exclusively, genre.

4.0. Conclusion

In the case of 2FS morphology, the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition is rarely out of tune with the corresponding written component. On the view that the tradition of oral realisation was largely fixed by Second Temple times, one might expect that it maintains First Temple conventions while at the same time implementing Second Temple innovations. The innovation in this case was the further expansion of consonant-final 2FS morphology already standard in the written component of the Tiberian biblical tradition. In this way, the Tiberian reading tradition diverges from the corresponding written tradition, but only marginally, and in so doing merely continues the developmental journey already largely accomplished in the written tradition along the same trajectory.

5.0. Citations

5.1. Tiberian Biblical Tradition

The following list includes only vowel-final cases of the relevant 2FS morphology, excluding cases of the standard consonant-final forms on which the written

and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition agree. **Pronoun**—אָתִי: Judg. 17.2; 1 Kgs 14.2; 2 Kgs 4.16, 23; 8.1; Jer. 4.30; Ezek. 36.13. **Verbal ending**—וְהִבֵּאתִי: Judg. 5.7, 7; Jer. 2.20, 20; Ezek. 16.50; Mic. 4.13; *ketiv* וְהִבֵּאתִי || *qere* וְהִבֵּאתִי: Jer. 2.33; 3.4, 5; 4.19; 31.21; 46.11; Ezek. 16.13, 18, 22, 31, 31, 43, 43, 47, 51; Ruth 3.3, 4. **Nominal suffix**—כִּי: Jer. 11.15; Ps. 103.3, 3, 4, 4, 5; 116.7, 7, 19; 135.9; 137.6; *ketiv* כִּי || *qere* כִּי: 2 Kgs 4.2, 3, 7, 7; Song 2.13.

5.2. Samaritan Pentateuch

Pronoun—אָתִי *atti/atti*: Gen. 12.11, 13; 24.23, 47, 60; 39.9. **Verbal ending**—תִּי *-ti*: Gen. 16.11, 11; 27.12 (|| MT 1cs וְהִבֵּאתִי ‘and I will bring’); Num. 5.19, 20, 20; תִּי *-ti*: Gen. 3.13; 16.8; 18.15; 30.15 (|| MT infinitive construct [?] וְלִקְחָתְךָ ‘and to take’); Num. 22.29. **Nominal suffix**—כִּי *-k*: Gen. 3.16, 16, 16, 16, 16; 12.12, 12, 13, 13; 16.6, 6, 6, 9, 10, 11, 11; 20.16, 16, 16; 21.18; 24.14, 17, 23, 43, 45, 60; 25.23, 23; 30.2, 14, 15, 15, 15; 35.17; 38.11, 13, 16, 18; 39.9; Exod. 2.7, 7, 9; Num. 5.19, 19, 20, 20, 20, 21, 21, 21, 21, 22; 22.29; Deut. 33.8; כִּי: Gen. 21.17.

5.3. Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

In the following lists, the parallel MT form is consonant-final unless otherwise specified. **Pronoun**—אָתִי: 1Q8 22.22 || MT Isa. 51.10; 2Q17 f1.5 || MT Ruth 3.16; 4Q107 f2ii.7 || MT וְהִבֵּאתִי Song 4.8; 4Q107 f2ii.7 || MT וְהִבֵּאתִי Song 4.8; 6Q4 f15.2 || MT *ketiv* וְהִבֵּאתִי *qere* וְהִבֵּאתִי 2 Kgs 8.1; Mur88 17.19 || MT Nah. 3.11; Mur88 17.20 || MT Nah. 3.11; אָתִי: 1QIsa^a 42.24 || MT Isa. 51.9; 1QIsa^a 42.25 || MT Isa. 51.10; 1QIsa^a 42.28 || MT Isa. 51.12. **Verbal ending**—תִּי: 1Q1 f2.3 || MT Gen. 3.13; 1QIsa^a 14.16 || MT Isa. 17.10; 1QIsa^a 23.9 || MT Isa. 29.4; 1QIsa^a 41.20 || MT Isa. 49.21; 1QIsa^a 43.6 || MT Isa. 51.17; 1QIsa^a 47.7 || MT Isa. 57.8; 1QIsa^a 47.8 || MT Isa. 57.8; 1QIsa^a 47.8 || MT Isa. 57.8; 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.10 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.11; 1QIsa^a 50.13 || MT Isa. 62.3; 1Q8 20.19 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1Q8 26.8 || MT Isa. 60.5; 1Q8 26.23 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.23 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.27 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 27.1 || MT Isa. 62.3; 1Q8 27.7 || MT Isa. 62.8; 2Q16 f1ii–4i.8 || MT Ruth 2.19; 2Q16 f5ii–6i.6 || MT Ruth 3.2; 2Q16 f6ii–7.3 || MT Ruth 3.4; 2Q16 f6ii–7.3 || MT Ruth 3.4; 4Q51 f102ii + 103–106i.43 || MT 2 Sam. 14.2; 4Q51 f102ii + 103–106i.44 || MT 2 Sam. 14.3; 4Q55 f9.4 || MT Isa. 17.10; 4Q56 f8–9.3 || MT Isa. 17.10; 4Q58 11.15 || MT Isa. 57.10; 4Q58 11.15 || MT Isa. 57.10; 4Q58 11.16 || MT Isa. 57.11; 4Q62a f2.4 || MT Isa. 57.8; 4Q72 f34ii + 36–43.18 || MT Jer. 31.4; 4Q106 f2ii.14 || MT Song 7.7; Mur88 21.5 || MT Zeph. 3.11; תִּי: 1QIsa^a 14.15 || MT Isa. 7.10; 1QIsa^a 17.4 || MT Isa. 22.2; 1QIsa^a 39.25 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1QIsa^a 39.25 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1QIsa^a 39.26 || MT Isa. 47.7; 1QIsa^a 39.26 || MT Isa. 47.7; 1QIsa^a 39.30 || MT Isa. 47.10; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 41.24 || MT

Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 43.5 || MT Isa. 51.17; 1QIsa^a 43.6 || MT Isa. 51.17; {י}געת
 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.10 || MT Isa. 57.11; 1QIsa^a 47.10 || MT
 Isa. 57.11; 1QIsa^a 49.19 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1QIsa^a 49.19 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1QIsa^a
 50.20 || MT Isa. 62.8; 1Q8 20.20 || MT Isa. 47.7; 4Q72 f47–48ii + 51–54.11 ||
 MT *ketiv* הלכתי *qere* הִלַּכְתִּי Jer. 31.21. **Nominal suffix—ך(י)***: 1QIsa^a 1.25 || MT
 Isa. 1.22; 1QIsa^a 1.25 || MT Isa. 1.22; 1QIsa^a 1.28 || MT Isa. 1.25; 1QIsa^a 1.29
 || MT Isa. 1.25; 1QIsa^a 1.29 || MT Isa. 1.25; 1QIsa^a 1.29 || MT Isa. 1.26; 1QIsa^a
 2.1 || MT Isa. 1.26; 1QIsa^a 4.2 || MT Isa. 3.25; 1QIsa^a 4.3 || MT Isa. 3.25; 1QIsa^a
 10.16 || MT Isa. 10.30; 1QIsa^a 11.11 || MT Isa. 12.6; 1QIsa^a 13.1 || MT Isa.
 14.29; 1QIsa^a 13.3 || MT Isa. 14.30; 1QIsa^a 13.3 || MT Isa. 14.30; 1QIsa^a 13.19
 || MT Isa. 16.3; 1QIsa^a 13.20 || MT Isa. 16.3; 1QIsa^a 13.26 || MT Isa. 16.9;
 1QIsa^a 13.26 || MT Isa. 16.9; 1QIsa^a 14.16 || MT Isa. 17.10; 1QIsa^a 14.16 || MT
 Isa. 17.10; 1QIsa^a 14.17 || MT Isa. 17.11; 1QIsa^a 14.17 || MT Isa. 17.11; 1QIsa^a
 14.17 || MT Isa. 17.11; 1QIsa^a 17.4 || MT Isa. 22.1; 1QIsa^a 17.5 || MT Isa. 22.2;
 1QIsa^a 17.6 || MT Isa. 22.3; 1QIsa^a 17.6 || MT Isa. 22.3; 1QIsa^a 17.10 || MT Isa.
 22.7; 1QIsa^a 18.6 || MT Isa. 23.2; 1QIsa^a 18.14 || MT Isa. 23.10; 1QIsa^a 18.18
 || MT Isa. 23.12; 1QIsa^a 18.21 || MT Isa. 23.14; 1QIsa^a 20.14 || MT Isa. 26.2;
 1QIsa^a 23.8 || MT Isa. 29.3; 1QIsa^a 23.9 || MT Isa. 29.3; 1QIsa^a 23.9 || MT Isa.
 29.3; 1QIsa^a 23.10 || MT Isa. 29.4; 1QIsa^a 23.10 || MT Isa. 29.4; 1QIsa^a 23.10
 || MT Isa. 29.4; 1QIsa^a 23.11 || MT Isa. 29.5; 1QIsa^a 27.27 || MT Isa. 33.23;
 1QIsa^a 33.8 || MT Isa. 40.9; 1QIsa^a 38.5 || MT Isa. 44.27; 1QIsa^a 38.21 || MT
 Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 38.21 || MT Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 39.21 || MT Isa. 47.1; 1QIsa^a
 39.21 || MT Isa. 47.2; 1QIsa^a 39.22 || MT Isa. 47.2; 1QIsa^a 39.22 || MT Isa. 47.3;
 1QIsa^a 39.22 || MT Isa. 47.3; 1QIsa^a 39.24 || MT Isa. 47.5; 1QIsa^a 39.25 || MT
 Isa. 47.6; 1QIsa^a 39.25 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1QIsa^a 39.28 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1QIsa^a
 39.29 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1QIsa^a 39.29 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1QIsa^a 39.29 || MT Isa. 47.9;
 1QIsa^a 39.30 || MT Isa. 47.10; 1QIsa^a 39.30 || MT Isa. 47.10; 1QIsa^a 39.30 ||
 MT Isa. 47.10; 1QIsa^a 39.30 || MT Isa. 47.10; 1QIsa^a 39.30 || MT Isa. 47.10;
 1QIsa^a 39.31 || MT Isa. 47.11; 1QIsa^a 39.31 || MT Isa. 47.11; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT
 Isa. 47.11; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a
 40.2 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a 40.2 || MT Isa. 47.13; 1QIsa^a 40.2 || MT Isa. 47.13;
 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT
 Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 40.5 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 41.15 || MT Isa. 49.16; 1QIsa^a
 41.15 || MT Isa. 49.16; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.17; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa.
 49.17; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.17; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.17; 1QIsa^a
 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.18; 1QIsa^a 41.18 || MT Isa. 49.19; 1QIsa^a 41.18 || MT Isa.
 49.19; 1QIsa^a 41.18 || MT Isa. 49.19; 1QIsa^a 41.19 || MT Isa. 49.19; 1QIsa^a
 41.19 || MT Isa. 49.20; 1QIsa^a 41.19 || MT Isa. 49.20; 1QIsa^a 41.20 || MT Isa.
 49.21; 1QIsa^a 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.22; 1QIsa^a 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.22; 1QIsa^a
 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.24 || MT Isa.
 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.24 || MT Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.26 || MT Isa. 49.25; 1QIsa^a
 41.27 || MT Isa. 49.25; 1QIsa^a 41.27 || MT Isa. 49.26; 1QIsa^a 41.28 || MT Isa.
 49.26; 1QIsa^a 43.6 || MT Isa. 51.18; 1QIsa^a 43.8 || MT Isa. 51.19; 1QIsa^a 43.8

1QIsa^a 50.22 || MT Isa. 62.9; 1QIsa^a 50.24 || MT Isa. 62.11; 1QIsa^a 53.23 || MT
 Isa. 66.9; 1Q8 9a.5 || MT Isa. 23.2; 1Q8 17.11 || MT Isa. 41.14; 1Q8 17.12 ||
 MT Isa. 41.15; 1Q8 18.7 || MT Isa. 43.6; 1Q8 18.7 || MT Isa. 43.6; 1Q8 19.9 ||
 MT Isa. 44.27; 1Q8 20.14 || MT Isa. 47.1; 1Q8 20.19 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1Q8 20.20
 || MT Isa. 47.7; 1Q8 20.22 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1Q8 20.23 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1Q8
 20.23 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1Q8 20.24 || MT Isa. 47.10; 1Q8 20.24 || MT Isa. 47.10;
 1Q8 20.25 || MT Isa. 47.11; 1Q8 23.1 || MT Isa. 52.7; 1Q8 23.1 || MT Isa. 52.8;
 1Q8 23.29 || MT Isa. 54.3; 1Q8 23.31 || MT Isa. 54.4; 1Q8 23.32 || MT Isa.
 54.5; 1Q8 26.4 || MT Isa. 60.1; 1Q8 26.5 || MT Isa. 60.2; 1Q8 26.5 || MT Isa.
 60.2; 1Q8 26.6 || MT Isa. 60.3; 1Q8 26.6 || MT Isa. 60.3; 1Q8 26.6 || MT Isa.
 60.4; 1Q8 26.7 || MT Isa. 60.4; 1Q8 26.7 || MT Isa. 60.4; 1Q8 26.7 || MT Isa.
 60.4; 1Q8 26.8 || MT Isa. 60.5; 1Q8 26.8 || MT Isa. 60.5; 1Q8 26.9 || MT Isa.
 60.5; 1Q8 26.9 || MT Isa. 60.6; 1Q8 26.11 || MT Isa. 60.7; 1Q8 26.11 || MT Isa.
 60.7; 1Q8 26.13 || MT Isa. 60.9; 1Q8 26.14 || MT Isa. 60.9; 1Q8 26.14 || MT
 Isa. 60.9; 1Q8 26.15 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.15 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.15
 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.16 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.16 || MT Isa. 60.11; 1Q8
 26.17 || MT Isa. 60.11; 1Q8 26.18 || MT Isa. 60.12; 1Q8 26.20 || MT Isa. 60.14;
 1Q8 26.21 || MT Isa. 60.14; 1Q8 26.21 || MT Isa. 60.14; 1Q8 26.21 || MT Isa.
 60.14; 1Q8 26.22 || MT Isa. 60.15; 1Q8 26.22 || MT Isa. 60.15; 1Q8 26.24 ||
 MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.24 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.26 || MT Isa. 60.17; 1Q8
 26.26 || MT Isa. 60.17; 1Q8 26.27 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 26.27 || MT Isa. 60.18;
 1Q8 26.28 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 26.28 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 26.28 || MT Isa.
 60.19; 1Q8 26.29 || MT Isa. 60.19; 1Q8 26.29 || MT Isa. 60.19; 1Q8 26.30 ||
 MT Isa. 60.20; 1Q8 26.30 || MT Isa. 60.20; 1Q8 27.1 || MT Isa. 62.2; 1Q8 27.2
 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.2 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.2 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.3
 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.3 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.3 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.4
 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4
 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4 || MT Isa. 62.6; 1Q8 27.6 || MT Isa. 62.8; 1Q8 27.7
 || MT Isa. 62.8; 1Q8 27.9 || MT Isa. 62.11; 1Q8 27.10 || MT Isa. 62.12; 1Q8
 28.19 || MT Isa. 66.9; 2Q13 f9ii-12.4 || MT Jer. 48.28; 2Q13 f9ii-12.8 || MT
 Jer. 48.32; 2Q13 f9ii-12.9 || MT Jer. 48.32; 2Q14 f1.2 || MT Ps. 103.4; 2Q16
 f5ii-6i.2 || MT Ruth 2.22; 2Q16 f5ii-6i.5 || MT Ruth 3.1; 2Q16 f5ii-6i.8 || MT
 Ruth 3.3; 2Q16 f5ii-6i.8 || MT Ruth 3.3; 2Q17 f1.1 || MT Ruth 3.13; 4Q13 f3i-
 4.6 || MT Exod. 2.7; 4Q13 f3i-4.7 || MT Exod. 2.7; 4Q51 2a-d.4 || MT 1 Sam.
 1.23; 4Q51 2a-d.5 || MT 1 Sam. 1.23; 4Q53 f2-5i.17 || MT 2 Sam 14.18; 4Q53
 f2-5i.18 || MT 2 Sam. 14.19; 4Q56 f8-9.4 || MT Isa. 17.11; 4Q57
 f9ii + 11 + 12i + 52.14 || MT Isa. 23.10; 4Q57 f41-42.2 || MT Isa. 54.8; 4Q57
 f44-47.4 || MT Isa. 54.12; 4Q57 f44-47.7 || MT Isa. 54.15; 4Q57 f44-47.8 ||
 MT Isa. 54.17; 4Q58 2.20 || MT Isa. 47.3; 4Q58 3.2 || MT Isa. 47.9; 4Q58 8.24
 || MT Isa. 54.2; 4Q58 8.24 || MT Isa. 54.2; 4Q58 9.7 || MT Isa. 54.8; 4Q58 9.9
 || MT Isa. 54.9; 4Q58 11.14 || MT Isa. 57.9; 4Q58 11.16 || MT 57.11; 4Q58
 11.17 || MT 57.12; 4Q58 11.18 || MT 57.12; 4Q58 11.18 || MT 57.13; 4Q58
 11.18 || MT 57.13; 4Q58 11.18 || MT 57.13; 4Q59 f17-18i + 19.5 || MT Isa.

12.6; 4Q60 f3–6.7 || MT Isa. 1.22; 4Q62a f2.2 || MT Isa. 57.6; 4Q64 f1–5.6 || MT Isa. 29.3; 4Q64 f1–5.6 || MT Isa. 29.4; 4Q66 f1–3.1 || MT Isa. 60.20; 4Q68 f1.4 || MT Isa. 14.30; 4Q69a f1.2 || MT Isa. 54.11; 4Q69a f1.3 || MT Isa. 54.12; 4Q72 f1ii.4 || MT Jer. 4.14; 4Q72 f19–21.8 || MT Jer. 22.21; 4Q72 f19–21.9 || MT Jer. 22.22; 4Q72 f47–48ii + 51–54.10 || MT Jer. 31.21; 4Q77 f3.1 || MT Zeph. 3.19; 4Q78 f24–29 + 48.4 || MT Amos 3.11; 4Q78 f24–29 + 48.4 || MT Amos 3.11; 4Q82 f3ii + 4ii + 5–7.11 || MT Hos. 2.22; 4Q84 f15iii + 20–22.15 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.3; 4Q84 f15iii + 20–22.16 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.3; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.1 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.4; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.2 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.4; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.3 || MT Ps. 103.5; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.4 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.5; 4Q85 f12.5 || MT Ps. 45.11; 4Q86 2.1 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.1 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.1 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.2 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.2 || MT Ps. 147.14; 4Q105 f4.5 || MT Ruth 1.15; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.8 || MT Song 4.1; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.8 || MT Song 4.1; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.9 || MT Song 4.2; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.11 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.11 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q106 f2ii.10 || MT Song 7.4; 4Q106 f2ii.11 || MT Song 7.5; 4Q106 f2ii.13 || MT Song 7.6; 4Q107 f1.2 || MT Song 2.10; 4Q107 f1.2 || MT Song 2.10; 4Q107 f1.6 || MT Song 2.13; 4Q107 f1.9 || MT Song 2.14; 4Q107 f1.9 || MT Song 2.14; 4Q107 f2ii.2 || MT Song 4.1; 4Q107 f2ii.3 || MT Song 4.2; 4Q107 f2ii.5 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.5 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.6 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.6 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.10 || MT Song 4.9; 4Q107 f2ii.11 || MT Song 4.9; 4Q107 f2ii.11 || MT Song 4.10; 4Q107 f2ii.12 || MT Song 4.10; 4Q107 f2ii.13 || MT Song 4.10; 4Q107 f2ii.14 || MT Song 4.11; 5Q6 f1iv.2 || MT Lam. 4.21; 5Q6 f1iv.4 || MT Lam 4.22; 11Q4 f3b + 6.2 || MT Ezek. 5.12; 11Q5 3.8 || MT Ps. 122.2; 11Q5 3.12 || MT Ps. 122.6; 11Q5 3.12 || MT Ps. 122.7; 11Q5 3.12 || MT Ps. 122.7; 11Q5 3.13 || MT Ps. 122.8; 11Q5 14.9 || MT Ps. 135.2; 11Q5 21.1 || MT Ps. 137.9. כִּי: 1QIsa^a 1.25 || Isa. 1.23; 1QIsa^a 17.4 || Isa. 22.1; 1QIsa^a 33.8 || Isa. 40.9; 1QIsa^a 38.22 || Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 38.22 || Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 38.22 || Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 39.26 || Isa. 47.7; 1QIsa^a 41.15 || Isa. 49.15; 1QIsa^a 41.17 || Isa. 49.18; 1QIsa^a 41.28 || Isa. 49.26; 1QIsa^a 43.7 || Isa. 51.19; 1QIsa^a 43.7 || Isa. 51.19; 1QIsa^a 43.12 || Isa. 51.23; 1QIsa^a 44.24 || Isa. 54.2; 1QIsa^a 45.1 || Isa. 54.5; 1QIsa^a 45.1 || Isa. 54.5; 1QIsa^a 45.5 || Isa. 54.8; 1QIsa^a 45.9 || Isa. 54.10; 1QIsa^a 45.12 || Isa. 54.13; 1QIsa^a 49.15 || Isa. 60.12; 1QIsa^a 50.12 || Isa. 62.2; 1QIsa^a 50.13 || Isa. 62.3; 1QIsa^a 50.14 || Isa. 62.4; 1QIsa^a 50.15 || Isa. 62.4; 1QIsa^a 50.16 || Isa. 62.5; 1QIsa^a 50.25 || Isa. 62.12; 4Q84 f28i.18 || MT כִּי- Ps. 116.19.

5.4. Non-Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

In the following lists, the parallel MT form is consonant-final unless otherwise specified. **Pronoun**—אֲתִי: 4Q223–224 f2ii.11 || Jub. 35.17. **Verbal ending**—ת: 4Q169 f3–4ii.10 || Nah. 3.5; 4Q169 f3–4ii.11 || Nah. 3.5. **Nominal suffix**—ך: 1QM 12.14, 14, 14, 14, 14; 19.6, 6, 6; 4Q168 f1.4 || Mic. 4.10; 4Q169 f3–4ii.10 || Nah. 3.5; 4Q169 f3–4ii.11 || Nah. 3.5; 4Q169 f3–4ii.11 || Nah. 3.5;

4Q169 f3-4iii.1 || Nah. 3.6; 4Q169 f3-4iii.1 || Nah. 3.6; 4Q169 f3-4iii.1 || Nah. 3.6; 4Q169 f3-4iii.2 || Nah. 3.7; 4Q169 f3-4iii.2 || Nah. 3.7; 4Q169 f3-4iii.6 || Nah. 3.7; 4Q169 f5.3 || Nah. 3.14; 4Q176 f1-2ii.5 || Isa.49.16; 4Q176 f8-11.6 || Isa. 54.4; 4Q176 f8-11.6 || Isa. 54.5; 4Q176 f8-11.8 || Isa. 54.6; 4Q176 f8-11.8 || Isa. 54.6; 4Q176 f8-11.9 || Isa. 54.7; 4Q176 f8-11.9 || Isa. 54.7; 4Q176 f8-11.10 || Isa. 54.8; 4Q176 f8-11.10 || Isa. 54.8; 4Q176 f8-11.11 || Isa. 54.9; 4Q385a f17a-eii.4, 5, 7; 4Q415 f2ii.2, 5, 7; 4Q492 f1.6, 6, 7; 4Q522 f22-26.5 || Ps. 122.7; גי: 4Q161 f5-6.7 || Isa. 10.30; 4Q176 f8-11.6 || Isa. 54.4; 4Q176 f8-11.7 || Isa. 54.5; 4Q176 f8-11.12 || Isa. 54.10; 4Q176 f50.1; 4Q223-224 f2i.47 || Jub. 35.8.

8. THE *QERE PERPETUUM* הוֹא

In the majority of sources that represent ancient Hebrew traditions, the 3FS independent subject pronoun is written with medial *yod*, e.g., DSS הִיא(ה). Likewise, in extant pronunciation traditions, it is realised with a corresponding *i*-vowel, e.g., standard Tiberian (non-Pentateuchal) BH and RH הִיא, SH *ī*. The written component of the Tiberian tradition of the Pentateuch, exhibiting the spelling הוֹא, is an outlier. Whereas the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition in the MT Prophets and Writings routinely exhibits the unified consonantal-vocalic form הִיא (in 282 of 286 cases), in the Torah such unity is rare (just 18 of 212 cases).¹ Instead of הִיא, the anomalous graphic spelling-vocalic combination הוֹא is normative in the Tiberian Pentateuch.

1.0. The Tiberian Tradition

On four occasions in the Hebrew Bible, readers are explicitly instructed via the (inter)marginal *ktiv-qere* mechanism to read 3FS הִיא instead of apparently 3MS written הוֹא (Deut. 13.16; 1 Kgs 17.15; Isa. 30.33; Job 31.11). In five additional cases, the *ktiv-qere* gives the opposite instruction, that is, to read 3MS הוֹא for the apparent 3FS spelling הִיא (1 Kgs 17.15; Ps. 73.16; Job 31.11; Qoh. 5.8; 1 Chron. 29.16).² Finally, in 192 instances in the Pentateuch

¹ The figures given here are representative, but scholars differ on their counts. Throughout the MT, written-reading agreement on הִיא obtains in about 300 out of 500 instances.

² Thus, 1 Kgs 17.15 and Job 31.11 each involve both changes.

and once in the Prophets, the written form אָהוּ is vocalised with *hiriq* to signal the *qere perpetuum* אָהוּ .³ As already noted, in the Tiberian Pentateuch, the orthography and vocalisation agree on the realisation of 3FS אָהוּ just 18 times in 210 cases (see §5.1 for citations).

Scholarly explanations for the routine written-reading mismatch in the Tiberian Pentateuch vary from the graphic to the linguistic. According to one widely accepted version of the graphic approach, the Tiberian Torah ultimately goes back to a manuscript characterised by defective spelling, where both the 3MS and 3FS independent subject pronouns were originally written אָה (cf. the 3MS forms in Arad 18.10, 12; Kuntillet Ajrud 9.1; Lachish 21.5; Mesha^c [KAI 181] 6, 21; Deir ‘Alla [KAI 312] 1). Into this form in a manuscript of the proto-Masoretic tradition, so it is claimed, a scribe mechanically inserted *mater waw*, not realising that אָה often represented the 3FS independent pronoun (GKC §321). In a variation of the same approach, the scribe attempted to distinguish the two pronouns, but wrote *waw* and *yod* so similarly (a practice common in the DSS), that later copyists, unable to discern any difference, reproduced *waw* on all occasions. Even later copyists, loathe out of respect for the manuscript to modify the apparent 3FS אָהוּ spellings, left them uncorrected (Cross 1998, 222–23; JM §39c). Neither explanation accounts for the Masoretic Pentateuch’s 18 exceptions in which the written and reading traditions agree on 3FS אָהוּ (Fassberg 2012, 171–72).

³ Rendsburg (1982, 353) gives the figure 120, which is repeated by Fassberg (2012, 171).

A well-known linguistic proposal is that the Hebrew of the Tiberian Torah preserves an epicene 3CS pronoun אִוְה(^ו)ה *hū* (Green 1872, 96; Lambert 1946, 34, fn. 3; Rendsburg 1982; Tropper 2001; Morgenstern 2007, 49–50). The spelling in the Tiberian Pentateuch would thus preserve an old feature that is out of line with the corresponding Pentateuchal recitation tradition as well as with the combined written-reading tradition of the rest of the Masoretic Bible. According to recent versions of this approach, the explanation for the epicene pronoun in the Pentateuch is Hittite or Hurrian influence (Rendsburg 1982) or a single 3CS oblique pronoun אִוְה [huʔā] (< *huʔāt) (as opposed to distinct 3MS and 3FS nominative pronouns) (Tropper 2001). The problems with approaches of this sort are that (a) the alleged feature is not known outside the written component of the Tiberian tradition as preserved in the Pentateuch; (b) the Semitic languages commonly distinguish 3MS and 3FS pronouns; and, perhaps most decisively, (c) Tiberian BH grammar, e.g., the verbal system, pronominal suffixes, including that reflected in the written component of the tradition in the Pentateuch, consistently reflects gender distinction in the 3rd-person singular.

The current chapter takes as its jumping-off point a different sort of linguistic hypothesis. As suggested by Cohen (2007, 113–15) and buttressed by Fassberg (2012), the אִוְה spelling common to the 3MS and 3FS independent subject pronouns in the written component of the Tiberian tradition reflects distinct morphological forms, namely 3MS **huwa* or **hūw* and 3FS **hiwa* or **hīw*, which in the corresponding Pentateuchal reading tradition,

and the Masoretic biblical reading tradition more generally, shortened to *hū* and *hī*, respectively (see further below, §3.0).

2.0. Non-Tiberian Biblical and Extra-biblical Evidence

Beyond the Tiberian biblical written and pronunciation evidence, it is instructive to consider additional ancient Hebrew evidence. The rather opaque inscriptional 3MS form אָה has already been cited. The quality of its medial vocalisation is uncertain, as is the presence, quality, and quantity of a final vowel (though final long vowels are generally thought to have been marked in ancient inscriptional Hebrew). No 3FS form is attested in the extant epigraphic corpus.

Babylonian Torah manuscripts know the same phenomenon seen in the Tiberian Pentateuch. Yeivin (1985, 1103) notes the written-reading mismatch in a vocalised Babylonian manuscript at Deut. 11.10.

In DSS Hebrew, alongside the more standard spellings הוּא and היא come הוּאָה and היאָה , respectively (Qimron 1986, 57–58; 2018, 261–62; Reymond 2014, 158). The two sets of forms occur in both biblical and non-biblical manuscripts, the former more frequently than the latter. Crucially, where the written component of the Tiberian biblical tradition has 3FS הוּא , corresponding DSS manuscripts usually have היא (or הי or היאָה), showing agreement with the *qere perpetuum* of the recitation tradition (see §5.2

for citations).⁴ A minority of BDSS manuscripts appear to match the Tiberian written tradition with 3FS הוּא (see §5.2 for citations; but cf. Reymond 2014, 158).

The combined written-reading tradition of the SP furnishes important information. The written component of the tradition, as evidenced in the Shechem Synagogue Ms 6 (C), consistently has הוּא against Tiberian written 3FS הוּא (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 226, §3.1.4). This is in agreement with the Samaritan pronunciation tradition, according to which הוּא is realised as *ī*.

In BS manuscripts from antiquity and the Middle Ages, 3FS הוּא is consistently distinguished from 3MS הוּא.

The same is true for the Tannaitic RH tradition of Codex Kaufmann of the Mishna, where the form is הוּא.

Most of the evidence cited in this section shows Second Temple unanimity regarding a realisation of the 3FS independent subject pronoun in line with the standard non-Pentateuchal Tiberian orthography הוּא. According to a straightforward reading of the data, the Tiberian reading tradition of the Torah joins in with the combined Tiberian written and reading tradition of the rest of the Bible and with various Second Temple traditions on pronunciation resembling *hī*, including *hīʿā*, *hīyā*, and *ī*.

⁴ This assumes that the relevant editor has correctly distinguished *waw* and *yod* in texts where the distinction can be anywhere from minimal to non-existent.

3.0. A Linguistic Explanation for 3FS איה in the Written Component of the Tiberian Torah

Both internal and external evidence militate against the theory that apparently 3FS איה in the written component of the Tiberian Torah reflects an epicene 3CS pronoun. Beyond the fact that the Semitic languages, in general, and ancient Hebrew, more specifically, routinely distinguish gender in the 3rd-person singular, the Tiberian written tradition of the Torah reflects gender distinction in 3rd-person singular morphology, including pronominal suffixes and the verbal system. An epicene 3rd-person singular independent pronoun would thus from multiple perspectives be exceptional.

Explanations based on the graphic similarity of *waw* and *yod* are also probably to be rejected, since they fail to account for the generally correct distinction between *waw* and *yod* in other words in the Tiberian Torah and leave a number of cases of standard איה unexplained.

If the 3FS איה spelling is not to be attributed to graphic factors, a different sort of the linguistic explanation must be sought. As mentioned above, Cohen (2007, 113–13) has proposed an intriguing alternative. In his view, development of the standard Tiberian 3FS independent subject pronoun איה may be schematised as follows (Cohen 2007, 114–15):

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>*hiʿa-tu</i>	<i>> *hiʿat</i>	<i>> *hiʿa</i>	<i>> *hiwa</i>	<i>> *hiya</i>	<i>> *hiy</i>	<i>> hi</i>

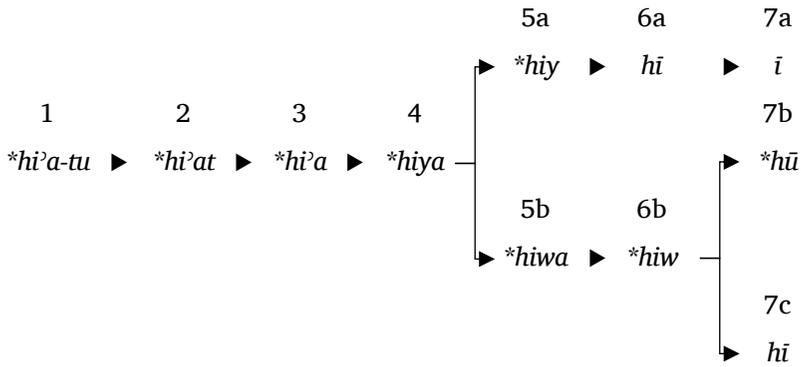
It is worth quoting Cohen in full:

According to this hypothesis, it appears that the *ketiv* and the *qere* before us—אָהוּ/אִי—are in fact nothing but different forms of the same 3FS pronoun, testifying to different stages of development in the form of this pronoun (stage 4 **hiwa* [= *אִי] and final stage 7 *hī* [= אִי]), and it is not impossible that these two forms, which were a sort of doublet in Hebrew, served contemporaneously in two parallel linguistic traditions. (Cohen 2007, 115, my translation)

This approach has the advantage of making sense of the otherwise anomalous 3FS spelling אָהוּ. Moreover, it is not incompatible with the minority DSS spelling אִי, which can be viewed as the retention of a comparatively archaic form (Qimron 1986, 57–58; 2018, 261–62; cf. Kutscher 1974, 433–34). In allowing for the contemporaneity of the two pronunciations, it also comprehends diversity both within and beyond the Torah. Finally, the typologically later *hī* realisation in the Tiberian reading component of the Torah is consistent with the combined written-reading tradition in the rest of the Hebrew Bible, apparently reflecting standardisation of a Second Temple feature with early roots as a minority form.

Yet, Cohen’s approach is not without problems. Fassberg (2012, 175, fn. 13) observes that the conjectured development from stage 3 **hiʿa* to stage 4 **hiwa* is unexpected, a *y* glide being expected contiguous to an *i*-vowel, as in Arabic هِيَ *hiya*. If **hiwa* or **hīw* (Fassberg 2012, 177) are behind the spelling of 3FS אָהוּ in the Tiberian Torah, then one must assume that the unexpected shift of *-iʿa* to *-iw(a)* was motivated by analogical pressure from the more common corresponding 3MS form, where the development **huʿa* to **huwa* is expected.

Fassberg (2012, 177) also entertains the possibility that 3FS איה in the Tiberian written tradition of the Pentateuch reflects the realisation **hū*, apparently not as an original epicene pronoun, but as a result of phonetic neutralisation, presumably along the lines of **hiwa* > **hiw* > *hū*. In any case, it may be that Cohen’s proposed scheme should be reordered and modified to allow for parallel developments, i.e.,



According to this revised scheme, the Tiberian reading tradition reflects stage 6a, the DSS stages 3, 4, and/or 6a, the Samaritan reading tradition 7a, and the Tiberian written tradition of the Torah 5b, 6b, or 7b (with the passage from stage 4 to 5b due to the aforementioned analogy to 3MS **hu'a* > **huwa*). It is also not impossible that the 3FS pronunciation *hi* in the Tiberian Torah in 7c (= 6a) could have developed naturally from **hiw*. While the diphthong *iw* is expected to resolve to *ū*, the alternative development to *ī* is not unknown (Blau 2010, 97, §3.4.3.3).⁵

⁵ It is worth noting that according to the approaches adopted here, the earliest form included a glottal stop, the orthographic representation of which persisted despite its eventual elision. Also, the early form begin-

4.0. Conclusion

On the assumption that the spelling of 3FS אִיָּה in the Tiberian Pentateuch represents a linguistic reality different from אִיָּה of the Tiberian reading tradition, it would not be surprising that it preserves an authentically old variant pronunciation, nor that it should be replaced in the reading tradition by a rival ancient form that became common in Second Temple Hebrew. As a conservative linguistic tradition, the Tiberian recitation component preserves genuine Iron Age features. But as a tradition that crystallised in the Second Temple Period, it was also subject to the standardisation of certain Second Temple conventions.

5.0. Citations

5.1. Tiberian Biblical Tradition

3FS אִיָּה: Gen. 2.12; 3.12, 20; 4.22; 7.2; 10.11, 12; 12.14, 18, 19; 14.7, 8; 17.14; 19.20, 38; 20.2, 3, 5, 5, 12; 21.22; 22.20, 24; 23.2, 15, 19; 24.44; 25.21; 26.7, 9, 9, 12, 12; 27.38; 29.2, 9, 25; 32.19; 34.14; 35.6, 19, 20, 22, 27; 37.32; 38.1, 14, 16, 21, 25; 43.32; 47.6, 17, 18; 48.7; Exod. 3.8; 8.15; 12.15, 19; 22.26, 26; 31.13, 14, 14, 17; Lev. 2.6, 15; 5.12; 6.2, 10, 18, 22; 7.20, 21, 27; 10.12, 13, 17; 11.6, 6, 26; 13.4, 8, 11, 20, 22, 23, 25, 25, 26, 28, 28, 28, 42, 52, 55, 57; 14.44; 15.3, 23, 25; 17.11, 14; 18.7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22; 19.8, 20; 20.6, 14, 21; 22.3, 12; 23.3, 30, 36; 25.10, 11, 12, 33; 27.4; Num. 5.6, 13, 14, 18, 28, 31; 8.4; 9.13; 13.18, 19, 20, 27, 32; 14.8, 41; 15.25, 30, 31; 18.19; 19.9, 13, 20; 21.16, 26; 22.4; 32.4; 33.36; Deut. 1.9, 16, 18; 2.20, 34; 3.4, 8, 11, 12, 18, 21, 23; 4.6, 14; 5.5; 9.19, 20; 10.1, 8, 10; 11.10; 14.28; 17.5; 20.20; 21.3, 4, 6; 22.18, 24; 24.4; 29.21, 26; 30.11, 11, 12, 13; Isa. 39.1. **3FS אִיָּה:** Gen. 14.2; 19.20; 20.5; 26.7; 38.25; 40.10; Exod. 1.16; Lev. 5.11; 11.39; 13.6, 10, 21; 16.31; 20.17, 18; 21.9; Num. 5.13, 14.

ning with *h* may well have arisen due to lenition of more archaic *š*, as in east Semitic.

5.2. Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

3FS אה: 1Q3 f3–4.2 || Lev. 20.11; 1Q13 f23–25.5 || Deut. 11.10; 2Q12 f1.5 || Deut. 10.10; 4Q1 f5.3 || Gen. 35.19; 4Q6 f1.13 || Gen. 48.7; 4Q22 25.7 (2x) || Exod. 22.26 (2x); 4Q22 37.7 || Exod. 31.14; 4Q23 f4.5 || Lev. 14.44; 4Q23 f34ii+44–50.22 || Num. 5.6; 4Q24 f9i+10–17.20 || Lev. 22.12; 4Q24 f9ii+11ii+18–20i.2 || Lev. 23.3; 4Q25 f5.2 || Lev. 5.12; 4Q26b f1.2 || Lev. 7.20; 4Q26b f1.4 || Lev. 7.21; 4Q27 f3ii+5.7 || Num. 13.18; 4Q29 f1–2i+3.16 || Deut. 30.11; 4Q29 f1–2i+3.17 || Deut. 30.13; 4Q30 f12–15.3 || Deut. 11.10; 4Q31 1.15 || Deut. 2.34; 4Q31 2.12 || Deut. 3.23; 4Q33 f17–19.1 || Deut. 21.4; 4Q35 f1.8 || Deut. 1.9; 4Q37 1.6 || Deut. 5.5; 4Q38 f2.9 || Deut. 11.10; 4Q40 f1–3.5 || Deut. 3.21; 4Q41 2.10 || Deut. 5.5; 4Q134 f1.11 || Deut. 5.5; 4Q138 f1.26 || Deut. 11.10; 8Q4 f1.28 || Deut. 11.10; 11Q1 4.7 || Lev. 25.33; XQ3 1.12 || Deut. 5.5. **3FS אה:** Mas1b 3.21 (addition) || Lev. 10.17; Mas1b 4.9 || Lev. 11.6; 4Q26 f4.16 || Lev. 17.11; 8Q3 f26–29.19 (2x) || Deut. 11.10.

9. THE 2/3FPL ENDINGS

Ancient Hebrew sources exhibit diversity in 2/3FPL morphology, specifically in the endings of 2/3FPL prefix conjugation forms and of FPL imperatives.¹

1.0. The Combined Tiberian Biblical Tradition

In the majority of cases of 2/3FPL prefix conjugation (*way*)*yiqtol* forms and of FPL imperativial forms, the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition agree on a vowel-final ending written and vocalised הַ -. In far fewer cases, they agree on consonant-final endings, such as וֹ - or וֹ -. In the remaining cases, the orthography and vocalisation diverge, resulting in the graphic representation ַ - (Andersen and Forbes 1986, 180; Barr 1989b, 127–31).² See Table 1.

¹ Excluded from this discussion are forms of the infinitive construct with 2/3FPL affirmatives. While these vary between vowel- and consonant-final endings, there are no cases of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition: וֹ :- Gen. 30.38; 2 Sam. 20.3; Ezek. 1.9, 12, 17; 42.12; הַ :- Jer. 8.7; Job 39.2; Ruth 1.19, 19.

² For a succinct discussion of the relevant ancient Hebrew FPL endings in a broader Semitic context, as well as bibliography, see Blau (2010, 203–4, §4.3.3.1.2n).

Table 1: 2/3FPL endings according to the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition (see §5.1 for references)

	הַ-	וֹ-/וֹ-	יַ-
prefix conjugation	295	1	37
imperative	17	2	3

In terms of the prefix conjugation, written-reading divergence resulting in the graphic representation יַ- occurs in 37 of 333 cases. When it comes to the imperative, יַ- occurs in 3 of 22 cases.

The incidence of mismatch between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition is not evenly distributed throughout the biblical text. For the 2/3FPL prefix conjugation, see Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of 2/3FPL prefix conjugation forms in Tiberian BH

	הַ-	וֹ-	יַ-		הַ-	וֹ-	יַ-
Genesis	15	1	12	Obadiah	1	0	0
Exodus	7	0	11	Jonah	0	0	0
Leviticus	10	0	0	Micah	4	0	0
Numbers	11	0	1	Zechariah	9	0	1
Deuteronomy	1	0	2	Malachi	1	0	0
Joshua	3	0	0	Psalms	20	0	0
Judges	5	0	0	Job	12	0	0
Samuel	15	0	3	Proverbs	10	0	0
Kings	8	0	0	Ruth	16	0	0
Isaiah	37	0	0	Song of Songs	1	0	0
Jeremiah	29	0	0	Lamentations	3	0	0
Ezekiel	58	0	7	Esther	2	0	0
Hosea	4	0	0	Daniel	4	0	0
Joel	1	0	0	Nehemiah	1	0	0
Amos	3	0	0	Chronicles	4	0	0
				TOTALS	295	1	37

As can be seen in the table, instances of Tiberian written and reading dissonance reflected in the consonant-vowel combina-

tion ן- congregate appreciably in the Pentateuch, where, indeed, they account for more than a third of the cases (especially in Genesis and Exodus). In Samuel, one-sixth of the 18 cases show ן- , while Ezekiel, with far more 2/3FPL prefix conjugation forms than any other book, has an incidence of just over one in ten.

Turning to FPL imperatival forms, consult Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of FPL imperatival forms in Tiberian BH

	הן-	$\text{ין-}/\text{ין-}$	ן-		הן-	$\text{ין-}/\text{ין-}$	ן-
Genesis	1	1	0	Jeremiah	6	0	0
Exodus	0	1	0	Ruth	4	0	3
Samuel	1	0	0	Song of Songs	2	0	0
Isaiah	3	0	0	TOTALS	17	2	3

Though a dearth of data precludes certainty, a few tentative observations may be ventured. First, the variety of forms in Genesis and Exodus is consistent with what was seen above in conjunction with the prefix conjugation. The lack of any consonant-vowel mismatch may be due to the rarity of the forms. Second, the dominance of vowel-final orthography and realisation throughout the rest of the Bible also tallies with the distribution of the prefix conjugation. The outlier is Ruth, where, similar to the case of Ezekiel noted above with regard to the prefix conjugation, a relatively high concentration is characterised by a degree of diversity.

Focusing on the Torah, the variation does not appear to be a function of putative source. On the basis of the division into sources found in Friedman (1997, 246–55), the principal reconstructed documents, i.e., J, E, and P, are all characterised by the use of both הן- and ן- . Indeed, in four places in the Tiberian tradition, twice in the Pentateuch, a verse contains at least one in-

stance of each alternant: Gen. 30.38; 37.7; 1 Sam. 18.7; Ezek. 16.55. Also, no phonological or prosodic factor governing the preference for one or the other alternants is apparent.

Andersen and Forbes (1986, 180–81) and Barr (1989, 130–31) agree that the difference between $\eta\text{-}$ and $\text{-}\eta$ is not to be regarded as merely orthographic, but as reflecting diverse pronunciations, the one vowel-final and the other consonant-final. If so, then the consonant-vowel combination $\text{-}\eta$ represents mismatch in the combined written-reading tradition. Since orthographic η -cases and $-\eta^{\bar{a}}$ realisations are the norm, it is reasonable to consider the apparent dissonance in cases of $\text{-}\eta$ a result of the secondary extension of the majority realisation that resulted in the levelling of several non-conforming cases, though their orthography was left unchanged. Admittedly, this is not the only logical explanation. It may simply be that the written and reading components differed in this regard from a very early date, each with a slightly different constellation of forms. The choice between these two approaches is informed via examination of non-biblical and non-Tiberian material.

2.0. Beyond the Tiberian Biblical Tradition

2.1. Non-Tiberian Biblical Material

In non-Tiberian biblical material, dedicated FPL morphology is common. Vowel-final endings dominate to the near exclusion of consonant-final forms, which are, however, occasionally attested.

The Samaritan tradition exhibits its own internal diversity. First, parallel to the 26 cases of Tiberian 2/3FPL prefix conjugation forms ending in $\text{-}\eta$, and against the one case with $\eta\text{-}$ (Gen.

49.26), the SP generally has נה-. Two of the exceptions, along with seven other forms, end in הן.³ Thus, according to the Samaritan written tradition, vowel-final forms outnumber consonant-final forms by a margin of 64 to nine (see §5.2.1 for citations; this compares to the ratio of 44 to 27 in the Tiberian written tradition). Vowel-final forms are even more dominant in the Samaritan reading tradition, where the endings are either *-na* or, more commonly, *-inna* (see §5.2.2 for citations).⁴

Samaritan FPL imperatives present written and oral forms consistent with those found in the Tiberian written tradition—ןמען *šē'mān* and האזינה *āzīna* (Gen. 4.23); קראן *qē'rīn* (Exod. 2.20)—i.e., with no mismatch between the two components of the Samaritan tradition (see §§5.1–2).

Turning to material from the Judaeen Desert, and focusing on the 2/3FPL prefix conjugation, BDSS material preserves forms ending in both נה- and ך-, with the former far more common than the latter. Indeed, of the 73 BDSS cases of prefix conjugation forms with a dedicated 2/3FPL ending, just two have ך-, one of which parallels ך- in the MT. Overall, where the BDSS preserve forms parallel to those in the MT, agreement between the two on the 2/3FPL ending is the norm; see Table 4.

³ SP Exod. 1.10 has תקראנו *tīqrānu* against Tiberian תקראנה.

⁴ On SH *-inna* Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 105) explains as follows:

Since the 2nd and 3rd fem. pl. were generally expressed in post-BH by means of 2nd and 3rd masc. pl. forms, the feminine endings may have become somewhat obscure, the doubling of the *nun* resulted in this case from analogy to forms with object suffixes.

Table 4: 2/3FPL prefix conjugation endings in the BDSS and the MT (see §5.3.1 for citations)

	MT הָּ-	MT יָּ-	MT Other
BDSS הָּ-	66	3	2
BDSS יָּ-	1	1	
BDSS Other	2		

The BDSS preserve just five FPL imperatival forms, all orthographic matches for the הָּ- forms in the relevant Tiberian parallels.

Jerome's Latin transcriptions of BH include a single case of a 3FPL *wayyiqtol* form. The Tiberian וַיִּהְיוּ מְנַהֵּגִים 'and they mated' (MT 30.38) is transcribed *iaamena* (Kantor 2020, 118–19).⁵

2.2. Extra-biblical Hebrew Material

In the nature of things, no relevant 2/3FPL forms appear in the fragmentary corpus of Iron Age epigraphy. Later extra-biblical material is characterised by replacement of dedicated verbal 2/3FPL morphology with 2/3CPL < 2/3MPL morphology (Qimron 2018, 159–60). Thus, for example, the Hebrew of BS lacks any dedicated 2/3FPL morphology.⁶ Where the relevant dedicated verbal 2/3FPL morphology is preserved in late extra-biblical Hebrew material, often in citation of the Bible or allusion thereto, it nearly always has vowel-final morphology.

⁵ See Kantor (2020, 118–22) on the omission of any representation of the *waw* at the beginning of the transcription of this *wayyiqtol*.

⁶ See, by way of example, עֵינֵי אֱלֹהִים יִרְאוּ מַעֲשָׂיו 'the eyes of God will see his deeds' (SirA 6r.29 [Sir. 15.19]); וַיִּכְנְוּהוּ בְרַבְבָּהּ [] 'for this reason the young women sang to him among ten thousand' (?; SirB 16v.11 [Sir. 47.6]).

When it comes to non-biblical material from the Judaeen Desert (including that categorised as rewritten Bible), FPL נה- dominates to the total exclusion of ן- . This is true of both the 2/3FPL prefix conjugation and the FPL imperative (see §5.3.2 for citations).

Given the shift in RH from dedicated 2/3FPL morphology to 2/3CPL morphology, the Mishna (as represented by Codex Kaufmann) exhibits very few relevant cases. Of the mere nine, eight come in biblical citations, all with נה- in both sources (see §5.4 for citations). In another case, the (unvocalised) phrase עד שתכהין עיני ‘before his eyes darken’ (m. Pe’*a* 8.9) is part of an interlinear addition. The three FPL forms that end in ן- in m. Ketubbot 4.11 are in Aramaic. The Mishna also includes five FPL imperative forms, all ending with נה- , four of which are direct biblical quotations, with the fifth (m. Nedarim 9.10a) an explicit allusion (see §5.4 for citations).

2.3. Aramaic Material

Though it is of questionable relevance, FPL prefix conjugation morphology in BA, DSSA, TA, and Syriac is consistently consonant-final. The FPL imperative is unattested in BA and DSSA, is consonant-final in Syriac, and varies in TA, e.g., שמע ‘listen!’ (Gen 4.23); קרין ‘call!’ (Exod. 2.20); איזילנא תובנא ‘go, return!’ (Ruth 1.8).

3.0. Diachronic Considerations

Based on the non-Tiberian and extra-biblical data surveyed above, it is reasonable to hypothesise that the diversity seen in

ancient Hebrew sources, especially in the orthography of the Tiberian written tradition in the Pentateuch, is representative of early diversity, whereby FPL morphology in both the prefix conjugation and the imperative was alternatively vowel- or consonant-final. Even the Tiberian reading tradition preserves a degree of diversity in the form of rare consonant-final FPL imperatives, which are, again, limited to the Pentateuch. Be that as it may, it is difficult to ignore the fact that, by and large, the Tiberian pronunciation tradition patterns like Second Temple Hebrew sources when it comes to FPL verbal morphology, standardising the vowel-final alternant reflected in the majority *נה*- spelling, even where the orthography *ן*- most likely reflects an original consonant-final ending.

Whether differentiation between Hebrew and Aramaic FPL morphology played any role in the late standardisation of vowel-final FPL verbal morphology is unclear.

While the Tiberian reading tradition both diverges from the apparently early diversity preserved in the written tradition and shows close affinity to Second Temple sources in its levelling of FPL verbal morphology, it is worth emphasising that the specific form that became the standard is not itself an exclusively late feature, but is already common, if not dominant, in the earliest Hebrew evidence. This scenario is in line with the view that the recitation component of the Tiberian biblical tradition crystallised in the Second Temple Period, extending certain late conventions, but at the same time preserves minority Iron Age features.

4.0. Conclusion

The reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition shows not infrequent dissonance in comparison to the corresponding written component in the case of 2/3FPL verbal endings. In accord with the supposition that the reading component's development was largely complete by the Second Temple Period, it should come as no surprise that it exhibits both affinity with the corresponding written component, via use of a feature well attested therein, and simultaneously diverges therefrom in agreement with Second Temple material in the standardisation of vowel-final 2/3FPL verbal morphology.

5.0. Citations

5.1. Tiberian Biblical Tradition

Prefix conjugation— $\eta\text{̄}$: Gen. 3.7; 24.61, 61; 30.38; 31.14; 37.7; 41.2, 3, 4, 7, 18, 20, 21, 53, 54; Exod. 1.10; 2.16, 16, 16, 18; 8.5, 7; Lev. 4.2, 13, 22, 27; 5.17; 7.30; 10.19; 23.15, 17, 17; Num. 27.1, 2; 35.11, 13, 14, 15; 36.3, 4, 6, 6, 11; Deut. 1.44; Josh 17.4; 21.42; 24.7; Judg. 5.26, 29; 7.11; 11.40; 15.14; 1 Sam 3.11; 4.20; 6.12; 7.14; 9.3, 12, 12; 10.7; 14.27; 18.6, 7; 2 Sam. 1.20, 20; 2.7; 20.3; 1 Kgs 3.16, 16, 22; 10.7; 2 Kgs 2.24, 24; 21.12; 22.20; Isa. 3.16, 16, 16; 5.15; 11.7; 13.7, 16, 18; 16.2; 17.2, 7; 27.11; 28.3; 29.18; 30.21; 32.3, 3, 10; 33.17, 17, 20; 35.5, 5; 41.22; 42.9; 44.7, 26; 47.9; 48.3; 49.15, 22; 54.10; 60.4, 8; 65.17, 17; 66.14; Jer. 4.7; 9.16, 16, 17, 17, 17; 14.17, 17; 18.21; 19.3; 24.2, 3, 8; 29.6, 17; 31.29, 30; 32.4; 33.13; 34.3; 44.6, 25, 25, 25; 48.6, 9; 49.2, 13; 50.20; Ezek. 1.24, 25; 6.6, 6; 7.17, 17, 27; 12.20; 13.11, 18, 18, 19, 19, 19, 23, 23; 16.50, 50, 52, 55; 17.23; 18.2, 24; 21.12; 22.14; 23.3, 4, 4, 40, 48, 49; 26.6, 10; 30.7, 17, 18, 25; 31.5, 5, 12; 32.16, 16; 33.13, 16; 34.5, 5, 5, 8, 14, 14, 19, 19, 22; 35.9, 10; 36.10, 38; 37.3; Hos. 4.13, 13, 14, 14; Joel 4.18; Amos 4.3; 8.13; 9.13; Obad. 1.13; Mic. 2.12; 6.1; 7.10, 16; Zech. 1.17; 4.9; 5.9; 6.7; 8.9, 13; 11.9; 14.2, 12; Mal. 1.5; Ps. 17.2; 31.19; 35.10; 37.15, 17; 45.16, 16; 48.12; 51.10; 65.13; 66.7; 69.24; 71.23; 75.11; 78.64; 81.7; 92.12; 97.8; 119.171; 130.2; Job 5.12, 18; 11.20; 17.5, 16; 20.10; 27.4, 15; 39.2, 3, 3, 3; Prov. 5.3; 6.27, 28; 10.27; 23.16, 26; 24.2; 27.20, 20; 30.15; Ruth 1.7, 9, 9, 10, 11, 13, 13, 14, 14, 19, 19, 20, 21; 4.14, 17, 17; Song 4.11; Lam 2.20; 4.1, 17;

Est. 1.18; 4.4; Dan. 8.8, 22, 22; 12.7; Neh. 12.40; 1 Chron. 7.15; 2 Chron. 9.6, 21; 34.28. **רָצַ:** Gen. 49.26. **רָצַ:** Gen. 19.33, 35, 36; 26.35; 27.1; 30.38, 39; 33.6, 6; 37.7; 41.24, 36; Exod. 1.17, 18, 18, 19; 2.19; 15.20; 25.27; 26.3; 27.2; 28.21, 21; Num. 25.2; Deut. 21.15; 31.21; 1 Sam. 18.7; 25.43; 2 Sam. 13.18; Ezek. 3.20; 7.4, 9; 16.55, 55; 29.12; 34.10; Zech. 13.7. **Imperative—רָצַ:** Gen. 4.23; 2 Sam. 1.24; Isa. 32.9, 9, 9; Jer. 9.19, 19; 49.3, 3, 3, 3; Ruth 1.8, 8, 11, 12; Song 3.11, 11. **רָצַ:** Gen. 4.23; **רָצַ:** Exod. 2.20. **רָצַ:** Ruth 1.9, 12, 20.

5.2. Samaritan Tradition

5.2.1. Samaritan Written Tradition

Prefix conjugation—רָצַ: Gen. 3.7; 19.33, 35, 36; 24.61, 61; 26.35; 27.1; 30.38, 39*, 39; 31.14; 33.6; 37.7, 7; 41.2, 3, 4, 7, 18, 20, 24, 36, 53, 54; 49.26; Exod. 1.17, 17, 18, 19; 2.16, 16, 16, 18, 19; 8.5, 7; 15.20; 25.27; 26.3, 3*; 27.2; 28.21, 21; Lev. 7.30; 10.19; 23.15, 17, 17; Num. 14.45; 25.2; 27.1, 2; 35.11, 13, 14, 15; 36.3, 4, 6, 6, 11; Deut. 21.15; 31.21. **רָצַ:** Gen. 30.38; 33.6; 41.21; Lev. 4.2, 13, 22, 27; 5.17; Deut. 1.44. **Imperative—רָצַ:** Gen. 4.23; Exod. 2.20; **רָצַ:** Gen. 4.23.

5.2.2. Samaritan Reading Tradition

Prefix conjugation—na: Gen. 3.7; Num. 25.2; Deut. 31.21. **-inna:** Gen. 19.33, 35, 36; 24.61, 61; 26.35; 27.1; 30.38, 38, 39*, 39; 31.14; 33.6, 6; 37.7, 7; 41.2, 3, 4, 7, 18, 20, 21, 24, 36, 53, 54; 49.26; Exod. 1.17, 17, 18, 19; 2.16, 16, 16, 18, 19; 8.5, 7; 15.20; 25.27; 26.3, 3*; 27.2; 28.21, 21; Lev. 4.2, 13, 22, 27; 5.17; 7.30; 10.19; 23.15, 17, 17; Num. 14.45; 27.1, 2; 35.11, 13, 14, 15; 36.3, 4, 6, 6, 11; Deut. 1.44; 21.15. **Imperative—ān:** Gen. 4.23; **-na:** Gen. 4.23; **-in:** Exod. 2.20

5.3. Dead Sea Scrolls

5.3.1. Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Prefix conjugation—DSS רָצַ: || MT רָצַ: 1QIsa^a 3.22 || MT Isa. 3.16; 1QIsa^a 3.23 || MT Isa. 3.16; 1QIsa^a 3.24 || MT Isa. 3.16; 1QIsa^a 5.2 || MT Isa. 5.15; 1QIsa^a 10.25 || MT Isa. 11.7; 1QIsa^a 11.16 || MT Isa. 13.7; 1QIsa^a 11.24 || MT Isa. 13.16; 1QIsa^a 11.26 || MT Isa. 13.18; 1QIsa^a 13.18 || MT Isa. 16.2; 1QIsa^a 14.4 || MT Isa. 17.2; 1QIsa^a 14.12 || MT Isa. 17.7; 1QIsa^a 20.17 || MT Isa. 26.6; 1QIsa^a 21.22 || MT Isa. 27.11; 1QIsa^a 22.1 || MT Isa. 28.3; 1QIsa^a 23.29 || MT Isa. 29.18; 1QIsa^a 25.2 || MT Isa. 30.21; 1QIsa^a 26.11 || MT Isa. 32.3; 1QIsa^a 26.12 || MT Isa. 32.3; 1QIsa^a 26.20 || MT Isa. 32.10; 1QIsa^a 27.19b || MT Isa.

33.17b; 1QIsa^a 27.23 || MT Isa. 33.20; 1QIsa^a 28.21 || MT Isa. 35.5; 1QIsa^a 28.22 || MT Isa. 35.5; 1QIsa^a 35.19 || MT Isa. 42.9; 1QIsa^a 37.13 || MT Isa. 44.7; 1QIsa^a 38.4 || MT Isa. 44.26; 1QIsa^a 39.28 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1QIsa^a 40.9 || MT Isa. 48.3; 1QIsa^a 41.15 || MT Isa. 49.15; 1QIsa^a 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.22; 1QIsa^a 45.8 || MT Isa. 54.10; 1QIsa^a 49.8 || MT Isa. 60.4; 1QIsa^a 49.11 || MT Isa. 60.8; 1QIsa^a 52.27 (2x) || MT Isa. 65.17 (2x); 1QIsa^a 54.1 || MT Isa. 66.14; 1Q8 5b.9 || MT Isa. 13.7; 1Q8 6c–d.9 || MT Isa. 16.2; 1Q8 14.2 || MT Isa. 35.5; 1Q8 19.8 || MT Isa. 44.26; 1 Q8 20.22 || MT Isa. 47.9; תנשינה 1Q8 26.7 || MT Isa. 60.4; 1Q8 26.12 || MT Isa. 60.8; 1Q8 28.1 || MT Isa. 65.17; 1Q8 28.24 || MT Isa. 66.14; 4Q3 f1ii.8 || MT Gen. 41.2; 4Q3 f1ii.10 || MT Gen. 41.4; 4Q5 f4i–5.10 || MT Gen. 41.3; 4Q25 f2.5 || MT Lev. 4.2; 4Q51 9e–i.7 || MT 1 Sam. 10.7; 4Q55 f8.7 || Isa. 13.7; 4Q57 f6.4 || MT Isa. 11.7; 4Q57 f44–47.1 || MT Isa. 54.10; 4Q58 3.2 || MT Isa. 47.9; 4Q58 4.24 || MT Isa. 49.15; 4Q70 f29.8 || MT Jer. 18.21; 4Q78 f18–20.12 || MT Joel 4.18; 4Q94 f5–6.3 || MT Ps. 97.8; 11Q5 14.1 || MT Ps. 119.171; 4Q104 f1.12 || MT Ruth 1.9; 4Q107 f2ii.13 || MT Song 4.11; Mur88 8.3 || MT Amos 8.13; Mur 88 8.32 || MT Amos 9.13; Mur88 9.21 || MT Obad. 13; Mur88 12.32 || MT Mic. 2.12; Mur88 15.29 || MT Mic. 7.10; Mur88 15.38 || MT Mic. 7.16. **DSS** נגה- || **MT** נ-: 4Q13 f2.5 || MT Exod. 1.19; 4Q14 6.43 || MT Exod. 15.20; 4Q22 28.6 || MT Exod. 25.27. **DSS** נ- || **MT** נ-: 4Q13 f2.3 || MT Exod. 1.17. **DSS** נ- || **MT** נגה-: 4Q3 f1ii.13 || נגה- MT Gen 41.7. **DSS** נגה- || **MT Other**: תשפלנה 1QIsa^a 2.19 || שפל MT Isa. 2.11; תנשינה 1QIsa^a 53.28 || תנשינו MT Isa. 66.12. **DSS Other** || **MT** נגה-: תחיונה 1QIsa^a 27.19a || תחיונה MT Isa. 33.17a; תקראון 1QIsa^a 34.28 || תקרניה MT Isa. 41.22. **Imperative**— **DSS** נגה- || **MT** נגה-: 1QIsa^a 26.19 (3x) || MT Isa. 32.9 (3x); 4Q104 f1.10 (2x) || MT Ruth 1.8 (2x).

5.3.2. Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Prefix conjugation: CD 19.8; 1QM 8.1; 1QH^a 15.14; 4Q171 f1–2ii.16 || MT Ps. 37.15; 4Q176 f8–11.12 || MT Isa. 54.10; 4Q268 f1.1; 4Q364 f8ii.2 || MT Gen. 37.8; 4Q365 f6b.6 || MT Exod. 15.21; 4Q378 f3ii + 4.11; 4Q433a f2.4, 4; 4Q437 f2i.3 || MT Ps. 37.15; 4Q481 f2.2; 11Q19 21.13. **Imperative**: 1QM 12.13, 15, 15, 15; 19.5, 7, 7, 7; 4Q365 f6aⁱⁱ + 6c.6; 4Q492 f1.7, 7.

5.4. Mishna

Prefix conjugation: Nedarim 3.11 (2x) || MT 1 Sam. 1.20 (2x); Soṭa 1.6 || MT Ezek. 23.48; Soṭa 9.9 (2x) || MT Hos. 4.14 (2x); ‘Ara^ot 1.22 (2x) || MT Num. 35.14 (2x); Makkot 2.4 || MT Num. 35.13. **Imperative**: Ta‘anit 4.8 (2x) || MT Song 3.11 (2x); Mo‘ed Qaṭan 3.9 || MT Jer. 9.19; Nedarim 9.10 (2x) || 2 Sam. 1.24.

10. NIFALISATION

A well-known example of ancient Hebrew historical development involves the realignment of verbal stems. Over time, many G-stem (*qal*) verbs were replaced by synonymous cognates in other stems (*binyanim*). The present chapter focuses specifically on the shift from G- to N-stem (*nif^cal*). This process, which is here termed *nifalisation*, was neither wholesale nor haphazard. Rather, it was limited chiefly to originally *qal* verbs with stative, medio-passive, reflexive, or more broadly intransitive semantics, including *qal* internal passive forms. The process often resulted in suppletive paradigms, sometimes with only vestigial *qal* representation.

The phenomenon of nifalisation is especially characteristic of Second Temple chronolects—such as LBH, DSS Hebrew, SH, the Hebrew of BS, and RH—though the extent and specific manifestations in each varies. Since a large portion of the Tiberian biblical reading tradition’s crystallisation took place in the Second Temple Period, it is not surprising that nifalisation is also detectable in the Tiberian vocalisation of classical biblical material, specifically in deviations of the Tiberian reading tradition from the consonantal text. Even so, it must be emphasised that Tiberian vocalisation also preserves evidence of resistance to nifalisation and that shifts from *qal* to *nif^cal* are not exclusively late, but extend back into presumably early Tiberian consonantal biblical material.

1.0. Second Temple Evidence

1.1. Tiberian Late Biblical Hebrew

The shift away from medio-passive *qal* and *qal* internal passive is seen in developments that characterise Tiberian LBH as contrasted with Tiberian CBH.

1.1.1. כש"ל 'stumble'

Consider the example of apparent suppletion involving *qal* כָּשַׁל and *nif'al* יָכַשַׁל 'stumble'. On the surface, BH seems to exhibit an indiscriminate mixture of *qal* and *nif'al*, e.g.,

- (1) וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶפְרַיִם יִכָּשְׁלוּ בְּעוֹנָם כָּשַׁל גַּם־יְהוּדָה עִמָּם:
‘...Israel and Ephraim **stumble** in their guilt; Judah **has** also **stumbled** with them.’ (Hos. 5.5)
- (2) בְּעֵת־פְּקֻדָּתֵימִי יִכָּשְׁלוּ אָמַר יְהוָה: ...לִכְן בָּה אָמַר יְהוָה הַנְּגִי נִתְּן אֶל־הַעַם
הַזֶּה מִכְשָׁלִים וְכָשְׁלוּ בָם...
“...at the time that I punish them, **they will stumble**,” says the LORD. ...“Behold, I will lay before this people stumbling blocks **and they will stumble** against them...” (Jer. 6.15, 21)

Upon closer inspection, however, a situation of suppletion emerges in CBH. Forms are vocalised as *nif'al* unless the consonantal spelling is not amenable, in which case *qal* forms are preserved. It is only in LBH that the written tradition ‘catches up with’ the vocalisation and one encounters a comparative proliferation of consonantally unambiguous *nif'al* forms, e.g., וְנִכְשְׁלוּ ‘and they will fail’ (Dan. 11.14; see also Dan. 11.19, 33) and וּבְהִכָּשְׁלָם ‘and when they stumble’ (Dan. 11.34). This trend continues in QH and RH (see below, §2.1.1; see further Khan 2020, I:58).

1.1.2. *Qal* Internal Passive > *Nif^cal*

Another LBH manifestation of nifalisation is replacement of *qal* internal passive with *nif^cal*.¹ A useful example involves forms of the *qal* internal passive לָּבַד ‘be born’. These appear throughout the Bible—Torah, Prophets, Writings²—but are rare in LBH (where the sole case, in 1 Chron. 1.19, was likely imported from Gen. 10.25). Conversely, consonantly unambiguous *nif^cal* alter-

¹ A succinct account of the disappearance of the *qal* internal passive is given by Fassberg (2001, 254):

One finds in the literature two related explanations for the disappearance of the *Qal* internal passive. The first is phonetic: at a certain stage, Hebrew phonology no longer tolerated a short vowel (in this case *u* in **qutal*) in an open pretonic syllable. The *u*-vowel, which was the marker of the passive, could be maintained only in a closed syllable; the closing of the syllable was accomplished by secondarily geminating the following consonant. The resulting form with geminated second radical became identical to the *Pu^cal* and hereafter was interpreted as *Pu^cal*. In the case of the imperfect, forms like לָּבַד and לָּבַד were reanalyzed as *Hof^cal* forms with regressive assimilation of the first radical: **yuntan* > *yuttan* and **yulqah* > **yuqqah*.

The second reason is morpho-semantic: *Nif^cal*, which may have been originally reflexive in Hebrew, began to take on a passive meaning as well, thus rendering the *Qal* internal passive redundant.

See Fassberg (2001, 254) for bibliographical references.

² Gen. 4.26; 6.1; 10.21, 25; 24.15; 35.26; 36.5; 41.50; 46.22, 27; 50.23; Judg. 18.29; 2 Sam. 3.5; 21.20, 22; Isa. 9.5; Jer. 20.14–15; 22.26; Ps. 87.4–6; 90.2; Job. 5.7; Ruth 4.17; 1 Chron. 1.19.

natives, like *qatal* נולד and infinitival הולד, preponderate conspicuously in LBH.³ Consider the parallels:

(3a) אלה ילדי לוד בְּחֶבְרוֹן:

‘**These were born** to David in Hebron’ (2 Sam. 3.5)

(3b) ששה נולד-לו בְּחֶבְרוֹן...

‘**Six were born** to him in Hebron’ (1 Chron. 3.4)

and

(4a) וגם-הוא ילד להרפה:

And he, too, **was born** to the Rapha (2 Sam. 21.20)

(4b) וגם-הוא נולד להרפא:

And he, too, **was born** to the Rapha (1 Chron. 20.6)

Likewise, while unambiguous spellings of both *qal* internal passive יתן and *nif^cal* ינתן ‘will be given (3MS)’ come in CBH texts, LBH texts have only *nif^cal* forms, the *qal* internal passive forms having fallen away. Indeed, more generally in the late corpus consisting of Qohelet, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, Hughes (1994, 76, fn. 20) counts just four cases of the *qal* internal passive, יקשיב ‘are snared’ (Qoh. 9.12), אכלו ‘have been consumed’ (Neh. 2.3, 13), and the aforementioned inherited ילד ‘were born’ (1 Chron. 1.19 || Gen. 10.25). See further Reymond (2016, 1138); Qimron (2018, 221).

³ Beyond the infinitival forms in Gen. 21.5 and Hos. 2.5, occurrences of finite and infinitive forms are limited to LBH: Qoh. 4.14; 7.1; 1 Chron. 2.3, 9; 3.1, 4; 20.6; 26.6. Not unrelated are the *nuf^cal* forms parallel to more classical alternatives in 1 Chron. 3.5 || 2 Sam. 5.14 and 1 Chron. 20.8 || 2 Sam. 21.22.

1.2. Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew

1.2.1. Late Nifalisation

DSS Hebrew shows continuity of the LBH features listed above, most notably, consonantly unambiguous forms, such as נכשלו 'stumbled (3MP)' (CD 2.17; 4Q266 f2ii.17) and נולדה 'she was born' (4Q215 f13.4; see also 11Q19 40.6). It also furnishes the earliest unequivocal consonantal evidence of the *nif^cal* morphology for the Tiberian suppletive verb יגש-גש 'approach', in the form בהגשו 'when he approaches' (4Q512 f40–41.2) (see below, §§1.3.6; 2.1.2).

1.2.2. *Qal* Internal Passive > *Nif^cal*

Additionally, *nif^cal* יתן 'will be given (3MS)' is employed to the exclusion of *qal* internal passive יתן. Indeed, the NBDSS present no clear-cut cases of the *qal* internal passive.⁴ Reymond (2016, 1139–40) lists many DSS Hebrew alternatives for MT *qal* internal passive forms. Qimron (2018, 222) observes that DSS Hebrew develops a *nif^cal* *נשלם 'be fulfilled, completed' (infinitival forms at 1QS 10.6; 4Q256 19.5; 4Q270 f3ii.21; 4Q385 f11i.3) corresponding to MT stative *qal* *שלם.

⁴ According to the tagging in Abegg's (1999–2009) QUMRAN Accordance module, תוגע (4Q417 f1i.23) is *qal* internal passive, but Qimron (2020, II:148) reads the form as תיגע 'do (not) touch'.

1.3. Samaritan Hebrew⁵

As a biblical tradition characterised by pervasive Second Temple linguistic evolution, it is no surprise that SH also documents the shift in question. Indeed, though transmitting a literary tradition likely rooted in the Iron Age, SH presents a relatively advanced stage of nifalisation compared to other ancient Hebrew traditions. Yet, the Samaritan picture is complicated by several factors. First, like the Tiberian biblical tradition, the linguistic testimony of the SP is composite. It comprises related, but partially independent written and reading components. Crucially, as regards both nifalisation and other linguistic developments, the two components of the tradition present historically distinct stages. Second, while SH both confirms and exceeds the nifalisation seen in several other Second Temple Hebrew traditions, it also evinces *qal* forms reminiscent of pre-Tiberian Hebrew.

Brushing aside cases of local divergence in which SH *nif^cal* forms differ from Tiberian *qal* counterparts due to textual and/or interpretive factors not representative of broader trends, more pervasive Samaritan nifalisation manifests in several ways.

1.3.1. Comprehensive Nifalisation

First, there are Tiberian *qal* verbs with forms amenable to *nif^cal* recasting that are consistently read as *nif^cal* in SH. These are the broadly stative, reflexive, intransitive, and weakly transitive verbs in the following list.

⁵ For a study focused on nifalisation in the Samaritan biblical tradition, see Hornkohl (2022).

דָּבַק 'cling', דָּגָה 'multiply', חָגַר 'gird', חָזַק 'be/become strong', כָּבַד 'be/become heavy', כָּבָה 'go out, be extinguished (of fire)', *מָעַט 'be small', סָחַר 'travel about, engage in trade', *סָרַח 'hang over (of a covering)', *עָבַט 'give/take collateral (for a loan)', צָנַף 'wrap one's head (with a turban)', קָצַר 'be/become short', רָעַב 'be hungry', שָׁכַח 'forget', שָׁכַר 'become drunk', שָׁקַע 'die down, be extinguished (of fire)'

Many such verbs are rarely attested, but a few of the more frequent have conspicuously suppletive paradigms in SH. These include the parallels to Tiberian חָזַק 'be/become strong', סָחַר 'traffic, travel about, engage in trade', and שָׁכַח 'forget'. Forms amenable to reinterpretation—especially in the prefix conjugation—are realised as *nif^{al}*, whereas other forms—in the suffix conjugation, participles, imperatives, infinitives—remain *qal*. In these cases, no perceptible semantic shift accompanies the morphological shift. Such realignments often tally with late Aramaic use of Dt-stem forms, as seen in the Targums and/or Syriac.

חז"ק

Consider the suppletive relationship of SH G-stem חזק $\bar{a}z\bar{a}q$ (5) and N-stem ויחזק $wiy\bar{y}\bar{a}z\bar{a}q$ (6), which occur in successive verses:

- (5) וכל הארצות באו מצרימה לשבר אל יוסף כי חזק (MT || $\bar{a}z\bar{a}q$ חזק) הרעב בכל הארץ:
 ‘And all the nations came to Egypt to buy food from Joseph, because the famine **was severe** in all the land.’ (Gen. 41.57; see also Gen. 47.20; Exod. 19.19; Deut. 12.23; 31.6, 7, 23)
- (6) והרעב היה על פני כל הארץ ויפתח יוסף את כל אשר בהם בר וישביר למצרים ויחזק (MT || $wiyy\bar{a}z\bar{a}q$ ויחזק) הרעב בארץ מצרים:
 ‘And the famine had spread over all the land and Joseph opened everything in which there was grain and he sold to Egypt and the famine **was severe** in the land of Egypt.’ (Gen. 41.56; see also Exod. 7.13, 22; 8.15; 9.35; 12.33; Deut. 11.8)

1.3.2. Partial Formal Nifalisation

In the case of the verb מאן ‘refuse’, SH presents a suppletive paradigm composed of *nif'al* prefix conjugation and *pi'el B* suffix conjugation, participle, and infinitive (see below, ch. 12, §2.1).

1.3.3. Partial Nifalisation for Grammatical/Semantic Disambiguation

In other cases where the Tiberian tradition makes do with *qal* forms with varying valency and/or semantics, SH seems to exploit nifalisation for purposes of grammatical and/or semantic disambiguation. Consider the case of the SH counterpart to Tiberian דבק ‘cling’ in examples (7)–(9) (see Hornkohl 2021a, 6–7).

- (7) (על כן יעזוב איש את אביו ואת אמו וירבֿק MT || *wḏābāq*)
 באשתו והיה משניהם לבשר אחד:
 ‘Therefore a man will leave his father and his mother **and cling** to his wife and it will become from them one flesh.’
 (Gen. 2.24; Deut. 28.60/61⁶)
- (8) (וירבֿק MT || *wṯiddābāq*) נפשו בדינה בת יעקב ויאהב את
 הנערה וידבר אל לב הנערה:
 ‘And his soul **was drawn** to Dina the daughter of Jacob and he loved the girl and he spoke tenderly to her.’ (Gen. 34.2;
 see also Num. 36.7, 9; Deut. 10.20; 11.22; 13.5, 18)

The passages cited in examples (7) and (8) represent suppletion similar to that discussed above: morphologically ambiguous *yiqṭol* forms originally in *qal* could be recast as *nif^{al}*, while *qaṭal* forms preserve *qal* morphology, because their orthography leaves no room for *nif^{al}* analysis.

- (9) (לאהבה את יהוה אלהיך לשמע בקולו ולרֿבֿקה MT || *wlēddābēqa*)
 ולרֿבֿקה) בו...
 ‘loving the LORD your God, obeying his voice **and holding fast** to him,...’ (Deut. 30.20a)

Example (9) demonstrates that nifalisation could affect even forms ill-suited to *nif^{al}* analysis, such as the infinitive ולדבקה *wlēddābēqa*, whose original *qal* form is preserved in MT ולרֿבֿקה.

⁶ The distinction in number between the verb form in the two traditions entails different subject referents. The SP’s singular verb refers across the verse boundary to the singular subject כל חלי ‘every illness’ in the previous verse.

- (10) הנה נא מצא עבדך חן בעיניך ותגדל חסדך אשר עשית עמדי לחיות את נפשי ואנכי לא אוכל להמלט ההרה פן תִּדְבַּקֵנִי (MT || *tidbāqinni*)
 תִּדְבַּקֵנִי) הרעה ומתי:
 ‘Behold, your servant has found favour in your sight, and you have shown me great kindness in saving my life. But I cannot escape to the hills, lest the disaster **overtake me** and I die.’ (Gen. 19.19)

Finally, example (10) testifies to the fact that the shift from G- to N-stem in the case of this verb is not one of mere formal supplementation, but was also evidently exploited for morphosemantic disambiguation. Here, the sole prefix conjugation form of דבק that retains *qal* morphology is strongly transitive (taking an object suffix) and semantically dynamic (‘to overtake’ rather than just ‘cling to’). The rest of the SH prefix conjugation forms of this verb, i.e., those mentioned in (8) and (9), all take objects with *-b-* and have stative semantics.

Similar morphosemantic disambiguation obtains in the cases of the SH equivalents of Tiberian *qal* עָבַט ‘take collateral/lend, give collateral/borrow’, כָּבַד ‘be/become heavy’, חָגַר ‘gird’, and קָצַר ‘be/become short’ (see Hornkohl 2021, 5–6).

1.3.4. Nifalisation Resulting in *Nif^{al} B*

Alongside its standard *nif^{al}*, SH has a second N-stem (Ben-Hayyim 2000, 117–18). The so-called *nif^{al} B* is a hybrid that incorporates components of the N- and Dt-stems. It has both *nif^{al}* orthography and the middle radical gemination characteristic of *hitpa^{al}*, thus partially resembling RH *nitpa^{al}* (see below, §1.5). The resemblance is not total, because crucial to the reinterpretation of *qal* forms as *nif^{al} B* was the routine assimilation of the *-t-*

infix in some Second Temple Aramaic and Hebrew dialects, such as SA, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, and RH, according to which *hitpa*^{‘el/nitpa}^{‘el} > *hippa*^{‘el/nippa}^{‘el} (Ben-Hayyim 2000, 117–18; Bar-Asher 2016, 209–10). An original *qal* form was not amenable to reinterpretation as a *hitpa*^{‘el/nitpa}^{‘el} due to the mismatch involving the absence or presence of infix *-t-*. Conversely, the *nif*^{‘al} *B* realisation of original *qal* forms faced no such obstacle, as the *-t-* infix had assimilated, resulting in a form with geminated first and second radicals. Originally *qal* prefix forms and the like could easily be pronounced as *Nif*^{‘al} *B* forms.

The Tiberian counterparts of these SH *nif*^{‘al} *B* forms consistently show *qal* morphology, whereas in SH their paradigms are suppletive: *qal* is read where necessary, *nif*^{‘al} *B* where possible. Again, the Targums also sometimes resort to dedicated middle Dt morphology. Relevant Tiberian verbs with Samaritan *nif*^{‘al} *B* parallels include *qal* גָּבַר ‘prevail’ and קָשָׁה ‘be hard, severe’, and both *qal* בָּלָה ‘finish (intr.)’ and *pu*^{‘al} בָּלָה ‘be finished’, in which all prefix conjugation forms were levelled to *nif*^{‘al} *B* (Hornkohl 2022, 7–9). Consider the Samaritan equivalents to *qal* suffix conjugation גָּבְרוּ and prefix conjugation וַיִּגְבְּרוּ in examples (11) and (12).

(11) חמש עשרה אמה מלמעלה גָּבְרוּ (MT || *gēbēru*) גָּבְרוּ (המים ויכסו) ההרים:

‘The waters **prevailed** above the mountains, covering them fifteen cubits deep.’ (Gen. 7.20; see also Gen. 7.19; 49.26)

(12) וַיִּגְבְּרוּ (MT || *wyiggābbāru*) וַיִּגְבְּרוּ (המים על הארץ חמשים ומאת) יום:

‘**And** the waters **prevailed** on the earth 150 days.’ (Gen. 7.24; see also Gen. 7.18)

In contrast to the G-stem paradigmatic consistency in the Tiberian tradition, the SH verb has a suppletive paradigm. *Nif^{al}* is read where possible, *qal* where consonantal form precludes *nif^{al}* analysis. TO resorts to dedicated medio-passive Dt-stem verbs in select cases, e.g., MT וְגִבְרֵי (Gen. 49.26) || TO ויתוספן; MT וְגִבְרֵי ... וְגִבְרֵי (Exod. 17.11) || TO מתגברין ... מתגברין.

1.3.5. *Qal* Internal Passive > *Nif^{al}*

A phenomenon partially related to nifalisation is the well-known replacement of the *qal* internal passive with alternatives, a process more pronounced in SH than in Tiberian Hebrew. Tiberian *qal* passive וְגִבְרֵי is twice paralleled by orthographic *nif^{al}* alternatives, not just in the reading component of the Samaritan tradition, but in the written component, as well (Gen. 40.15; Exod. 22.6).⁷ Nifalisation, however, is not the usual SH alternative to Tiberian *qal* internal passive. Among the more common strategies are the *qal* passive participle (parallel to Tiberian *pa^{ul}*), the 3MPL *qal* impersonal, and active interpretation.

1.3.6. Conditioned *Qal* Preservations

Despite the comparatively advanced stage of nifalisation it displays, SH also exhibits conditioned, and possibly secondary, *qal* forms parallel to Tiberian *nif^{al}* forms. These are suggestive of pre-Tiberian Hebrew. For example, the Tiberian verb וְגִבְרֵי is fa-

⁷ Interestingly, while the Samaritan written tradition has apparently *nif^{al}* וְגִבְרֵי (Gen. 40.15) and וְגִבְרֵי (Exod. 22.6) against the Tiberian *qal* internal passives וְגִבְרֵי and וְגִבְרֵי, respectively, the Samaritan reading tradition differentiates between *nif^{al}* *niggānābtī* and *nif^{al}* *B wniḡḡānāb*.

mously suppletive: *nif^{al}* wherever the consonantal text allows, i.e., suffix conjugation (שגג) and participle (םשגג); *qal* where consonantal form precluded *nif^{al}* recasting, i.e., prefix conjugation (שגג), infinitive construct (תשגג), imperative (שגג/-שגג) (see below, §2.1.2). For its part, the Samaritan verb is uniformly *qal*, including suffix conjugation (*nāgāš*) and participle (*nēgāš*).

On the one hand, a unified שגג*–שגג *qal* paradigm, as in SH, is precisely what has been hypothesised for pre-Tiberian Hebrew. On the other, it must be emphasised that the apparent Samaritan preservation of *qal* is conditioned, since Samaritan I-*n* consonantal forms are not amenable to *nif^{al}* phonology. This is true not just of the prefix conjugation, where—as in Tiberian Hebrew—only those I-*n* forms that preserve a first radical *nun* are eligible for *nif^{al}* realisation, but also of the suffix conjugation and certain forms of the participle.⁸ This is because—unlike in Tiberian Hebrew—1st-radical gemination applies throughout the Samaritan *nif^{al}* paradigm, which would yield such forms as prefix conjugation **yinnāgāš*, suffix conjugation **ninnāgāš*, and verbal participle **ninnāgāš*, none of which suit their respective consonantal spellings, i.e., שגג, שגג, and שגג.⁹

⁸ In SH this secondary gemination applies only to participles with verbal semantics; participles with nominal semantics preserve the inherited morphology without gemination (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 193).

⁹ Other weak roots for which SH regularly has *qal* against Tiberian *nif^{al}* include נמ"ל/מו"ל 'circumcise'; נפ"ק/פו"ק 'scatter'; נס"ב/סב"ב 'surround'; נב"ד/בו"ד 'be confused'; נמ"ג/מו"ג 'melt'; נמ"ס/מס"ס 'melt'; נמ"ק/מק"ק 'rot'; נח"ת/חת"ת 'be dismayed'.

1.4. Ben Sira

Despite unmistakable indications of the late linguistic milieu that it represents, the language of BS is remarkably classical. In terms of the phenomenon of nifalisation here under discussion, however, BS shows unmistakable affinities with other late Hebrew corpora.

1.4.1. *Qal* > *Nif^{al}* in the Case of Medio-passive Semantics

First, several Tiberian medio-passive *qal* verbs find *nif^{al}* alternatives in BS. These include נדבק ‘cling’ (SirB 3v.14) (Dihi 2004, 162–65), נדעך ‘go out (of fire), be extinguished, uprooted’ (Mas1h 2.5; SirB 10r.7), and נחכם ‘be wise’ (SirB 7v.13; SirC 4v.3; SirD 1v.9; SirD 1v.10) (Dihi 2004, 162–65), though BS’s classical penchant is displayed in the continued use of *qal* דבק and חכם.¹⁰

1.4.2. *Qal* Internal Passive > *Nif^{al}*

Second, despite the classical mien of BS’s Hebrew, the corpus attests to only highly equivocal cases of potential *qal* internal passive forms (Reymond 2016, 1142–50). Moreover, some of the more common BH *qal* internal passive forms go unused in BS in favour of *nif^{al}* alternatives, such as נלקח ‘was taken (MS)’ (SirB 13v.18; 17v.13; 19r.4) and ינתן ‘will be given (MS)’ (SirA 6r.28 || SirB 2v.1 [margin]; SirC 6r.3).

¹⁰ In Tiberian BH the verbs in question are almost exclusively *qal*, the lone exception being נדעכו ‘they dry up, disappear’ (Job 6.17).

1.5. Rabbinic Hebrew

RH is well known for several processes subsumed in this study under the heading nifalisation.

1.5.1. *Qal* > *Nif'al* in the Case of Stative and Medio-passive Semantics

It has already been mentioned that RH joins LBH and DSS Hebrew in the attestation of consonantly unambiguous *nif'al* infinitive וַבְּהִכָּשְׁלוֹ 'and when he stumbles' (m. ³Avot 4.19), matching the *nif'al* vocalisation of MT וַבְּכַשְׁלוֹ (Prov. 24.17), in opposition to its *qal* consonantal orthography.¹¹ Additional cases of RH *nif'al* || MT *qal* include אבד 'be/become lost, die', ארך 'be/become long', and חסר 'lack' (Bendavid 1967–1971, II:483).

1.5.2. *Qal* > *Nitpa'al*

Especially typical of RH is replacement of medio-passive *qal* with *nitpa'al* (often in conjunction with movement of active *qal* > *pi'el*; see below, ch. 12, §1.5). This is evident in such verbs as נתחמק 'become leavened' (m. ³Ṭevul Yom 3.4), נתמלא 'become full' (e.g., m. Yoma 5.1 || MT Isa. 6.4), נתרחק 'be distant, avoid' (m. Sanhedrin 3.4; m. ³Avot 2.9), and נשתתק 'be mute' (m. Giṭṭin 7.1). These contrast with the Tiberian consonantal tradition, which

¹¹ It is worth noting that such authentic nifalisations in reliable Mishna manuscripts are often, due to a biblicising tendency, replaced in printed editions with *qal* forms. For example, the Eshkol (2000) version of the Mishna reads וַבְּכַשְׁלוֹ in m. ³Avot 4.19 in agreement with MT Prov. 24.17 and against Kaufmann's וַבְּהִכָּשְׁלוֹ. I am grateful to Geoffrey Khan for reminding me of this matter.

prefers *qal* forms for the relevant semantic values. Turning to the *qal* internal passive—aside from biblical allusions, it is generally absent from RH (Sharvit 2004, 45; Reymond 2016, 1141, fn. 37).¹²

2.0. The Tiberian Reading Tradition of Classical Biblical Hebrew Texts

Since the Tiberian reading tradition crystallised in the Second Temple Period, it is not surprising that nifalisation is also detectable in the oral realisation (vocalisation) of classical, i.e., ostensibly First Temple biblical material, specifically in secondary deviations in the Tiberian pronunciation tradition from the pronunciation implied by the written tradition.

2.1. Partial Nifalisation of Intransitive Verbs

2.1.1. כש"ל 'stumble'

A clear case involves the aforementioned shift of *qal* כַּשַׁל > *nif'al* נִכְשַׁל 'stumble' (§§1.1.1; 1.2.1). As noted above, consonantly unambiguous *nif'al* forms, especially in the suffix conjugation, have a conspicuously late distribution. Yet, *nif'al* vocalisation is not restricted to LBH, but is routine in CBH, too. This is because, unlike their suffix conjugation counterparts, the ambiguous conso-

¹² Biblical allusions include the phrase וְכִי יִתּוּן (מַיִם) 'but if water is put' (Lev. 11.38) in m. Makhshirin (e.g., 1.1, 2 [4x], 3, etc.) and תִּנּוֹר וְכִירִים יִתּוּן 'and oven or stove will be smashed' (Lev. 11.35) in m. 'Avoda Zara 3.9. Beyond such allusions, the sole possible case in MS Kaufmann is הַיּוֹלֵד (m. Bekhorot 1.2), but the reading is doubtful (see *Ma'agarim* s.v.).

nantal prefix conjugation form, initially *qal*—יִכְשֵׁל* or יִכְשֵׁל*—was amenable to reanalysis as *nif^{al}*—יִכְשֵׁל—in line with Second Temple linguistic trends, as manifested in the LBH written tradition, DSS Hebrew, and RH. It is noteworthy that the *nif^{al}* reanalysis extended even to consonantal forms ill-suited to reanalysis, e.g., the infinitive construct וּבְכַשְׁלוֹ ‘and when he stumbles’ (Prov. 24.17), which, despite lacking the consonantal *heh* characteristic of a *nif^{al}* infinitive construct, is vocalised as *nif^{al}* וּבְכַשְׁלוֹ rather than *qal* וּבְכַשְׁלוֹ*. The *nif^{al}* morphology matches not just the aforementioned LBH consonantal *nif^{al}* forms, including infinitival וּבְהִכְשֵׁלֶם (Dan. 11.34), but also DSS Hebrew נִכְשֵׁל (CD 2.17; 4Q266 f2ii.17), and—pointedly—RH וּבְהִכְשֵׁלוֹ (m. ³Avot 4.19), which is a citation of MT וּבְכַשְׁלוֹ ‘and when he stumbles’ (Prov. 24.17), with orthography updated to match *nif^{al}* pronunciation.

2.1.2. נג"ש ‘approach’

Likewise, the aforementioned suppletion between *qal* prefix conjugation יִגַּשׁ (Exod. 24.14), infinitive construct מִגַּשָּׁת (Exod. 34.30), and imperative שִׁגַּשׁ/שִׁגַּשׁ (2 Sam. 1.15; Gen. 19.9), on the one hand, and *nif^{al}* suffix conjugation יִגַּשׁ (Exod. 33.7) and participle הַיִּגַּשִּׁים (Exod. 19.22), on the other, is probably due to reanalysis where allowed by the written forms (see above, §§1.2.1; 1.3.6). Significantly, the earliest unambiguous consonantal evidence matching the *nif^{al}* vocalisation is found in Second Temple DSS Hebrew: בַּהֲגִישׁוֹ ‘when he approaches’ (4Q512 f40–41.2).

2.2. *Qal* Internal Passive > *Nif^{al}*

Similarly, in the Tiberian reading tradition, the replacement of *qal* internal passive with *nif^{al}* nearly always occurs except where

spelling precludes it (Böttcher 1866–1868, I:98–105; Barth 1890; Lambert 1900; Blake 1901, 53–54; Ginsburg 1929; 1934; 1936 Williams 1977; Hughes 1994, 71–76; Sivan 2009, 50–51; Raymond 2016).¹³ Consider the matter of *qal* infinitives absolute with cognate *nif'al* finite forms in the so-called tautological construction. In several cases of *qal-nif'al* mismatch, the consonantally ambiguous *nif'al* finite form possibly conceals a *qal* passive, e.g., סָקוּל יִסְקָל 'he/it will surely be stoned' (Exod. 19.13; 21.28); עָנָוּשׁ יֵעָנֵשׁ (Exod. 21.22); גָּנַב יִגָּנַב (Exod. 22.11); טָרַף יִטָּרַף '(if) it is torn in pieces' (Exod. 22.12).

The special affinity concerning nifalisation between the Tiberian reading tradition and Second Temple consonantal traditions is borne out in the data. In Table 1, consider the earliest consonantal evidence for each of seven¹⁴ *qal* internal passive *qatal*

¹³ For the analysis of *qal* internal passive forms as *hof'al* and *pu'al* forms as part of the processes of hifilisation and pielisation, see below, chs 11 and 12.

¹⁴ Williams includes the *ketiv* verb שָׁגַל*, whose reconstructed oral realisation can only be conjecture. Rare in the Bible, the verb is even rarer in post-biblical material. On the relative antiquity of the *qere*, see above, ch. 3, §1.3.

Excluded from Williams's list is *nif'al* נִקְבַּר 'be buried'. This may be due to the D-stem passive classification of קָבַר 'was (were) buried' (Gen. 25.10). Since D-stem קָבַר* 'bury en masse' (Num. 33.4; 1 Kgs 11.15; Jer. 14.16; Ezek. 39.14–15; Hos. 9.6) has pluractional semantics, which are arguably lacking in the context in question, the form is more likely to be a *qal* internal passive (see below, ch. 12, §3.0, fn. 18). Moreover, the absence of any consonantally unambiguous biblical evidence for *nif'al* נִקְבַּר 'be buried'—for which all representative forms are in the prefix conjugation—coupled with the fact that unambiguous consonantal evidence of *nif'al* נִקְבַּר 'be buried' is not extant until RH (m. Mo'ed Qaṭan

forms with corresponding *nif^{al} yiqtol* forms as listed by Williams (1977, 49).

Table 1: Earliest unambiguous consonantal evidence of *nif^{al}* morphology of suppletive Tiberian verbs with *qal* internal passive *qaṭal* forms and *nif^{al} yiqtol* forms

Verb and Gloss	Second Temple Reference
דָּחָה 'push, drive'	BS 13.21
הָרַג 'kill'	43Q372 f3.12; Tannaitic Hebrew (Mishna)
הָצַב 'hew'	Tannaitic Hebrew (Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael, Mekhilta Devarim)
טָרַח 'pluck'	Bar Kokhva (XHev/Se30 f1R.7), Tannaitic Hebrew (Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael, Mekhilta deRabbi Shimon ben Yokhai)
מָרַט 'polish'	Tannaitic Hebrew (Mishna, Sifra, Tosefta)
שָׂרַח 'burn'	Tannaitic Hebrew (Mishna, Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael, Sifra, Seder Olam Rabba, Sifre Bemidbar)
רָטַח 'rinse'	Tannaitic Hebrew (Sifra, Sifre Bemidbar, Sifre Devarim)

2.3. *Nippa^{al}/Hippa^{al}* (< *Nitpa^{al}/Hitpa^{al}*) < *Nif^{al}*

There is one further affinity between the Tiberian and Samaritan reading traditions worthy of emphasis in this connection: the occurrence of *nif^{al} B*, that is the N-stem pattern with geminated middle radical common in SH and late Aramaic dialects (see above, §1.3.4), which is not unrelated to RH's characteristic *nitpa^{al}* (above, §1.5.2). Tiberian vocalisations of this sort are relatively rare. In the case of some Masoretic forms, the vocalisa-

3.9; m. Bekhorot 1.6; m. Temura 7.4–6), entails the possibility that many, if not all, of the apparent *nif^{al}* forms conceal original *qal* internal passives.

tion reflects a *nitpa^{el}/nif^{al} B* analysis (with gemination in first and middle radical), though the spelling is amenable to simple *nif^{al}* interpretation, e.g., וְתִשָּׂא ‘and (his kingdom) will be exalted’ (Num. 24.7); וְנִכְבְּרָ ‘and (the blood guilt) will be atoned for’ (Deut. 21.8); וְנִוְסְרוּ ‘and (all women) should take warning’ (Ezek. 23.48); תִּכְסֶה ‘(hatred) will be covered’ (Prov. 26.26); וְיִשָּׂאוּ ‘(and the sons of the violent of your people) will rise up’ (Dan. 11.14); וַיִּשָּׂא ‘so he was exalted’ (2 Chron. 32.23); several of these come in exilic or post-exilic material. In a few cases, however, suffix conjugation forms in texts from no earlier than the Exile cannot be read as *nif^{al}*, and are more plausibly interpreted as *hitpa^{el}* forms with assimilated *tav*: הִנְבְּאוּ ‘they prophesied’ (Jer. 23.13); וְהִנְחַמְתִּי ‘and I will be satisfied’ (Ezek. 5.13); וְהִנְבֵּאתִי ‘and I prophesied’ (Ezek. 37.10). Clearly, these probable consonantal *hitpa^{el}* forms with assimilated *tav* lend credence to the vocalisation of the preceding apparently *nitpa^{el}* forms (see below, ch. 13, §2.1).

3.0. Iron Age Epigraphy and the Tiberian Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

Though many *nif^{al}* readings of otherwise ambiguous consonantal forms are probably secondary, a crucial consideration is that the use of *nif^{al}* and, therefore, the potential for nifalisation, were not restricted to post-exilic times. In other words, while the association between nifalisation and Second Temple Hebrew is meaningful, it is not exclusive. There are also indications of early nifalisation, specifically in classical consonantal evidence.

3.1. Early *Nif^{al}* Usage

Especially important in this connection are early *nif^{al}* forms that are primary derivations rather than instances of secondary nifaliation of originally *qal* forms. From Iron Age inscriptions, consider the *nif^{al}* imperative השמר ‘take care!’ (Lachish 3.21) and the infinitive להג[נ] [קב] ‘to be he[wn]’ (Siloam 1.2).¹⁵ While the former is analysable as semantically middle, the latter would seem to be medio-passive.

Turning to BH, in the case of many common orthographically unequivocal *nif^{al}* verbs, *qal* counterparts are rare or even non-existent. Thus, נָפַרד ‘separate (intr.)’ has consistent *nif^{al}* spelling and vocalisation throughout BH. Likewise, though a vestige of *qal* שָׁאַר ‘remain’ (1 Sam. 16.11) is once attested in CBH, the synonymous *nif^{al}* נִשְׁאַר is unambiguously represented in all biblical chronoclects.¹⁶

3.2. *Qal* Internal Passive > *Nif^{al}*

The same holds true for the *qal* internal passive’s replacement by *nif^{al}*. There is ample early unambiguous consonantal evidence of

¹⁵ N-stem נאנח ‘groan’ occurs in the eighth-century Deir Alla inscription (see *KAI* 312 B.12).

¹⁶ It is worth noting that such distributions of medio-passive, reflexive, and/or intransitive *nif^{al}* forms with rare or unattested *qal* cognate synonyms are common. Limiting the discussion to verbs found in MT Genesis, cases of verbs with unambiguous *nif^{al}* consonantal forms in the Bible include גָּאוֹת ‘be willing’, נִבְהַל ‘fear’, נֹתֵר ‘remain’, נִחְבֵּא ‘hide’, נִכְמַר ‘be hot’, נִכְסֵף ‘yearn’, נִלְוֶה ‘join’, נִמְלֹט ‘take refuge’, נִסְתֵּר ‘hide’, נִפְלֵא ‘be wonderful’, נִשְׁבַּע ‘swear’, נִשְׁחַת ‘be destroyed’, נִשְׁמַד ‘be destroyed’, נִשְׁעַן ‘lean’. In many of these cases, the corresponding transitive form is *hif^{il}*.

nif^{al} semantically equivalent to *qal* internal passive, e.g., גִּלְקָה (the Ark of God) has been taken' (1 Sam. 1.4, etc.; cf. לָקַח), יִגְתָּן (straw) will (not) be given' (Exod. 5.18; 2 Sam. 21.6 *ketiv*; cf. יָתַן). In light of this evidence, the *nif^{al}*'s eclipsing of *qal* internal passive should be seen as a process that was already underway in the Iron Age, only reaching its conclusion in the Second Temple Period.

Given the antiquity of *nif^{al}*'s association with middle and medio-passive semantics, along with the gradual pace of language change, it stands to reason that cognate *qal* internal passive and *nif^{al}* forms might have coexisted over an extended period of time. Hughes (1994, 74–75) has sought to discern semantic and syntactic differences in CBH, before the *qal* internal passive fell out of use. He argues that in some cases the *nif^{al}* serves as an intransitive against the strictly passive force of the *qal* internal passive, but the pervasiveness of this distinction is questionable. As such, the possible co-occurrence of *qal* internal passive and passive *nif^{al}* forms, even in close proximity, should not be dismissed. Consider examples (13).

- (13) וְכִי־יִכֶּה אִישׁ אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ אוֹ אֶת־אִמָּתוֹ בַּשֶּׁבֶט וּמַת תַּחַת יָדוֹ נָקָם נִקָּם: אֵד
 אִם־יוֹם אוֹ יוֹמִים יַעֲמֵד לֹא יִקָּם כִּי כֶסֶף הוּא:
 'When a man strikes his slave, male or female, with a rod and the slave dies under his hand, **he shall be avenged**. But if the slave survives a day or two, **he is not to be avenged**, for the slave is his money.' (Exod. 21.20–21)

There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the stem diversity between the *qal* infinitive absolute and *nif^{al}* finite cognate in the tautological construction נָקָם יִקָּם 'he should surely be

avenged' (Exod. 21.20) or between the aforementioned *nif^cal* and the following verse's *qal* passive יִקָּם 'he will (not) be avenged' (Exod. 21.21).

A similar consideration applies to the contrasting cognate forms in bold in example (14).

(14) וַיְהִי כְעֵבְרָם וְאֵלֵיהֶוּ אָמַר אֶל-אֵלִישָׁע שְׂאֵל מֶה אֶעֱשֶׂה-לָּךְ בְּטָרִם אֶלְקָח
מֵעַמְּךָ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלִישָׁע וַיְהִי-גַא פִּי-שְׁנַיִם בְּרוּחֶךָ אֵלַי: וַיֹּאמֶר הַקְּשִׁיתָ לְשֹׂאֵל
אִם-תִּרְאֶה אֹתִי לְקָח מֵאִתְּךָ יְהִי-לָּךְ כֵּן וְאִם-אֵין לֹא יִהְיֶה:

'When they had crossed, Elijah said to Elisha, "Ask what I shall do for you, before **I am taken** from you." And Elisha said, "Please let there be a double portion of your spirit on me." And he said, "You have asked a hard thing; yet, if you see me **being taken** from you, it shall be so for you, but if you do not see me, it shall not be so.'" (2 Kgs 2.9–10)

The morphological diversity of the neighbouring *nif^cal* אֶלְקָח 'I am taken' (2 Kgs 2.9) and *qal* passive participle לְקָח 'being taken' (2 Kgs 2.10) indicates the chronological coexistence of the two forms.

Similar stem diversity may also be original in cases such as *qal* passive יִתֵּן (Num. 26.54) and nearby *nif^cal* נָתַן eight verses later (Num. 26.62)—though the total absence of *qatal* יָתַן* raises suspicions. While many cases of *qatal* נָתַן may not involve dissonance between the consonants and vocalisation, at least some probably reflect original יָתַן* reread as *nif^cal*.

Finally, consider the preservation of *qal* internal passive יִתֵּן 'let there be given' in the *qere* of 2 Sam. 21.6 against the apparently synonymous *nif^cal* יָתַן in the *ketiv*. Hughes (1994, 76) opines:

In this instance it seems likely that the Qere has preserved the original reading, providing an interesting contrast to the normal pattern of revocalisation. Here, the process of replacing *qal* passive forms by niph'al forms has affected the consonantal text, but has not affected the Masoretic reading tradition.

This may be correct. Yet, it bears emphasising that the shift to *nif^{al}* in the written tradition allegedly responsible for the *ktiv-qere* dissonance may well reflect truly ancient diversity in the combined Tiberian written and reading tradition. In other words, given evidence for the coexistence of the *qal* internal passive and *nif^{al}*, this may be a genuine instance of early textual fluctuation.

3.3. Early Nifalisation of Participial Forms

Returning to the previously discussed *qal* > *nif^{al}* shifts יָלַד > נוֹלַד 'be born' and כָּשַׁל > נָכַשַׁל 'stumble'—while unambiguous consonantal evidence of N-stem finite and infinitival verbal forms is limited chiefly to late material, the relevant N-stem participles—with consonantally unambiguous forms—are attested in CBH sources. It may be relevant that forms such as הַנוֹלְדִים 'the ones born' (Gen. 48.5; see also Gen. 21.3; 1 Kgs 13.2) and הַנְּכַשְׁלִים 'feeble ones' (1 Sam. 2.4) have nominalised adjectival, rather than truly eventive semantics. Such substantival and descriptive participle functions, conveying characteristics rather than actions, perhaps proved fertile ground for the initial *nif^{al}* encroachment into semantic values formerly belonging to *qal*.¹⁷ Even so, the

¹⁷ I am grateful to my friend and colleague Geoffrey Khan for a helpful conversation on this point. Not unrelatedly, Khan (2020, I:80) raises the possibility that the *nuf^{al}* < *nif^{al}* shift in the realisation of Chronicles'

Iron Age epigraphic and CBH usage of unambiguous consonantal *nif^{al}* forms with eventive and actional semantics (see above, earlier in this section) confirms that the transparent middle marking of intransitive, medio-passive, and passive verbs via nifalisation is not exclusively late, but can legitimately be characterised as an Iron Age process the effects of which became most perceptible in Second Temple Hebrew.

4.0. Conclusion

It has often been claimed that secondary developments in the reading component of the Tiberian tradition that was wedded to the CBH written component are due to anachronistic, post-biblical impositions of RH onto BH (Lambert 1900; Ginsberg 1929; 1934; 1936; see also Blau 2010, 213–14), “[b]ut the discoveries of the Qumran texts and subsequent research on Second Temple Hebrew show that many of the later features underlying the vocalisation existed already in the Second Temple period” (Joosten 2015, 30). In the specific case of nifalisation, affinities between the Tiberian reading tradition, on the one hand, and the LBH written tradition, DSS Hebrew, SH, the Hebrew of BS, and RH, on the other, demonstrate that the linguistic development in question had taken place long before the Masoretes engaged in the preservation and transmission of the tradition in the Middle Ages.

Jeremy Hughes discussed the Tiberian secondary vocalisation shift from *qal* internal passive to *nif^{al}* in a study entitled

נִלְדָּדוּ ‘were born’ (1 Chron. 3.5; 20.8) reflects an interpretive distinction according to which *nuf^{al}* was considered more eventive than *nif^{al}* in the case of the root ל"ד.

“Post-Biblical Features of Biblical Hebrew Vocalisation.” Notwithstanding the provocative title, Hughes (1994, 75–76) offers a remarkably nuanced summary on the relevant process of nifalisation:

First, it represents a continuation of a process which had begun in classical biblical Hebrew, where the niphil conjugation replaced the *qal* passive conjugation as the normal syntactic passive of most verbs. Secondly, this process was also continued in late biblical Hebrew, where the niphil conjugation replaced the *qal* passive conjugation as the normal syntactic passive of *all* verbs. [emphasis in the original]

The most revealing element in Hughes’s summary is the pronounced continuity between the Tiberian reading tradition and both CBH and LBH. Given the already advanced stage of the shift in LBH, there is arguably no reason to class the Tiberian reading tradition’s penchant for nifalisation a ‘post-biblical’ feature of vocalisation. Rather, this proclivity for *nif^{al}* seems very much in line with LBH conventions, though it also preserves features lost in more representative forms of Second Temple Hebrew, like LBH, DSS Hebrew, SH, BS’s Hebrew, and RH. This all points to the plausibility of a theory whereby the Tiberian reading tradition crystallised around the time that the LBH texts were being written. If so, it may be expected to preserve a great deal of authentic First Temple detail along with evidence of secondary development rooted in Second Temple linguistic drift.

11. HIFILISATION

As part of the broad morphosemantic shift in ancient Hebrew away from the G-stem in favour of morphology perceived to have greater semantic transparency, a number of *qal* verbs shifted to *hif^cil*. The phenomenon is variously manifested: (a) certain apparently *qal* verbs with ambiguous forms analysable as *hif^cil*—especially certain morphologically weak and semantically stative verbs—secondarily developed unambiguous *hif^cil* forms; (b) hifilisation affected *qal* consonantal forms amenable to *hif^cil* pronunciation, resulting in suppletive *qal-hif^cil* paradigms—including the occasional *hif^cil* vocalic realisation of consonantal forms ill-suited to *hif^cil* reinterpretation; (c) hifilisation was exploited for purposes of semantic and/or grammatical disambiguation. Individual examples of the phenomenon were noticed early on by the likes of S. D. Luzzato (1827–1828, 125) and F. Böttcher (1866–1868, II:279–80, 436). Yalon’s (1971, 43–54) treatment remains an excellent source of examples, discussion, and bibliography.

1.0. Second Temple Evidence

1.1. Tiberian Late Biblical Hebrew

Hif^cil forms are by no means rare in Tiberian CBH and there is abundant morphological continuity between CBH and LBH. Even so, LBH reveals unmistakable signs of the advancement of the process of hifilisation vis-à-vis CBH.

1.1.1. *Hif'il* Innovations in Late Biblical Hebrew

This is especially clear in the case of *qal* verbs that are joined or replaced in LBH by *hif'il* synonyms (Moreshet 1996).¹

qal זָנַח > *hif'il* הִזְנִיחַ 'reject'

The only remarkable aspect of the *qal*'s distribution is that it is absent from LBH (Hos. 8.3, 5; Zech. 10.6; Ps. 43.2; 44.10, 24; 60.3, 12; 74.1; 77.8; 88.15; 89.39; 108.12; Lam. 2.7; 3.17, 31), while the *hif'il* form occurs only in LBH (1 Chron. 28.9; 2 Chron. 11.14; 29.19).²

qal לָעַג > *hif'il* הִלְעִיג 'mock'

The *qal* (2 Kgs 19.21; Isa. 37.22; Jer. 20.7; Ps. 2.4; 59.9; 80.7; Job 9.23; 11.3; 22.19; Prov. 1.26; 17.5; 30.17) occurs alongside the *hif'il* (Ps 22.8; Job 21.3) in CBH texts and/or diachronically ambiguous material, but LBH proper knows only the *hif'il* alternative (Neh. 2.19; 3.33; 2 Chron. 30.10), with no obvious difference in meaning from the *qal*.

qal בָּזָה > *hif'il* הִבְזָה 'despise'

The *qal* occurs throughout CBH and LBH (Gen. 25.34; Num. 15.31; 1 Sam. 2.30; 10.27; 17.42; 2 Sam. 6.16; 12.9, 10; Isa. 49.7; Ezek. 16.59; 17.16, 18, 19; 22.8; Mal. 1.6; Ps. 22.25; 51.19;

¹ Cf. Yalon (1971, 43–54), who argues that many of the apparent *hif'il* prefix conjugation forms are actually of the *qal* stative *yaqtel* pattern.

² Excluded from this discussion is the form הִקְאֲזִיחוּ '(canals) will become foul' (Isa. 19.6) on the grounds that it represents a separate lexeme. Cf. והאזניו (4Q56 f10–13.11) || והזניחו (1QIsa^a 15.10).

69.34; 73.20; 102.18; Prov. 14.2; 15.20; 19.16; Est. 3.6; Neh. 2.19; 1 Chron. 15.29; 2 Chron. 36.16), whereas the apparently synonymous *hif'il* infinitive לְהִבְזוֹת comes in BH only in Esther (1.17).³

qal רָעַד > *hif'il* הִרְעִיד 'tremble'

No derivation is common in BH, but the distribution pattern reflects LBH preference for *hif'il* (Dan. 10.11; Ezra 10.9) over *qal* (Ps. 104.32).

qal שָׂחַק > *hif'il* הִשְׁחִיק 'laugh'

If the *hif'il* in 2 Chron. 30.10 has the meaning 'laugh', then this comes in place of the CBH *qal* form with that meaning.

1.1.2. *Qal* > *Hif'il* Movement in the Case of Stative and Inchoative Verbs

Another result of hifilisation is the shift from *qal* to *hif'il* in the case of verbs with stative or inchoative semantics. The alternation of *qal* צָלַח and *hif'il* הִצְלִיחַ 'succeed, prosper (intr.)' is illuminating in this connection. Observe Table 1.

³ The shift of transitive semantics from *qal* to *hif'il* evidently opened the door to the innovation of middle semantics for the *qal*, as in וַיִּבְזֶה 'but it was disdainful in his eyes to send his hand against Mordechai alone' (Est. 3.6).

Table 1: *Qal* and *hif'il* of צל"ח in the MT (see §5.1 for citations)

	<i>qal</i> + רִוַח	trans.		intr.		<i>qal</i> + רִוַח	trans.		intr.	
		<i>hif'il</i>	<i>qal</i>	<i>qal</i>	<i>hif'il</i>		<i>qal</i>	<i>hif'il</i>		
Gen.	0	6	0	1	Ezek.	0	0	5	0	
Num.	0	0	1	0	Amos	0	0	1	0	
Deut.	0	1	0	0	Ps.	0	2	1	1	
Josh.	0	1	0	0	Prov.	0	0	0	1	
Judg.	3	1	0	0	Dan.	0	0	1	4	
Sam.	5	0	1	0	Neh.	0	2	0	0	
Kgs	0	0	0	2	Chron.	0	1	0	12	
Isa.	0	2	2	0	LBH	0	3	1	16	
Jer.	0	0	5	3	TOTALS	8	16	17	24	

Excluding from consideration the specific *qal* idiom צְלַחַהּ רִוַח 'the spirit of the LORD came over' along with transitive usages of *hif'il* הִצְלִיחַ, one is left with apparently synonymous *qal* and *hif'il* forms vying for the intransitive sense of 'succeed, prosper'. It would seem that the process of hifilisation began rather early, since both the *qal* and the *hif'il* are attested in CBH material (as well as in texts of ambiguous date), and was quite advanced by the Second Temple Period, as LBH shows preference for *hif'il* over *qal* by a margin of 16 to 1.

Similar encroachment of *hif'il* verbs into the stative or intransitive semantic domains originally occupied by *qal* include the following:

qal שָׁמַן* > *hif'il* הִשְׁמִין 'become fat'

The classical, semantically predictable combination of stative *qal* (Deut. 32.15, 15; Jer. 5.28) and transitive *hif'il* (Isa. 6.10) contrasts with the late stative *hif'il* in LBH (Neh. 9.25).

qal רָשַׁע > *hif'il* הִרְשִׁיעַ 'be wicked, commit wickedness'

Stative/intransitive *qal* and transitive *hif'il* הִרְשִׁיעַ 'condemn' represent a typical classical combination. Occasionally, the *hif'il* seems to intrude into the semantic space originally occupied by the *qal*, with most of these in LBH (Ps. 106.6; Job 34.12; Dan. 9.5 [cf. 9.15]; 11.32; 12.10; Neh. 9.33; 2 Chron. 20.35).

qal גָּדַל > *hif'il* הִגְדִּיל 'grow, become great'

Common in CBH are stative *qal* גָּדַל 'grow, become great' and transitive *hif'il* הִגְדִּיל 'magnify'. While the poetic idiom *hif'il* הִגְדִּיל עַל 'act arrogantly against, taunt' is common, *hif'il* forms with no direct or indirect object, whether interpreted as 'act arrogantly' or 'grow, become great' are restricted to later material (Lam. 1.9; Dan. 8.4, 8, 11, 25).

1.1.3. Hifilisation of *Qal* II-y Verbs

בי"ן

A different manifestation of hifilisation particularly (though not exclusively) characteristic of Tiberian LBH has resulted from the formal identity of the prefix conjugation forms of *qal* and *hif'il* II-y verbs, e.g., יָבִין 'he understands, will understand'. Consider, in Table 2, the distribution of unequivocal *qal* forms, ambiguous *qal/hif'il*, and unequivocal *hif'il* forms.

Table 2: *Qal* and *hif'il* of ב"י in the MT (see §5.1 citations)

	<i>qal</i> ambiguous <i>hif'il</i>			<i>qal</i> ambiguous <i>hif'il</i>			
Deut.	1	1	0	Job	0	13	2
Sam.	0	2	0	Prov.	1	13	9
Kgs	0	0	2	Dan.	3	7	11
Isa.	0	7	5	Ezra	0	1	1
Jer.	1	1	0	Neh.	0	2	6
Hos.	0	2	0	Chron.	0	0	9
Mic.	0	0	1	TOTALS	10	57	55

Unambiguous *qal* forms are rare in the MT, while unambiguous *hif'il* forms are over five times as common. What is more, an argument can be made that, in view of the complete absence of unambiguous *qal* forms and the frequency of unambiguous *hif'il* forms in certain texts, some of the ambiguous forms, especially those in Isaiah and Job, should be considered probable cases of *hif'il*. While the few *qal* forms are distributed throughout all historical phases of biblical literature, and while there are no grounds for characterising the *hif'il* as distinctively late, it seems significant that early unequivocal *qal* forms are limited to poetry. A plausible supposition is that rather early on in the history of BH, analysis of original *qal* ב"י and the like as *hif'il* led to the secondary development of forms like ה"ב"י and לְהַבִּינֵנּוּ, which are certainly the norm in LBH, but may already have been dominant in CBH, too (Nöldeke 1904, 34–47; Blau 2010, 255, §4.3.8.7.2.8; cf. Bergsträsser 1918–1929, II:153, §28t).

ז"י

The case of forms of the root ז"י ‘act arrogantly’ is similar. There are unequivocally *qal* forms (Exod. 18.11; Jer. 50.29) and forms amenable to both *qal* and *hif'il* analysis (Exod. 21.14; Deut. 1.43;

17.13; 18.20), with unequivocally *hif'il* forms limited to LBH (Neh. 9.10, 16, 29).⁴ Unambiguous *hif'il* forms are also attested in the NBDSS, BS, and RH.

שי"ם

Likewise, *hif'il* analysis of the ambiguous prefix conjugation of *qal* שָׁם-שָׁם-שָׁם 'put' led in the BH written tradition to rare unambiguous *hif'il* forms, such as suffix conjugation וְהִשְׁמַתִּיהוּ 'and I will make him' (Ezek. 14.8), imperative הִשְׁמִי 'set (FS)' (Ezek. 21.21), participle מְשִׁים 'someone (MS) who regards' (Job. 4.20). The *hif'il* form is known also from BS (SirA 4v.22 || Sir. 11.30), and RH (Sifre Devarim; Tosefta; Yerushalmi; Bavli). This has been cited as the reason for the secondary development of *qal* יָשׁוּם (Blau 2010, 255, §4.3.8.7.2.8). For the potentially *hof'al qere* וַיִּשְׁם for *ketiv qal* passive וַיִּשֶׁם (Gen. 24.33)—the latter a match for the *qal* passive וַיִּשְׁם (Gen. 50.26) (Blau 2010, 97, §3.4.3.3, see below §2.0).

לי"ץ, רי"ב, and קי"א

Clear *qal*, *hif'il*, and equivocal derivations of קי"א 'vomit', רי"ב 'quarrel', and לי"ץ 'scoff' also seem to compete in the Tiberian written tradition. For קי"א unambiguous *hif'il* forms come in Proverbs (23.8) and the Mishna (Para 9.3). In the case of רי"ב and לי"ץ, it may be significant that the apparently earliest unambiguous *hif'il* morphology is limited to participles with nominal semantics, while the more transparently verbal forms הִלְיָצְנִי 'the inso-

⁴ Excluded here on semantic grounds is the morphologically ambiguous וַיִּזֶד 'and (Jacob) cooked' (Gen. 25.29).

lent) have derided me' (Ps. 119.51), ולהליץ 'and to deride' (4Q184 f1.2), and להריב 'to contend' (4Q390 f2i.6) all come in acknowledged late material.

Leaving behind hollow roots, similar distributional patterns are known for other verbs. Consider נה"י 'lead, guide' in Table 3.

נה"י

Table 3: *Qal* and *hif'il* of נה"י in the MT (see §5.1 for citations)

	<i>qal</i>	ambiguous	<i>hif'il</i>		<i>qal</i>	ambiguous	<i>hif'il</i>
Gen.	1	0	1	Isa.	2	1	0
Exod.	4	0	0	Ps.	6	12	0
Num.	0	1	0	Job	0	3	0
Deut.	0	1	0	Prov.	0	3	0
Sam.	0	1	0	Neh.	0	0	2
Kgs	0	2	0	TOTALS	13	24	3

While the evidence arguably reflects a state of early mixed usage, the only LBH forms, both infinitives, are unequivocally *hif'il*. *Hif'il* infinitives are also attested in the NBDSS (1QS 9.18 || 4Q256 18.1 || 4Q259 3.16) and in the Tiberian reading tradition's pointing of the ostensibly *qal* infinitive in Exod. 13.21. Significantly, three of the four *hif'il* cases in the Tiberian Torah have consonantal forms more fitting for *qal* (Exod. 13.21) or equally suitable to *qal* and *hif'il* analyses (Num. 23.7; Deut. 32.12).

י"ס

Another interesting case is that of *qal* י"ס versus *hif'il* הוסיף 'add, repeat'. See Table 4.

Table 4: *Qal* and *hif'il* of ה"ס in the MT (see §5.1 for citations)

<i>qal</i> ambiguous <i>hif'il</i>				<i>qal</i> ambiguous <i>hif'il</i>			
Gen.	2	12	0	Nah.	0	0	1
Exod.	0	7	1	Zeph.	0	1	0
Lev.	7	3	1	L. PROPH.	8	11	18
Num.	3	5	0	Ps.	0	1	7
Deut.	4	8	3	Job	0	5	6
PENT.	16	35	5	Prov.	0	6	7
Josh.	0	0	2	Ruth	0	0	1
Judg.	2	8	3	Qoh.	0	0	5
Sam.	5	17	9	Lam.	0	0	3
Kgs	2	4	7	Est.	0	1	0
F. PROPH.	9	29	21	Dan.	0	1	0
Isa.	6	4	10	Ezra	0	0	1
Jer.	2	0	1	Neh.	0	0	1
Ezek.	0	3	0	Chron.	1	2	8
Hos.	0	2	1	WRITINGS	2	14	39
Joel	0	1	0	LBH+	1	4	15
Amos	0	0	4	TOTALS	35	89	83
Jon.	0	0	1				

A CBH situation of mixed usage, with apparent *qal* dominance in the Pentateuch and apparent *hif'il* dominance in the Prophets and Writings, gives way to striking *hif'il* supremacy in LBH. See below, §2.0, on the Tiberian reading tradition.

ה"ס

Related to the late extension of *hif'il* was exploitation of C-stem morphology for disambiguating distinct nuances originally subsumed within the *qal*, for example the use of *qal* ה"ס for the procreative act associated with both mother 'bear' and father 'beget,

sire' (Driver 1882, 209; Joüon 1920, 359; Hendel 2000, 38–42⁵). Consider Table 5.

Table 5: *Qal* and *hif'il* masculine finite verbs and active participles of ל"ו in the MT (see §5.1 for citations)

	<i>qal</i>	<i>hif'il</i>		<i>qal</i>	<i>hif'il</i>
Gen.	12	42	Ps.	1	0
Num.	0	2	Job	1	1
Deut.	1	2	Prov.	4	0
Judg.	0	1	Ruth	0	9
Kgs	0	1	Qoh.	0	2
Isa.	3	4	Dan.	1	0
Jer.	2	2	Neh.	0	4
Ezek.	0	2	Chron.	7	83
Hos.	1	0	TOTALS	35	154
Zech.	2	0			

Again, the figures appear to indicate that hifilisation was well underway already in CBH, but that it was not until LBH that *qal*

⁵ Hendel (2000) focuses on this issue in a discussion of the dating of Pentateuchal sources. On the one hand, he argues that “the complementary distribution of *yālad* (*Qal*) for ‘beget’ in the J source and *hōlîd* (*Hiphil*) for ‘beget’ in the P source is attributable to a diachronic development in Classical Hebrew Biblical” (Hendel 2000, 42), i.e., not diachronic development between CBH and LBH. On the other hand, he dates P to the exilic or early Persian Period (Hendel 2000, 46). Hendel’s figures differ from those given above, because he focuses on genealogies, whereas the figures here are mechanical, including metaphorical usages. For example, one of the cases of *qal* in Jeremiah should probably be considered a counterexample of the semantics ‘father, sire’ for *qal* ל"ו . Consider the verse $\text{שְׁאַלְנוּ וּרְאוּ אִם־יֵלֵד זָכָר}$ ‘Ask now, and see, **can a man bear a child?**’ (Jer. 30.6). While technical genealogical usage of *qal* ל"ו ‘father, sire’ is still found in LBH, the form had become especially associated with female agency prior to LBH.

בָּגַעַתְּ ‘beget’ was effectively supplanted. Outside of LBH proper and Qohelet, the figures are *qal* 27, *hif^cil* 66. In LBH proper and Qohelet combined, they are *qal* 8, *hif^cil* 90. Moreover, six of the eight LBH *qal* cases come in texts borrowed from the Pentateuch (1 Chron. 1.10, 11, 13, 18, 18, 20 || Gen. 10.8, 13, 15, 24, 24, 26).

In sum, the picture that emerges from the Tiberian LBH written tradition involves a trend in favour of forms that either can or must be read as *hif^cil* replacing one of mixed *qal-hif^cil* or dominant *qal* morphology.

1.2. Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew

1.2.1. The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

The BDSS show relatively little evidence of hifilisation beyond that also exhibited in the Tiberian written tradition. Where the BDSS have parallels to the MT involving the verbs discussed above, §1.1, they show nearly the same distribution of morphology, whether *qal*, ambiguous, or *hif^cil*, with mixed usage in CBH material and *hif^cil* concentration in LBH.

The lone exception in this regard is the verb represented by *qal* יִוָּסֵפוּ and *hif^cil* יִוָּסֵפֶה. In the case of this verb, there are several instances in CBH material in which an unequivocal DSS *hif^cil* parallels a MT *qal* or ambiguous form:

- (1) יִוָּסֵפוּ ‘they will (not) continue’ (4Q30 f24.2) || MT יִוָּסֵפוּ ‘they will (not) continue’ (Deut. 13.12)
- (2) יִוָּסֵף ‘will add’ (4Q35 f1.9) || MT יִוָּסֵף ‘will add, is adding’ (Deut. 1.1)

A few such cases centre on Deut. 5.25:⁶

- (3) מו[ט'פּים] 'if (we) co]ntinue' (4Q37 3.7) || MT אַם-יִסְפּוּם 'if (we) continue' (Deut. 5.25)
- (4) [מ[וסיפּים] כי 'if (we) c[ontinue' (4Q129 f1R.13) || MT אַם-יִסְפּוּם 'if (we) continue' (Deut. 5.25)
- (5) מו[ט'פּים] 'if (we) co]ntinue' (4Q135 f1.4) || MT אַם-יִסְפּוּם 'if (we) continue' (Deut. 5.25)
- (6) אַם מ/יִסְפּוּם 'if (we) continue' (4Q137 f1.30–31) || MT אַם-יִסְפּוּם 'if (we) continue' (Deut. 5.25)

Though textual factors should also be considered, these cases of *qal* > *hif'il* movement in acknowledged Second Temple scribal products tally with the process of hifilisation described above, in general, and in the case of the root י"ס, more specifically.

1.2.2. The Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Less anchored within the biblical text, NBDSS material exhibits more pronounced effects of hifilisation than the BDSS. This is manifest in (a) the use of *hif'il* verbs with biblical distribution limited to LBH (בז"י, לע"ג, זג"ח), (b) the replacement of stative/intransitive *qal* verbs with *hif'il* cognates, as in LBH (צל"ח, רש"ע), (c) the employment of unambiguous *hif'il* forms of originally *qal* verbs with ambiguous prefix conjugation forms (בי"ן, שי"ר, יס"ף, גח"י, לי"ץ, רי"ב, זי"ד), and (d) exploitation of morpholog-

⁶ In examples (3)–(6), the potential sequences of both מ-י in אַם יִסְפּוּם and מ-מ-י in אַם מוסיפּים would have been vulnerable to graphic and/or phonetic corruption.

ical distinction between *qal* and *hif'il* for semantic differentiation (יל"ד). Table 6 provides a quantitative summary.

Table 6: Frequency of *qal* and *hif'il* of select diachronically significant verbs in the NBDSS (see §5.2 for citations)

	<i>qal</i>	ambiguous	<i>hif'il</i>		<i>qal</i>	ambiguous	<i>hif'il</i>
(a) זג"ח	0	2	3	(c) ביל"ן	3	36	69
לע"ג	0	0	1	זי"ד	1	2	2
בו"י	9	2	1	רי"ב	4	11	1
(b) רע"ד	0	1	0	לי"ץ	1	0	2
שח"ק	2	7	0	נח"י	1	0	3
צל"ח	1	4	1	יס"ף	2	7	29
רש"ע	1	2	10	(d) יל"ד	0	0	7
גד"ל	1	1	0				

Sometimes, the NBDSS fail to exhibit clear-cut cases of the diagnostically late *hif'il* verbs (רע"ד, שח"ק, גד"ל) or appear to favour the more classical alternative (בו"י, רי"ב). In other cases, the characteristically late *hif'il* usage is conspicuously dominant (רש"ע, יל"ד, יס"ף, ביל"ן).

1.3. Samaritan Hebrew

A scriptural corpus embodying related but semi-independent written and reading components, the Samaritan biblical tradition has roots extending at least as far back as the Iron Age, but at the same time shows clear signs of late development. Morphological shifts from G- to C-stem in the Samaritan tradition, though noted, have not generally been discussed as part of a grammatical trend. Indeed, they go unmentioned in Ben-Hayyim's discussion of regular stem shifts (2000, 222–24, §§2.15.4–7), relegated to a few examples in a paragraph that begins "Other alternations between

stems do not display general tendencies, but each individual verb must be explained separately, so that discussion of them belongs in a lexicon, not a grammar” (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 224, §2.15.8). As the ensuing discussion demonstrates, the applicability of this statement to hifilisation in the Samaritan tradition may be questioned, as the phenomenon is both more pervasive in SH than Ben-Ḥayyim implies and exhibits affinities to the same process in other Second Temple traditions. The relevant verbs may be divided into several categories.

1.3.1. Hifilisation of שׁי"ר ‘sing’ and טמ"ן ‘hide’

First are those verbs for which *qal* is standard in both Tiberian and Samaritan Hebrew, but which have undergone partial hifilisation in the latter, sometimes in line with trends seen in other manifestations of Second Temple Hebrew. An illustrative example is the Samaritan counterpart to Tiberian שָׂר ‘sing’. It has an unambiguous *qal* imperative (Exod. 15.21), ambiguous *yiqtol* forms (Exod. 15.1a; Num. 21.17), and an unambiguous and synonymous *hif'il* imperative according to the combined testimonies of the written and reading tradition: אֲשִׁירוּ *āšīru* ‘sing (PL)!’ || MT אֶשְׂיֶרָה ‘I would sing’ (Exod. 15.1b), which has also been tentatively read, with causative force, in the NBDSS: מלִיהֶם בַּמִּשְׁקָל תִּכֵּן וַיִּשְׂרֵם כַּחלִילִים ‘their words by weight he apportioned and **caused them to sing** like flutes’ (4Q434 f1i.9).

Similarly, while Tiberian *qal* טָמַן is twice paralleled by its Samaritan *qal* counterparts, in the prefix conjugation (Exod. 2.12) and the passive participle (Deut. 33.19), on another occasion, MT *qal* וַיִּטְמֵן || SP וַיִּטְמֵן *wyātmān* ‘and he hid (tr.)’ (Gen. 35.4),

with no obvious distinction in meaning separating the *qal* and the *hif'il* (also in the Masada BS material, RH, and the Tiberian CBH reading tradition; see below, §§1.4–5; 2.0).

1.3.2. Hifilisation of י"ל 'bear (a child); beget, father, sire'

In the case of י"ל, like Tiberian Hebrew, SH generally distinguishes between *qal* ילד 'bear (a child)' and *hif'il* הוליד 'beget, father, sire'. On occasions where the MT presents a *qal* form that denotes 'beget, father, sire', SH does not tolerate the polysemy of the *qal*. Instead, the same morphosemantic shift observed above with regard to י"ל 'father, sire' in Tiberian BH (§1.1) and the NBDSS (§1.2.2) also obtains in SH, albeit inconsistently. On three occasions where the MT has *qal* ילד in the meaning 'beget, father, sire', the combined written-reading Samaritan tradition resorts to a *hif'il* instead: Gen. 6.4; 10.8; 22.23. Hifilisation is not, however, the preferred Samaritan solution to the problem in the case of י"ל. A more common strategy for distinguishing the male procreative act from the female act denoted by the *qal* is the reading of forms that refer to the male as *pi'el* (see ch. 12, §1.3.1).

1.3.3. Hifilisation of י"ס 'add, repeat, do again'

In one further case of partial hifilisation relative to the Tiberian tradition, the combined Samaritan written and reading tradition testifies to increased use of unequivocal *hif'il* forms of י"ס. There is one case in which an unambiguous MT *qal* || SP *hif'il* and 14 cases in which an MT form of ambiguous stem || SP unambiguous *plene hif'il*. The opposite situation obtains just twice (see §5.3 for citations). Indeed, the situation in SH is one of orderly, if compli-

cated, suppletion: all 3rd-person *qaṭal* forms and all participles are *qal*;⁷ all 1st- and 2nd-person *qaṭal* forms are *pi^cel*; all *yiqtol* forms and infinitives are *hif^cil*.⁸

1.3.4. Extensive Hifilisation

More extensive shifts are also known. Consider the Tiberian *qal* verb *qāṭ* ‘accept, be pleased, make amends for’. On six occasions, most involving consonantly ambiguous *yiqtol* forms, the SP has a *hif^cil* (Gen. 33.10; Lev. 26.34, 41, 43, 43; Deut. 33.11), and on five more occasions, a *nif^cal* in the MT is paralleled by a passive *hif^cil* in the SP (Lev. 7.18; 19.7; 22.23, 25, 27).⁹ The Samaritan treatment of the Tiberian *qal* verbs *ḥḇš* ‘wrap, saddle’ and *ḳḳ* ‘light, kindle’ can also be analysed as one of wholesale hifilisation.¹⁰

⁷ Some apparent SP *qal qaṭal* forms of *ḳāṣaf*, especially those parallel to Tiberian *weqaṭal* forms, are arguably interpretable as secondary *hif^cil yiqtol* forms

⁸ According to Ben-Ḥayyim (1977, 123, 193), pronunciation of the *yiqtol* forms reflects derivation from both *ḳāṣaf* and *ḳāṣaf*.

⁹ In the remaining three cases, all consonantly unambiguous, the MT and SP agree on a *nif^cal* (Lev. 1.4), *hif^cil* (Lev. 26.34), and passive *qal* participle (Deut. 33.24).

¹⁰ See Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 224, §2.15.8) on *ḳāṣaf*. Regarding *ḥḇš*: one form is unambiguously *hif^cil* according to the reading component of the Samaritan tradition, while the remaining three are analysable as either *pi^cel* or *hif^cil* (Ben-Ḥayyim 123, §§2.2.1.2.2–3).

1.3.5. Hifilisation and Levelling

In other cases of apparent wholesale hifilisation, the result may be due partially to grammatical harmonisation, whereby an aberrant form was regularised in conformity with the majority. For example, in the MT $\text{צ"ל}^{\text{ח}}$ is normally represented by *hif'il* forms whether the sense is transitive 'cause to prosper' (Gen. 24.21, 40, 42, 56; 39.3, 23; Deut. 28.29) or intransitive 'succeed' (Gen. 39.2), and these are all paralleled in the SP by *hif'il* forms; on the one occasion where the MT has a *qal* intransitive, the SP reads it as a *hif'il* (Num. 14.41). Likewise, the MT's internal *qal-hif'il* diversity in (7), is paralleled in the SP by *hif'il* consistency (8):

- (7) ...וְהִצְפִּינָהּוּ שְׁלֹשָׁה יָרְחִים: וְלֹא יָכְלָה עוֹד הַצְפִּינָהּ...
 '...and she hid him (*qal*) three months. And she could no longer hide him (*hif'il*)...' (Exod. 2.2–3)
- (8) ...וְהִצְפִּינָהּוּ שְׁלֹשָׁה יָרְחִים: וְלֹא יָכְלָה עוֹד הַצְפִּינָהּוּ... ...*wtāšfinē'u*
šlāša yē'rim. wlā yākāla ūd āšfinē'u...

While this may well be due to the Samaritan version's penchant for levelling, and though the orthography of הִצְפִּינָהּוּ prevented harmonisation in favour of *qal*, the hifilisation in question is consistent with that seen in other Second Temple chronolects, such as BS and RH (see below, §§1.4–5). Similar situations of grammatical levelling arguably took place with נז"י 'sprinkle', רפ"י 'leave, slacken', and שמ"ט 'drop, release'.

1.3.6. Hifilisation in the Case of Rare Verbs

Finally, there are rarely occurring verbs in the Pentateuch that are *qal* in the MT and *hif'il* in the SP, some representative of

broader hifilisation patterns: חש"ך 'be/become dark' (Exod. 10.15; cf. RH, CBH), עו"ק/יע"ץ 'advise' (Exod. 18.19; Num. 24.14; cf. Aramaic C-stem אמליך), נפ"ח 'blow' (Gen. 2.7; cf. BH), עק"ד 'bind' (Gen. 22.9), צפ"י 'observe' (Gen. 31.49).

1.3.7. Hifilisation Resulting in Suppletion

Qal-hif'il suppletion is comparatively more common in SH than in the Tiberian Torah. The suppletive paradigm of נה"י characteristic of the MT (§§1.1.3; 2.1) is also found in the SP. Consider also consistently *qal* Tiberian הַנִּן 'show mercy'—in the SP, conversely, it is generally *qal* where required by consonantal spelling (Gen. 33.5, 11), but otherwise *hif'il* (Gen. 43.29; Exod. 33.19, 19; Num. 6.25; Deut. 7.2; 28.50), including a *hif'il* reading in opposition to *qal* spelling: *wā'inti it ēšār ā'ni* || MT וְהִנֵּנִי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אֶחָן 'and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious' (Exod. 33.19a). Various suppletive patterns obtain in the case of בא"ש 'stink' (*qal* Exod. 7.18; *hif'il* Exod. 7.21; 8.10; 16.20), גמ"ל 'repay, bear (fruit)' (*qal* Gen. 50.5, 17; *hif'il* Num. 17.23; Deut. 32.6), דו"ף < הד"ף 'thrust' (*qal* Num. 35.20; *hif'il* Num. 35.22; Deut. 6.19; 9.4), ש"ג 'oppress' (*qal* Exod. 3.7; 5.6, 10, 13, 14; *hif'il* Deut. 15.2, 3), סג"ר 'close' (*qal* Gen. 19.6, 10; 14.3; *hif'il* Gen. 2.21; 7.16), ער"ך 'arrange' (*qal* Exod. 40.4; Lev. 1.7, 8; 6.5; *hif'il*¹¹ Gen. 22.9; Exod. 27.21; 40.23; Lev. 1.12; 24.3, 4, 8), and

¹¹ Ben-Ḥayyim (1977, 217) analyses the SH forms ויערכו *wyārrēku* (Gen. 14.8) and ערכתי *'arrikti* (Num. 23.4) as *pi'el*. The former is alternatively analysable as *hif'il*, which is indeed the analysis given in Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 375a, cf. 375b).

רמ"ש 'crawl' (*qal* Gen. 1.21, 26, 28, 30; 7.8, 14, 21; 8.17, 19; Lev. 11.44, 46; Deut. 4.18; *hif'il* Gen. 9.2; Lev. 20.25).

1.3.8. Hifilisation and Semantic Disambiguation

Finally, SH seems to exploit hifilisation for purposes of distinguishing semantic nuance.

רח"ק 'distance'

In the case of רח"ק 'distance', the MT and SP agree on *qal* forms in the context of distance with no movement (Deut. 12.21; 14.24) and on *hif'il* forms when agency and movement are involved (Gen. 21.16; 44.4; Exod. 8.24, 24; 33.7). Mismatch between MT *qal* and SP *hif'il* obtains in the case of the metaphorical MT מִדְּבַר-שֶׁקֶר תִּרְחַק 'keep far from a false charge' || SP תִּרְחַק *tā'rēq* 'distance yourself (?)' (Exod. 23.7), where there is agency, but the matter of stasis versus movement is ambiguous.

שב"ר 'buy/sell food'

SH also uses morphology to distinguish distinct senses of שב"ר 'buy and sell food' left indistinct in Tiberian Hebrew. Whereas the MT is content with a *qal* verb שָׁבַר meaning both 'buy food' (Gen. 41.57; 42.2, 3, 5, 7, 10; 43.2, 4, 20, 22; 44.25; 47.14; Deut. 2.6) and 'sell food' (Gen. 41.56), it also has a *hif'il* form meaning 'sell food' (Gen. 42.6; Deut. 2.28). SH more strictly observes the morphosemantic distinction, reading Joseph's action in וַיִּשְׁבֵּר

‘and he sold (grain to Egypt)’ (Gen. 41.56) as *hif^cil* וישביר *wyašbār*.¹²

1.4. Ben Sira

Moreshet (1996) lists a number of verbs in BS that reflect hifilisation. Those relevant to Tiberian BH include:

- *weep* (SirA 5r.19 || Sir. 12.16)
- *hide (tr.)* (Mas1h 3.17 || SirB 11r.7 || Sir. 41.15; see above, §1.3.1)
- *be sufficient* (Mas1h 5.4 || SirB 12r.9 || Sir. 42.17)
- *arrange* (SirB 9r.3 || Sir. 39.17; SirB 19v.12 || Sir. 50.18)
- *tremble* (SirB 8v.15 || Sir. 38.25; see above, §§1.1.1; 1.2.2)
- *put* (SirA 4v.22 || Sir. 11.30; see above, §1.1.3)¹³

To Moreshet’s list may be added:

- *travel* (Mas1h 5.23 || SirB 12v.7 || Sir. 43.6)
- *prevail* (SirB 9v.7 || Sir. 39.34)

¹² It is unclear why the same *qal-hif^cil* mismatch between MT and SP occurs in MT אָכַל תִּשְׁבְּרוּ מֵאֲתָם בְּכֶסֶף ‘food **you will buy** from them for money’ (Deut. 2.6) || SP אכל תשבירו מאתם *ākal tašbīru miyyētīmna afkāsaf* ‘food **you will buy** (?) from them for money’, unless it is due to local ‘contamination’ from אָכַל בְּכֶסֶף תִּשְׁבְּרֵנִי ‘food for money sell to me’ (Deut. 2.28), which has a *hif^cil* in both the MT and SP, or the *hif^cil* has a nuance of ‘actively trade’.

¹³ He also lists הוִיף ‘reprove’ (SirA 4r.25 || SirB 1v.12 || Sir. 11.7), which seems to reflect hifilisation relative to RH and Aramaic G-stem גוּף.

- הזיד ‘act arrogantly’ (SirA 1r.8 || Sir. 3.16; see above, §§1.1.3; 1.2.2)
- החריף ‘reprove, stir up the wind’ (Mas1h 6.10 || Sir. 43.16)
- הלעג ‘mock’ (SirB 4v.4 || Sir. 31.22; see above, §§1.1.1; 1.2.2)
- העריך ‘arrange’ (SirB 9r.3 || Sir. 39.17; SirB 19v.12 || Sir. 50.18; cf. above, §1.3.7)
- הצפין ‘hide’ (SirA 1v.12 || Sir. 4.23; SirC 2a.3 || Sir. 20.31; SirC 2a.4 || Sir. 20.31; SirB 11r.7 || Sir. 41.15; SirB 11r.7 || Sir. 41.15)
- הקנה ‘buy’ (SirB 7v.2 || Sir. 37.11)
- הקשיח ‘become hard’ (SirB 3r.4 || Sir. 30.12)
- השעה ‘look’ (SirB 13v.11 || Sir. 44.8)

Several of the above are variants with non-*hif^cil* counterparts. In a few cases, the semantics of the *hif^cil* may be argued to differ from those of the *qal*,¹⁴ but the general trend is clear.

Beyond these, BS’s Hebrew sides with Second Temple Hebrew on additional hiflisation trends, e.g.,

- consistent *hif^cil* treatment of בִּ"ן—all clearcut forms (Mas1h 5.11 || Sir. 42.21; SirA 1v.2 || Sir. 4.11; SirA 3v.18 || Sir. 10.1; SirA 4v.5 || Sir. 11.15; SirB 7r.1 || Sir. 36.24; SirB 7v.7 || Sir. 37.13; SirB 8r.10 || Sir. 38.4; SirB 12r.15 || Sir. 42.21);

¹⁴ In context, העריך can be understood in its classical meaning of ‘estimate’, whereas הרעיד is open to a causative interpretation.

- exclusive use of *hif'il* הוּלִיד rather than *qal* יִלַד in the sense of ‘father, sire’ (Mas1h 3.10 || Sir. 41.9; SirA 4v.26 || Sir. 11.33; SirB 10v.18 || Sir. 41.9; SirB 10v.18 || Sir. 41.9;
- dominance of *hif'il* הוּסִיף to the exclusion of *qal* יִסֵף (SirA 1r.16 || Sir. 3.27; SirA 1v.25 || Sir. 5.5; SirB 8r.5 || Sir. 37.31; SirB 13r.12 || Sir. 43.27 [?]; SirC 2r.7 || Sir. 5.5; SirC 1b.10 || Sir. 3.27; SirD 1v.20 || Sir. 37.31);
- comparatively frequent incidence of intransitive הִצְלִיחַ (Mas1h 2.25 || Sir. 41.1; SirA 3v.11 || Sir. 9.12; SirB 8v.1 || Sir. 38.13; SirB 9r.4 || Sir. 39.18; SirB 10v.8 || Sir. 41.1; though possible cases of the *qal* are also attested: SirA 3r.18 || Sir. 8.10; SirA 4v.7 || Sir. 11.17; SirB 8v.2 || Sir. 38.14; SirB 13r.11 || Sir. 43.26).

1.5. Rabbinic Hebrew

Moreshet (1996) divides his lists of RH *hif'il* innovations into several categories. Given below are those with greatest relevance to BH.

1.5.1. RH *Hif'il* || MT Transitive *Qal*

יָטַח 'hide'

The BH *hif'il* ‘hide (tr.)’ is rare (2 Kgs 7.8, 8), but becomes common in RH, though the *qal* is still frequent, especially as a participle.

יָמַשׁ 'draw, extend'

In BH the *qal* is normally transitive, with *nif'al* serving for intransitive (Isa. 13.22; Ezek. 12.25, 28), though the *qal* can also be

intransitive (Judg. 20.37; Job 21.33; Neh. 9.30 [?]); the same is generally true in RH, but a transitive *hif'il* has also appeared.

נש"א 'raise (a signal flare)'

In Tannaitic Hebrew, the *qal* is common and the *hif'il* is normally causative ('marry off, allow to marry'), but one also finds it used for the raising of a signal flare (m. Rosh haShana 2.2, 3; t. Rosh haShana 1.17), for which cf. the *qal* forms in Jer. 6.1 (BH has *hif'il* forms in Lev. 22.16; 2 Sam. 17.13).

טש"ט 'unfasten, remove, cancel (debt, oath)'

Qal in BH (on the apparent *hif'il* in Deut. 15.3, see §§1.3.5); in RH the *qal* continues in literal senses ('unfasten, remove'; cf. its *nif'al* passive/intransitive), while the *hif'il* is reserved for cancellation of debts (m. Shevi'it 10.1–3) and oaths (m. Shevu'ot. 7.8) and for letting fields lie fallow (Sifra, BaHar, parasha 2, ch. 3 [p. 107, col. 3]).

1.5.2. RH *Hif'il* || MT Intransitive *Qal*

חכ"ם 'be/become wise'

In BH the *qal* is stative 'be wise' (e.g., Deut. 32.29; Prov. 23.15) and inchoative 'become wise' (e.g., Prov. 6.6; 9.9; 19.20), the only *hif'il* being causative (Ps. 19.8); in RH, the *hif'il* can be inchoative (m. Bava Batra 10.8; m. 'Avot 2.5).

טפ"ד 'mourn'

The BH *qal* 'mourn' never takes a direct object (2 Sam. 3.31; internal object in Gen. 50.10; it takes -ל, e.g., Gen. 23.2, or לו, e.g., 2 Sam. 11.26), though *nif'al* is clearly passive (Jer. 16.4; 25.33); RH also has an intransitive *qal* (m. Yevamot 16.5) and passive *nif'al* (m. Shabbat 23.4), but adds a *hif'il* either transitive (m. Mo'ed Qatan 1.5) or intransitive (m. Megilla 3.3).

תמ"ה 'be surprised, astonished, wonder'

The predominantly BH *qal* intransitive 'be surprised, astonished, wonder' persists in RH, but is joined by a synonymous *hif'il* (Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael, Sifre Devarim, Mekhilta deRabbi Shim'on ben Yoḥai).

1.5.3. RH *Hif'il* || MT Transitive and Intransitive *Qal*

טב"ל 'immerse'

In BH the *qal* is usually transitive 'immerse' (e.g., Gen. 37.31), with a *nif'al* intransitive (Josh. 3.15), though an intransitive/reflexive *qal* (2 Kgs 5.14) is also attested; RH knows *qal* transitives (e.g., m. Shabbat 5.1) and intransitives (e.g., m. Shabbat 6.1), as well as a *hif'il* transitive (e.g., m. Shabbat 2.7).

רח"ץ 'wash, rinse'

BH *qal* forms dominate, with both transitive (e.g., Gen. 18.4) and intransitive/reflexive (e.g., Exod. 2.5) meanings of 'wash, rinse' (there are also rare *qal* passive [Ezek. 16.4; Prov. 30.12] and *hitpa'el* forms [Job 9.30; Dan. 3.28]); the RH *qal* is typically in-

transitive/reflexive (e.g., m. Shevi'it 8.11) or transitive/reflexive with body parts (e.g., m. Yoma 8.1), while the *hif'il* functions in both of the latter senses (e.g., Sifra, Nedava, parasha 11, ch. 1 [p 10, col. 4]; 'Emor, parasha 4, ch. 2 [p. 96, col. 4]) and more prototypically transitive senses (e.g., m. Shabbat 9.3).

1.5.4. RH *Hif'il* || Rare BH *Qal*

חמ"ק 'ferment, be/become leavened'

BH form knows the intransitive *qal* 'ferment, be(come) leavened' (Exod. 12.34, 39; Hos. 7.4); in RH both the *qal* and *hif'il* can have intransitive meaning (e.g., respectively, Mekhilta deRabbi Ishma'el, Paskha, parasha 14 [p. 49]; m. Terumot 3.1).

טע"י 'load'

BH has the transitive *qal hapax* meaning 'load (a beast of burden)' (Gen. 45.17); in RH cf. the *qal* (e.g., m. Bava Qama 9.1) and the synonymous *hif'il* (e.g., Sifre Devarim, 343 [p. 396]).

ש"כח 'become thin'

The sole BH *qal* comes in the intransitive sense 'become thin' (Ps. 109.24); this sense occurs in RH in the *hif'il* (e.g., t. Bava Qama 3.5, 5), as well as in *qal* (e.g., t. Bava Qama 7.17).

ע"פ/פ"ש 'step, march'

The BH *qal hapax* means 'step, march' (Isa. 27.4); in RH the root is normally ע"פ, with the *qal* continuing and the innovation of a synonymous *hif'il* (e.g., y. Berakhot 1.1).

ש"ר 'express'

Assuming that the BH usage in Ps. 45.2 means 'express', RH exhibits persistence of the *qal* (e.g., y. Berakhot 2.1) and innovation of a synonymous *hif'il* e.g., (y. Berakhot 4.1).

שח"ר 'darken'

A BH *hapax qal* meaning 'darken (intr.)' (Job. 30.30); cf. RH *hif'il* (e.g., m. Nega'im 1.5, 5) and *hof'al* (m. Sukkot 4.9).

1.5.5. RH *Hif'il* Innovations

Moreshet also lists *hif'il* RH root innovations: הגדיש 'heap, stack', הגליד 'form a crust, scab', החזיר 'return (intr.), repeat', הכמין 'hide (tr.)', המתין 'wait', הסדיר 'arrange'.¹⁵

1.5.6. RH Hifilisation Features in Common with Other Second Temple Hebrew Types

RH also exhibits the following Second Temple Hebrew hifilisation tendencies discussed above:

- strong preference for *hif'il* ב"ן; *hif'il*;
- occurrences of *hif'il* ש"ם (t. Gitṭin 7.13; Sifre Devarim 315; y. Sanhedrin 1.1; frequently in the BT);

¹⁵ From this list, several roots cited by Moreshet have been omitted due either to absence of the *hif'il* form from the authoritative RH manuscripts cited on the *Ma'agarim* site of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, e.g., חז"ם 'prune', חל"י 'become ill', טר"ד 'disturb, drive away', פנ"י in the passive sense 'free, empty', שט"ן 'accuse', or to semantic remoteness relative to the BH *qal*, e.g., פש"ק/פש"ק 'cease'.

- strong preference for *hif'il* הוּלִיד over *qal* ילד with masculine subjects, in the sense of ‘father, sire’;
- dominance of *hif'il* הוּסִיף to the near exclusion of *qal* יסף;
- dominance of *hif'il* intransitive הִצְלִיחַ.

2.0. The Tiberian Reading Tradition of Classical Biblical Hebrew Texts

When it comes to hifilisation, like other traditions rooted in the biblical text, the Tiberian reading component generally adheres closely to the parallel orthographic component. This is not surprising, as (a) the two are related components of a composite tradition and (b) development of each component was to some degree influenced and constrained by its association with the other. Even so, apparent cases of dissonance occur, some centring on hifilisation. In the case of CBH material, the reading component of the composite Tiberian tradition reflects a linguistic stage more chronologically advanced than the written component. In LBH material, the two components exhibit greater correspondence. This is consistent with the view that a significant degree of the crystallisation of the Tiberian reading tradition took place during the Second Temple Period.

2.1. נה"י ‘lead, guide’

The root נה"י ‘lead, guide’ is represented in Tiberian BH by a paradigm that is largely suppletive. Consider Table 7.

Table 7: *Qal* and *hif'il* forms of ג"ח according to the Tiberian reading tradition (see §5.4 for citations)

	<i>qal</i>	<i>hif'il</i>
suffix conjugation	8	2
imperative	4	0
infinitive construct	0	2
prefix conjugation	0	17

When it comes to the suffix conjugation and the imperative, the dominant morphology is *qal*. Against this background, it is telling that there are no *qal* prefix conjugation forms in the 17 potential cases. This is even more suspicious when one considers the fact that one of the infinitive construct forms realised according to the reading tradition as a *hif'il* has the orthography of a *qal*, namely, גַּחְתָּם 'to guide them' (Exod. 13.21). Lacking the expected *heh* of a *hif'il* infinitive, it seems likely that the consonants presuppose *qal* גַּחְתָּם*, in line with the aforementioned *qal* suffix conjugation and imperative forms. Interestingly, the only other infinitive construct with this root is the unambiguous *hif'il* הִגַּחְתָּם 'to guide them' (Neh. 9.19) in an LBH allusion to this very verse. It is also to be noted that one of the two unequivocally *hif'il* suffix conjugation forms (Neh. 9.12) comes in LBH (on the other, see below, §3.0). According to a plausible reading of the data, early stem diversity characterised verbs with the root ג"ח. This is to say, the process of hifilisation was underway well before the era of LBH. Yet it was by no means complete. If so, however, why according to the reading tradition are *qal* forms restricted to imperatives and *qatal* forms? Surely, given the apparent early incidence of *qal* imperatives and suffix conjugation forms, one might expect at least some incidence of *qal* infinitives and prefix conju-

gation forms, rather than consistent *hif^{il}* vocalisation. Here, again, the reading tradition appears to have extended an ancient feature in line with Second Temple preference for the C-stem. Where *hif^{il}* could be read without undue deviation from the consonantal orthography, i.e., in *yiqtol* forms, it was so read. The *hif^{il}* analysis was extended even in opposition to the consonantal spelling of infinitival לְהַגִּידָם ‘to guide them’ (Exod. 13.21), because this was considered close enough phonetically to the expected לְהַגִּידוּם*.

2.2. ט"מ 'hide, bury'

Next, consider Tiberian verbal representatives of the root ט"מ. Most evidence points to an active-middle stem arrangement involving *qal* טַמַן ‘hide, bury (tr.)’ (21x) (with passive participle טָמוּן ‘hidden’ [7x]) and *nif^{al}* טָמַן* ‘hide (intr.), bury oneself’ (1x). In a single verse in the book of Kings, however, one encounters two cases of *hif^{il}* טָמַן* ‘hide (tr.)’ (2 Kgs 7.8), with no apparent semantic difference from the *qal*. Since the orthography in both forms—טַמַן—is ambiguous as far as stem identity goes, it may be that the *hif^{il}* vocalisation here reflects ‘drift’ toward Second Temple morphology (as seen in SH, BS, and RH; see above, §§1.3–5). It must be noted, though, that other consonantly ambiguous forms, all *wayyiqtol* (Gen. 35.4; Exod. 2.12; Josh. 2.6; Jer. 13.5), are read as *qal*.

2.3. Hof^{al} of II-w/y Verbs as Evidence of Hifilisation

While the Tiberian reading tradition is opaque with regard to the analysis of finite II-y *yiqtol* verbal forms, i.e., whether they are

qal or *hif'il*, this is not the case with *hof'al* forms. Based on regular sound changes (for which see Blau 2010, 97, §3.4.3.3), for the verb נָשָׂא 'put', the expected *qal* passive *wayyiqtol* form is וַיִּנָּשָׂא 'and it was put' (Gen. 50.25). This is precisely the orthography one finds in the *ketiv* וַיִּשָׂא (Gen. 24.33), but the corresponding *qere* וַיִּנָּשָׂא 'and it was put' is a *hof'al*. This reflects two diachronic developments: the well-known decline of the *qal* internal passive (see ch. 10, §§2.2; 3.2) and, since *hof'al* represents the internal passive of *hif'il*, hifilisation. In other words, a realisation such as *qere* וַיִּנָּשָׂא implies the existence of *hif'il* וַיִּשָׂא , as seen occasionally in the Tiberian written tradition (Ezek. 14.8; 21.21; Job 4.20) and more commonly in late antique extra-biblical Hebrew (Ezekiel; Job, see above §1.1.3; BS, see above, §1.4; RH, see above, §1.5.6).

2.4. The Preservation of Archaic *Hif'il*-like *Qal* Forms

While the preceding paragraphs detail departures of the Tiberian reading tradition from the pronunciation tradition implied by the consonantal text in line with Second Temple linguistic developments, it is important, for the sake of balance, to highlight conservatism, even archaism, in the reading tradition. One relevant phenomenon involves *qal* verbs with prefix conjugation forms in the *yaqtel* pattern (Yalon 1971). Consider, for example, forms representative of the root נָגַן : the suffix conjugation form וַיִּנָּגֵן 'and I will defend' (2 Kgs 19.34 || Isa. 37.5; 2 Kgs 20.6 || Isa. 38.6) and the infinitive absolute נִגְנָן 'protecting' (Isa. 31.5b) are unambiguously *qal*, whereas the prefix conjugation יִגְנֶן 'will protect (3MS)' (Isa. 31.5a; Zech. 9.15; 12.8) is alternatively *qal yaqtel* or *hif'il*. Since there are no unambiguous *hif'il* forms in BH, and

since the *qal* infinitive absolute occurs alongside the equivocal prefix conjugation in the same verse (Isa. 31.5), the verb is plausibly analysed as uniformly *qal* in BH (Blau 2010, 222–23, §4.3.5.2.3.2). This contrasts with orthographically unequivocal RH *hif'il* forms, such as הִגֵּן (e.g., 'Aravit, fourth blessing, ln. 4), מָגִין (e.g., Mekhilta deRabbi Ishma'el, BeḤodesh [Yitro], parasha 1 [p. 204]), לִהְגֹּן (e.g., y. Pesahim 7.12 [p. 35b]).¹⁶

In a similar way Yalon (1971, 46–47) explains such forms as וַיִּדְרְכוּ in וַיִּדְרְכוּ אֶת־לְשׁוֹנָם כְּשֵׁתָם שֶׁקָּרַר 'they bend their tongue like their bow for deceit' (Jer. 9.2; otherwise קָשֶׁת דָּרְדָּר consistently *qal*); וַיִּדְבְּקוּ in וַיִּדְבְּקוּ גַם־הֵמָּה אַחֲרֵיהֶם בַּמִּלְחָמָה 'they too pursued them in the battle' (1 Sam. 14.22) and וַיִּדְבְּקוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אַחֲרַי שָׁאוּל 'and the Philistines pursued Saul and his sons' (1 Chron. 10.2), and even וַיִּדְבְּקוּ in וַיִּדְבְּקוּ אֶת־בְּנֵי־דָן 'they overtook the people of Dan' (Judg. 18.22)—the latter on the assumption that the *i* so reminiscent of *hif'il* results from a lengthening of the original short *i* vowel of the *qal yaqtel* pattern.¹⁷ It is from *qal* forms with *yaqtel* prefix conjugation forms, opines Yalon, that many unambiguous *hif'il* forms developed. Basing himself partially on the likes of Barth (1889; 1891, 117, 147, 119–20, 136, 285–86, 305), Böttcher (1866–1868, II:436), and Brockelmann (1908–1913,

¹⁶ Perhaps also in 4Q403 f1i.25; 4Q405 f3ii.17 (see the *Ma'agarim* website of the Academy of the Hebrew Language), but these are also interpreted as instances of the noun מָגֵן 'shield' (Abegg's 1999–2009 QUMRAN module for Accordance).

¹⁷ Cf. the causative *hif'il* in הִדְבַּקְתִּי אֶל־מִתְנֵי־אִישׁ כֵּן הָדְבַקְתִּי... '...as a loincloth **clings** to a man's waist, so **I have made** the whole house of Israel... **cling** to me' (Jer. 13.11; cf. Deut. 28.21; Ezek. 3.26; 29.4).

I:548),¹⁸ Yalon argues for the preservation of *qal yaqtel* and/or related infinitival or imperatival forms representing such roots as, גל"ל, בית"ן, אמ"ן, אצל"ל, אס"ף, אמ"ר, אב"ל, אט"ם, אח"ז, אב"ל, אב"ד, ית"ר, יש"ר, יצ"ב, יס"ף, טמ"ן, חל"ק, חל"ל, זק"ן, זל"ל, זי"ד, הפ"ך, הל"ל, גג"ן, סת"ר, גש"ך, גש"י, נפ"ל, גס"ך, גח"י, גט"י, גג"ש, מת"ק, מר"י, לע"ג, כת"ת, שי"ם, רצ"ן, רו"ח, קר"ב, קה"ל, צפ"ן, צל"ל, צב"י, עת"ק, עש"ר, עמ"ד, עז"ר, שמ"ט, שמ"ע, שמ"ט, שק"י. Many of these have apparently suppletive *qal-hif'il* paradigms, on the basis of which it may be postulated that unequivocal *hif'il* forms secondarily arose.

An illustrative case showcasing the combination of conservation and development that characterises the Tiberian reading tradition centres on *qal* and *hif'il* forms of יס"ף (Huehnergard 2005). Nearly full *qal* and *hif'il* paradigms can be adduced, with no obvious semantic distinction between the two stems.

Table 8: The paradigms *qal* יס"ף and *hif'il* הוסיף

	<i>qal</i>	<i>hif'il</i>
Suffix conjugation	יס"ף	הוסיף
Active participle	יסיף	מוסיף
Prefix conjugation	יס"ף (ויסיף)	יוסיף (ויסיף)
Imperative	יס"ף*	הוסיף*
Infinitive construct	ספוט/לספוט < ספ"ט*	הוסיף (ל)

The assumption of synonymous *qal* and *hif'il* paradigms resolves certain grammatical problems, such as what must otherwise be explained as the rather frequent use of jussive forms where indic-

¹⁸ Yalon (1971, 43) also adduces opinions among Jewish interpreters, such as Ibn Janah, Rashi, and Samuel David Luzzatto. Cf. Bergsträsser (1918–1929, II: 80, 82, 127), who for many of the forms suggested by Barth rejects a *qal yaqtel* explanation, adopting instead the view that the vocalisation is simply wrong.

ative alternatives are expected (e.g., Gen. 4.2; Lev. 5.16, 24; 37.31; Num. 5.7; 22.19; Deut. 13.1; 18.16) and the apparent use of the 3rd-person jussive where the participle is expected (Isa. 29.14; 38.5). It entails the assumption that the *qal* I-y infinitive construct לִפְתָּח in the Mesha^c Stele (KAI 181.21) was realised as if it were a III-y form in the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition. Such a situation of parallel paradigms presumably evolved from an original *qal*, whose *yaqtel* < PS *yaqtil* prefix conjugation spurred the secondary formation of unambiguous *hif^cil* forms. The diachronic character of the process is manifest in the distribution of unequivocal consonantal *qal* and *hif^cil* forms as well as forms with *matres* or vocalisations that unambiguously identify the *binyan*.

Table 9: Distribution of *qal* and *hif^cil* forms of יִסְּרַח according to the various layers of the Tiberian biblical tradition

	unequivocal consonantal		prefix conjugation vocalisation			
	<i>qal</i>	<i>hif^cil</i>	<i>qal</i>	<i>hif^cil</i> defective	<i>plene</i>	ambiguous jussive/ <i>wayyiqtol</i>
Pentateuch	13	1	8	11	4	4
Prophets	15	3	3	11	36	1
(Former	9	3	0	6	18	1)
(Latter	6	0	3	5	18	0)
Writings	1	7	0	3	30	6
(non-LBH	0	1	0	3	22	5)
(LBH+	1	6	0	0	8	1)
TOTALS	29	11	11	25	70	11

When it comes to the distribution of forms of *qal* יִסְּרַח and *hif^cil* יִסְּרַח , the various Masoretic corpora exhibit conspicuous differences that appear to have diachronic significance. Thus, in MT LBH+, there is virtually no dissonance between the three types of evidence: *hif^cil* morphology predominates to the near exclusion

of *qal* in unequivocal consonantal forms; vocalisation of *yiqtol* is exclusively *hif'il*; and *hif'il* prefix conjugation vocalisation is consistently matched by exclusively *plene hif'il* orthography.¹⁹ The morphological harmony among consonantal text, vocalisation, and *matres lectionis* in Persian Period material tallies with other evidence confirming a special affinity between the Tiberian vocalisation and the period in which LBH+ texts were composed.

The rest of the MT is characterised by more or less conflicting totals. Consider the Pentateuch: unequivocal consonantal forms are nearly all *qal*—with the problematic לְהוֹסִיף (Lev. 19.25) the single arguable exception²⁰—but *yiqtol* vocalisation is divided—eight *qal* and fifteen *hif'il*. Intriguingly, however, only four of the fifteen *yiqtol* forms with indisputable *hif'il* vocalisation have equally unambiguous *plene hif'il* spelling. This situation obviously contrasts with the one described above for LBH+ texts. Whereas there is consonantal, vocalic, and orthographic har-

¹⁹ The relevant distribution in the non-LBH+ Writings seems similar, but the dearth of unequivocal consonantal forms precludes certainty.

²⁰ In the passage's context of harvesting, 'gather' is at least as apposite as 'add'. Vulgate *congregantes* reflects the former; LXX *πρόσθεμα*, TO אֲוֹסִיף, and the Syr ܐܘܫܦܘܬܐ the latter. The Samaritan evidence is varied. The ST has למכנשה 'gather' against the SAP's لِيضَاعِف 'multiply'. For the meaning 'gather' one expects *qal* אֲוֹסִיף in Samaritan as well as Tiberian Hebrew; indeed, the *hif'il* is otherwise unknown. Also, the Samaritan pronunciation *lisaf* reflects neither אֲוֹסִיף nor אֲוֹסִיף, but seemingly אֲוֹסִיף 'bring to an end'. Cf. MT תֹּסִיףוֹן || SP תוסיפון *tūsifon* (Exod. 5.7), where, again, the context is amenable to both 'continue' and 'gather'. Similar cases of possible conflation occur within the Tiberian tradition: אֲוֹסִיף and אֲוֹסִיף (Jer. 8.13; Zeph. 1.2), אֲוֹסִיף and אֲוֹסִיף (1 Sam. 18.29; 2 Sam. 6.1); see Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 143, 213).

mony in LBH+, striking dissonance obtains in the Pentateuch. Unambiguous *qal* consonantal forms and the rare incidence of *plene* orthography with *mater yod* to signal *hif'il* morphology contrast with rather common *hif'il* vocalisation. The complexity of the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition in the Pentateuch is further manifested in the preservation of archaic *qal yaqtel* prefix conjugation morphology, according to which forms like non-jussive קָטַל are to be analysed as cases of the indicative *qal yaqtel* prefix conjugation, not as short jussive *hif'il* forms.

Apparently occupying a sort of intermediate position between the Pentateuch and LBH+, the books of the Prophets exhibit significant discord between preservation of *qal* in the case of unequivocal consonantal forms and development of *hif'il yiqtol*, but noticeably greater affinity than in the Pentateuch between *hif'il* vocalisation and *plene* orthography in the prefix conjugation. A further point of contrast with the Pentateuch is the infrequency in the Prophets of archaic *qal yaqtel* vocalisations.

Focusing on the relationship between the vocalisation and the orthographic tradition regarding hifilisation of *qal קָטַל*, the statistics constitute arguable evidence of linguistically significant development in orthographic practice within the MT. Concentrating on *yiqtol* forms where a long *i* vowel might be expected, we find that explicit *hif'il* spellings constitute a minority in the Pentateuch, come in three-quarters of the cases in the Prophets, and are the norm in the Writings, including LBH+, where *hif'il* orthography is employed to the total exclusion of potential *qal* spellings. Crucially, the *plene* percentages reflect various degrees

of agreement between the orthographic and vocalisation components of the combined Tiberian tradition.

Whenever the various constituent texts were composed, the written form of the Masoretic Pentateuch seems to reflect a stage in orthographic development in which the spelling of *(way)yiqtol* was largely still amenable to *qal* morphology. Beyond the Pentateuch, there is a strong and increasing tendency to utilise *(way)-yiqtol* spellings exclusive to *hif'il*. It is reasonable to assume that such spellings in LBH accurately reflect the post-exilic *hif'il* usage common to Second Temple Hebrew material noted above.

How to account for the high degree of *hif'il yiqtol* forms in CBH outside the Pentateuch is a more complicated question. It may be, of course, that the relatively high incidence of *hif'il* spellings in non-Pentateuchal CBH is due partially to the anachronistic application of late linguistic conventions to this material—an enterprise from which the Pentateuch was (partially) exempted due to its relatively early compilation and/or special venerated status.

A reasonable hypothesis for historical development might run as follows. An early situation of dominant *qal* morphology gradually gave way to one of increased *hif'il* usage due in part to *hif'il*-like *qal yaqtel* forms. This second stage was characterised by the continued use of both consonantly unambiguous and ambiguous *qal* forms as well as by an increase in consonantly and orthographically unambiguous *hif'il* forms. Depending on the realisation and spelling of ambiguous forms, various manifestations of suppletion might have obtained.

Intriguingly, the sorts of suppletion encountered in the Masoretic corpora described above show a certain diachronic progression. The clearest situations are in LBH+ and the Pentateuch: whereas LBH+ texts show virtually no suppletion—*hif^cil* dominant according to all components of the tradition—much of the suppletion in the Pentateuch seems to be secondary—*qal* dominant both consonantally and orthographically, *hif^cil* restricted chiefly—though not exclusively—to vocalisation. The nature of the suppletion in the Prophets is more difficult to interpret. It may be largely organic—there being a mix of unambiguous *qal* consonantal forms together with *hif^cil* forms on which vocalisation and spelling with *mater yod* agree. Alternatively, of course, the greater use of *mater yod* for unequivocal *hif^cil* spelling in the Prophets vis-à-vis the Pentateuch may be due to a secondary spelling revision that impacted non-Torah CBH material more than the Torah. Limited support for such a theory emerges from the fact that, in comparison to the Pentateuch, the Prophets show increased incidence of *plene* spelling with both *yod* and *waw* in the relevant (*way*)*yiqtol* forms of $\eta\sigma\zeta$ and $\eta\iota\sigma\iota\eta$. What is clear is that, whatever its origin, there is more in the way of *qal-hif^cil* suppletion to deal with in the Prophets than in either the Pentateuch or LBH+.

3.0. The Tiberian Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

The foregoing sections have focused mainly on the secondary and late character of hifilisation in various ancient Hebrew corpora and traditions. Such a characterisation is correct, but also poten-

tially misleading, as it is not the whole story. It must be emphasised that no historical phase of Hebrew—biblical or extra-biblical—is devoid of consonantly unambiguous *hif'il* forms.

Second, while many of the instances of hifilisation discussed above represent innovations restricted to Second Temple times, in several cases *hif'il* harbingers—sometimes, but not always, minority forms—predate the post-exilic period. This is true of *hif'il* forms of such roots as *בי"ן*, *יל"ד*, *יס"ף*, *לי"ץ*, *גה"י*, *צל"ח*, and *רי"ב*, all of which, to varying degrees, show *hif'il* distribution earlier than LBH (see §5.1 for citations). Indeed, in some cases, like that of *הוֹלִיד* ‘father, sire’, *hif'il* usage is dominant throughout all historical stages of ancient Hebrew according to the consonantal tradition. In the case of *לי"ץ* and *רי"ב*, whose *hif'il* verbal forms are limited to demonstrably late material, it may be that hifilisation began in participial forms with nominal or adjectival semantics, since these are the only relevant *hif'il* forms that crop up in pre-LBH material (for a similar phenomenon in the process of nifaliation, see above, ch. 10, §3.0).

The case of *qal* *הִסֵּף* versus *hif'il* *הוֹסִיף* exemplifies several important points. First, though the vocalisation in the Pentateuch and the Prophets is probably somewhat anachronistic—involving the *hif'il* reinterpretation of a number of apparently original *qal* forms in line with Second Temple tendencies unambiguously evidenced in late consonantal evidence—in no part of the Hebrew Bible, including those parts considered the most ancient, is the vocalisation tradition the lone witness to hifilisation of *הִסֵּף*.

Second, in its use of unambiguous *plene hif'il* spellings for *הִסֵּף*, specifically, and for *hif'il* forms, more generally, the ortho-

graphic tradition itself evinces several chronological windows on the hifilisation process—considerably less advanced in the Torah, nearly complete in LBH, and at an intermediate stage in the Prophets. Seen from a different perspective, since orthographic evidence for the hifilisation of ף"ד comes substantially earlier than the advent of the Tiberian vocalisation signs, it is clear that the hifilisation shift reflected in the medieval Tiberian reading tradition significantly predates medieval times, extending back to the Second and First Temple Periods.

4.0. Conclusions

With regard to the process of hifilisation, the historical depth of the Tiberian vocalisation tradition finds confirmation in unequivocal *hif'il* evidence found in MT LBH+, the biblical and non-biblical DSS, the SP, BS, RH, and, to some extent, the Tiberian consonantal tradition of different sections of the Hebrew Bible. The combined evidence shows clearly that the *qal* > *hif'il* shift reflected in the vocalisation of the Tiberian reading tradition had already by Second Temple times profoundly impacted morphology, so that apparent cases of dissonance between the written component of the Tiberian biblical tradition and its reading counterpart should be considered differences in degree rather than kind. Clearly, hifilisation began early on in ancient Hebrew, and scholars are afforded a series of snapshots in the process by the orthographic tradition of various parts of the Hebrew Bible, by the Tiberian reading tradition, and by other Second Temple biblical traditions and extra-biblical material.

5.0. Citations

5.1. The Tiberian Biblical Tradition

Table 1

ח"ל: *qal* + ח"ל—Judg. 14.6, 19; 15.14; 1 Sam. 10.6, 10; 11.6; 16.13; 18.10; *qal*—Num. 14.41; 2 Sam. 19.18; Isa. 53.10; 54.17; Jer. 12.1; 13.7, 10; 22.30, 30; Ezek. 15.4; 16.13; 17.9, 10, 15; Amos 5.6; Ps 45.5; Dan 11.27; **transitive hif'il**—Gen. 24.21, 40, 42, 56; 39.3, 23; Deut. 28.29; Josh. 1.8; Judg. 18.5; Isa. 48.15; 55.11; Ps. 37.7; 118.25; Neh. 1.11; 2.20; 2 Chron. 26.5; **intransitive hif'il**—Gen. 39.2; 1 Kgs 22.12 (|| 2 Chron. 18.11), 15 (|| 2 Chron. 18.14); Jer. 2.37; 5.28; 32.5; Ps. 1.3; Prov. 28.13; Dan. 8.12, 24, 25; 11.36; 1 Chron. 22.11, 13; 29.23; 2 Chron. 7.11; 13.12; 14.6; 18.11 (|| 1 Kgs 22.12), 14 (|| 1 Kgs 22.15); 20.20; 24.20; 31.21; 32.30.

Table 2

ג"ל: *qal*—Deut. 32.7; Jer. 49.7; Ps. 5.2; 50.22; 94.8; 139.2; Prov. 23.1; Dan. 9.2, 23; 10.1; **ambiguous**—Deut. 32.9; 1 Sam. 3.8; 2 Sam. 12.19; Isa. 6.9, 10; 28.9; 32.4; 40.14; 43.10; 44.18; Jer. 9.11; Hos. 4.14; 14.10; Ps. 19.13; 28.5; 49.21; 58.10; 73.17; 82.5; 92.7; 94.7; Job 6.30; 9.11; 13.1; 14.21; 15.9; 18.2; 23.5, 8; 32.8, 9; 36.29; 38.20; 42.3; Prov. 2.5, 9; 7.7; 14.15; 19.25; 20.24; 21.29 *qere*; 23.1; 24.12; 28.5, 5; 29.7, 19; Dan. 9.22; 11.30, 37, 37; 12.8, 10, 10; Ezra 8.15; Neh. 8.8; 13.7; **hif'il**—1 Kgs 3.9, 11; Isa. 28.19; 29.16; 40.21; 56.11; 57.1; Mic. 4.12; Ps. 32.9; 33.15; 119.27, 34, 73, 125, 130, 144, 169; Job 6.24; 28.23; Prov. 1.2, 6; 8.9; 14.8; 17.10, 24; 28.2, 7, 11; Dan. 1.4, 17; 8.5, 16, 17, 23, 27; 9.23; 10.11, 12, 14; Ezra 8.16; Neh. 8.2, 3, 7, 9, 12; 10.29; 1 Chron. 15.22; 25.7, 8; 27.32; 28.9; 2 Chron. 11.23; 26.5; 34.12; 35.3 *qere*.

Table 3

ג"ל: *qal*—Gen. 24.27; Exod. 13.17, 21 (לְחַתֵּם); 15.13; 32.34; Isa. 7.2; 58.11; Ps. 5.9; 27.11; 60.11; 77.21; 108.11; 139.24; **ambiguous**—Num. 23.7; Deut. 32.12; 1 Sam. 22.4; 1 Kgs 10.26; 2 Kgs 18.11; Isa. 57.18; Ps. 23.3; 31.4; 43.3; 61.3; 67.5; 73.24; 78.14, 53, 72; 107.30; 139.10; 143.10; Job 12.23; 31.18; 38.32; Prov. 6.22; 11.3; 18.16; **hif'il**—Gen. 24.48; Neh. 9.12, 19.

Table 4

ק"ס: *qal*—Gen. 8.12; 38.26; Lev. 22.14; 26.18, 21; 27.13, 15, 19, 27; Num. 11.25; 32.14, 15; Deut. 5.22, 25; 19.9; 20.8; Judg. 8.28; 13.21; 1 Sam. 7.13; 12.19; 15.35; 27.4; 2 Sam. 2.28; 2 Kgs 6.23; 19.30; Isa. 26.15; 29.1, 19; 30.1; 37.31; Jer. 7.21; 45.3; 2 Chron. 9.6; **ambiguous**—Gen. 4.2, 12; 8.10, 21, 21; 18.29; 25.1; 30.24; 37.5, 8; 38.5; 44.23; Exod. 5.7; 8.25; 9.28, 34; 10.28, 29; 11.6; Lev. 5.16, 24; 27.31; Num. 5.7; 22.15, 19, 25, 26; Deut. 1.11; 3.26; 4.2; 13.1, 12; 17.16; 18.16; 19.20; Judg. 3.12; 4.1; 9.37; 10.6; 11.14; 13.1; 20.22, 28; 1 Sam 3.6, 8, 21; 9.8; 14.44; 18.29; 19.8, 21; 20.17; 23.4; 2 Sam. 2.22; 3.34; 5.22; 12.8; 18.22; 24.1, 3; 1 Kgs 16.33; 19.2; 20.10; 2 Kgs 6.31; Isa. 7.10; 8.5; 29.14; 38.5; Ezek. 5.16; 23.14; 36.12; Hos. 9.15; 13.2; Joel 2.2; Zeph. 3.11; Ps. 115.14; Job 27.1; 29.1; 36.1; 40.32; 42.10; Prov. 1.5; 9.9; 10.22; 19.19; 23.28; 30.6; Est. 8.3; Dan. 10.18; 1 Chron. 21.3; 2 Chron. 28.22; *hif'il*—Exod. 14.13; Lev. 19.25; Deut. 25.3, 3; 28.68; Josh. 7.12; 23.13; Judg. 2.21; 10.13; 20.23; 1 Sam. 3.17; 20.13; 25.22; 2 Sam. 3.9, 35; 7.10, 20; 14.10; 19.14; 1 Kgs 2.23; 10.7; 12.11, 14; 2 Kgs 20.6; 21.8; 24.7; Isa. 1.5, 13; 10.20; 11.11; 23.12; 24.20; 47.1, 5; 51.22; 52.1; Jer. 31.12; Hos. 1.6; Amos 5.2; 7.8, 13; 8.2; Jon. 2.5; Nah. 2.1; Ps 10.18; 41.9; 61.7; 71.14; 77.8; 78.17; 120.3; Job 17.9; 20.9; 34.32, 37; 38.11; 40.5; Prov. 3.2; 9.11; 10.27; 16.21, 23; 19.4; 23.35; Ruth 1.17; Qoh. 1.16, 18; 2.9; 3.14; Lam. 4.15, 16, 22; Dan. 10.18; Ezra 10.10; Neh. 13.18; 1 Chron. 14.13; 17.9, 18; 22.14; 2 Chron. 10.11, 14; 28.13; 33.8.

Table 5

masculine ק"ל: *qal*—Gen. 4.18, 18, 18; 10.8, 13, 15, 24, 24, 26; 20.17; 22.23; 25.3; Deut. 32.18; Isa 49.21; 65.23; Jer. 17.11; Hos. 9.16; Zech. 13.3, 3; Ps. 7.15; Job 38.29; Prov. 23.22; 27.1; 1 Chron. 1.10, 11, 13, 18, 20; 2.48; *hif'il*—Gen. 5.3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32; 6.10; 11.10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; 17.20; 25.19; 48.6; Num. 26.29, 58; Deut. 4.25; 28.41; Judg. 11.1; 2 Kgs 20.18; Isa. 39.7; 45.10; 55.10; 66.9; Jer. 16.3; 29.6; Ezek. 18.10, 14; Job 38.28; Ruth 4.18, 19, 19, 20, 20, 21, 21, 22, 22; Qoh. 5.13; 6.3; Neh. 12.10, 10, 11, 11; 1 Chron. 1.34; 2.10, 10, 11, 11, 12, 12, 13, 18, 20, 20, 22, 36, 36, 37, 37, 38, 38, 39, 39, 40, 40, 41, 41, 44, 44, 46; 4.2, 2, 8, 11, 12, 14, 14; 5.30, 30, 31, 31, 32, 32, 33, 33, 34, 34, 35, 35, 36, 37, 37, 38, 38, 39, 39, 40, 40; 7.32; 8.1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 32, 33, 33, 33, 34, 36, 36, 36, 37; 9.38, 39, 39, 39, 40, 42, 42, 42, 43; 14.3; 2 Chron. 11.21; 13.21; 24.3.

5.2. NBDSS

ק"ג: **ambiguous**—1QH^a 8.36; 4Q381 f46a + b.6 (תזונה [?]); *hif'il*—1QH^a 17.7, 11; 4Q460 f9i.7. ג"ע: *hif'il*—1QpHab 4.2. ב"ז: *qal*—CD 7.18; 1QpHab 4.2;

1QH^a 12.23; 13.22; 15.26; 4Q365 f6aii + 6c.1; 4Q396 f1–2iii.10; 4Q397 f6_13.9; 4Q434 f1i.2; 4Q437 f1.2; 4Q508 f2i.2; **ambiguous**—1QpHab 4.5; 4Q285 f3.4; **hif'il**—CD 9.4. ט"רע: **ambiguous**—1QH^a 11.36. ק"חש: **qal**—4Q266 f10ii.12; 4Q269 f11ii + 15.1; **ambiguous**—1QS 7.14; 1QpHab 4.4, 6; 4Q171 f1–2ii.12; 4Q259 1.13; 4Q380 f3.2; 4Q434 f7b.3. ח"לצ: **qal**—4Q416 f8.1; **ambiguous**—1Q27 f1ii.5; 4Q219 2.29; 4Q221 f1.7; 4Q299 f2.1; **hif'il**—CD 13.21; 11Q19 58.21. י"רש: **qal**—CD 20.29; **ambiguous**—1QS 4.24; 1QH^a 5.33; **hif'il**—CD 20.26; 1QS 1.25; 1QM 1.2; 1Q34bis f3ii.4; 4Q174 f1–3ii.3 (|| Dan. 12.10); 4Q184 f1.3; 4Q266 f3ii.6; 4Q267 f2.2; f3.3; 4Q387 f3.6. ל"גד: **qal**—4Q216 6.9 (= Jub. 2.10); **ambiguous**—4Q364 f18.2 (|| Num. 14.17). ל"גד: **qal**—CD 1.1; 4Q268 f1.9; 4Q413 f1–2.4; **ambiguous**—CD 1.8, 10; 13.8; 1QS 11.22; 1QH^a 8.13; 9.39; 20.30, 36; 22.30; 2Q27 f1.4; 4Q169 f3–4iii.4; 4Q256 23.1; 4Q264 f1.10; 4Q266 f2i.5, 14; f9ii.18; f9iii.5; 4Q268 f1.8; 4Q298 f3–4ii.9; 4Q372 f8.6; 4Q377 f2ii.2; 4Q381 f1.2; f3i.5; f45a + b.1; f76–77.8; 4Q382 f15.2; 4Q390 f1.6; f2i.7; 4Q397 f14–21.10; 4Q401 f16.4; 4Q418 f46.1; f77.3; f189.2; 4Q418a f8.2; 4Q421 f1aii–b.14; 4Q424 f3.2; **hif'il**—CD 2.14; 8.12; 13.5; 19.24; 1QS 3.13; 4.22; 6.15; 1QSa 1.5; 1QH^a 4.33; 5.13, 14, 30; 10.20; 18.23; 19.31; fC3.4; 1Q34bis f3ii.3, 4; 4Q249a f1.2; 4Q267 f1.6; 4Q270 f2ii.21; 4Q298 f1–2i.2; 4Q299 f34.3; 4Q302 f2ii.2; 4Q303 f1.1; 4Q372 f2.5; f3.3; f8.4; 4Q379 f22i.4; 4Q381 f45a + b.1; f47.3; f49.2; f85.1; 4Q387 fA.4; 4Q398 f14–17ii.4; 4Q402 f4.14; 4Q408 f3 + 3a.7; 4Q415 f11.5, 6; 4Q416 f4.3; 4Q417 f1i.1, 14, 18; f1ii.10; 4Q418 f2 + 2a–c.7, 8; f17.2; f81 + 81a.15; f102a + b.3; f122i.5; f123ii.4, 5; f158.4; f176.3; f205.2; f221.2, 3; f227.1; f273.1; 4Q418a f7.2; 4Q423 f7.7; 4Q428 f10.6; 4Q443 f2.8; 4Q504 f1–2Rii.17; 4Q509 f4.4; f12i–13.3; 4Q525 f6ii.2; f14ii.18; 5Q13 f1.9. ו"ח: **qal**—4Q514 f1i.7; **ambiguous**—4Q364 f13a–b.2; 11Q19 56.11; **hif'il**—4Q171 f3–10iv.15; 4Q511 f68.4. ו"ח: **qal**—1QS^a 1.13; 4Q176 f1–2i.2; 4Q299 f62.2; 4Q417 f2i.14; **ambiguous**—1QS 4.23; 1QH^a 17.23; 25.15; 1Q36 f2.1; f10.1; 4Q175 1.15; 4Q185 f4ii.3; 4Q251 f4–7i.2; 4Q299 f59.2, 7; 4Q418 f81 + 81a.7; **hif'il**—4Q390 f2i.6. פ"ל: **qal**—4Q468i f1.1; **hif'il**—1QpHab 8.6; 4Q184 f1.2. פ"חג: **qal**—4Q408 f3 + 3a.7; **hif'il**—1QS 9.18; 4Q256 18.1; 4Q259 3.16. ק"ס: **qal**—4Q252 1.19, 20; **ambiguous**—4Q252 1.16; 4Q416 f2ii.10; 4Q417 f2i.18, 20; 4Q418 f137.2; f199.2; PAM43685 f48.2; **hif'il**—1QS 2.11; 6.14; 1QpHab 6.1; 8.12; 11.15; 1QH^a 9.37; 1Q14 f8–10.7; 4Q265 f4ii.3; 4Q266 f6iv.8; 4Q286 f7i.8; 4Q298 f3–4ii.5, 6, 7, 8; 4Q299 f6ii.18; f30.5; 4Q416 f2iii.6; f2iv.7; 4Q418 f81 + 81a.17; f162.3; f221.3; 4Q420 f2.3; 4Q436 f1a + bi.2; 4Q502 f3.1; 4Q503 f15–16.10; 4Q525 f1.3; 11Q19 54.6; 56.18; 61.11; ו"ש: **hif'il**—4Q427 f7.18 (Qimron 2010, I:102, fn. 18). ז"ל: **hif'il**—1QS^a 2.11; 4Q180 f1.5; 4Q225 f2i.8; f2ii.11; 4Q226 f7.3; 4Q338 2.1; 3.1.

5.3. Samaritan Hebrew

ק"ח: **MT qal** || **SP plene hif'il**—Deut. 20.8; **MT ambiguous** || **SP plene hif'il**—Gen. 8.21, 21; 37.5, 8; 44.23; Exod. 5.7; 9.28; Deut. 3.26; 4.2; 13.1, 12; 17.16; 18.16; 19.20; **MT plene hif'il** || **SP ambiguous**—Deut. 25.3, 3.

5.4. The Tiberian Reading Tradition

ק"ח: **qal**—Gen. 24.27; Exod. 13.17; 15.13; 32.34; Isa. 7.2; 58.11; Ps. 5.9; 27.11; 60.11; 77.21; 108.11; 139.24; **hif'il**—Gen. 24.48; Exod. 13.21; Num. 23.7; Deut. 32.12; 1 Sam. 22.4; 1 Kgs 10.26; 2 Kgs 18.11; Isa. 57.18; Ps 23.3; 31.4; 43.3; 61.3; 67.5; 73.24; 78.14, 53, 72; 107.30; 139.10; 143.10; Job 12.23; 31.18; 38.32; Prov. 6.22; 11.3; 18.16; Neh. 9.12, 19.

12. PIELISATION

Complementing the shifts from G-stem to N-stem (nifalisation, ch. 10) and from G-stem to C-stem (hifilisation, ch. 11), part of ancient Hebrew's long, gradual, and partial shift away from *qal* involved shifts from G-stem to D-stem, i.e., pielisation. Due to the orthographic identity of most *qal* and *pi^cel* forms in all but their respective active and passive participial forms, it can be difficult to detect *qal* > *pi^cel* shifts, especially in ancient corpora without a recorded reading tradition.

Even so, evidence for pielisation across ancient Hebrew corpora and traditions, both biblical and extra-biblical, is extensive, especially when comparing late antique Hebrew with earlier material. The present chapter utilises as a springboard Fassberg's (2001) survey of Qumran, BS, the Samaritan reading tradition, Tannaitic and Amoraic RH, and Paytanic Hebrew, for which he collects examples from various ancient Hebrew traditions and cites numerous expert opinions. An effort is made here to augment previous studies by pointing out evidence hitherto unnoticed.

Conspicuously absent from several previous studies of pielisation in ancient Hebrew is a discussion of the trend as a sign of distinction between Tiberian CBH and LBH. If, however, scholars find substantial evidence of G- to D-stem movement in Second Temple material, it is also reasonable to expect at least a hint of this in Tiberian LBH when compared to CBH.

1.0. Second Temple Evidence

1.1. Late Biblical Hebrew

In various ways and to varying degrees, use of the following *pi^cel* verbs manifests LBH pielisation:

1.1.1. בָּרַר ‘purify’

In Tiberian BH, the *pi^cel* comes in Dan. 11.35. Elsewhere, synonymous *qal* (Ezek. 20.38; Eccl. 3.18) and *hifⁱl* (Jer. 4.11; 51.11) forms and middle/passive forms in *nif^cal* (2 Sam. 22.27, 27; Isa. 52.11; Ps. 18.27) and *hitpa^cel* (Ps. 18.27) occur. Significantly, probable *pi^cel* forms are found in the NBDSS (1QS 1.12; 4.20; 1QH^a 7.23; 4Q369 f1ii.5) with likely cases in RH (m. ‘Eruvin 4.5; m. Tamid 2.5). The verb has a D-stem Aramaic cognate.

1.1.2. נָאַל ‘defile’

Most occurrences of verbs with this root are late in Tiberian BH. *Nif^cal* forms come in historically questionable Zephaniah (3.1) as well as transitional or early post-exilic texts (Isa. 59.3; Lam. 4.14). The *pi^cel* (Mal. 1.7), *pu^cal* (Mal. 1.7, 12; Ezra 2.62; Neh. 7.64), and *hitpa^cel* (Dan. 1.8, 8) are more characteristic of LBH proper, and apparently come in the NBDSS (see below, §1.2.1), as well. There is also a late noun נָאַל* in Neh. 13.29.

1.1.3. חָקַר ‘investigate’

Qal חָקַר ‘search, investigate, explore’ occurs 22 times in the Hebrew Bible, while the *nif^cal* נִחְקַר (לֹא) ‘(un)explored, (un)measured, (im)measurable’ comes five times; the *pi^cel* appears only

in Qoh. 12.9. It has also been identified in the NBDSS at 4Q420 flaii–b.3 (see below, §1.2.2).

1.1.4. לָטַף ‘cover, overshadow’

לָטַף ‘cover, overshadow’ (Neh. 3.15) is evidently a borrowing from Aramaic, where the verb is also commonly in the D-stem; apparent Hebrew cognates include *qal* לָצַף ‘become dark’ (Neh. 13.19) and *hif^cil* הִצִּיל ‘provide shade’ (Ezek. 31.3).

1.1.5. מָעַט ‘be few, become few’

The stative meaning in Qoh. 12.3 is elsewhere covered in BH by the *qal* מָעַט (cf. esp. Isa. 21.17; Jer. 29.6; 30.19; see also Exod. 12.4; Lev. 25.16; Ps. 107.39; Prov. 13.11; Neh. 9.32); cf. the common RH *pu^cal* participle מְמוֹעֵט ‘small, few’ (e.g., m. Pe’a 8.4).

1.1.6. שָׁפַךְ ‘pour out (a libation)’

Against the *pi^cel* in 1 Chron. 11.18, there occur throughout Tiberian BH apparently synonymous forms in *qal* (Exod. 30.9; Isa. 29.10; 30.1; 40.19; 44.10; Hos. 9.4; Ps. 2.6) and *hif^cil* (Gen. 35.14; Num. 28.7; 2 Sam. 23.16; 2 Kgs 16.13; Jer. 7.18; 19.13; 32.29; 44.17, 18, 19, 19, 25; Ezek. 20.28; Ps. 16.4), with a *qal* internal or *hof^cal* passive (Exod. 25.29; 37.16). In the Mishna, the *pi^cel* occurs to the exclusion of *qal* or *hif^cil* (e.g., m. ‘Avoda Zara 5.6; m. Zevaḥim 13.6). The Targumic cognate is also D-stem.

1.1.7. נָתַן ‘tear down, break down’

Pi^cel forms are found mainly, but not exclusively, in late texts (Deut. 12.3; Ezek. 16.39; 2 Chron. 31.1; 33.3; 34.4, 7; 36.19);

however, consonantly unambiguous *pi^cel* forms are found only in Chronicles (2 Chron. 31.1; 34.4, 7; 36.19). Synonymous *qal* forms are the norm in BH, with some thirty cases (e.g., Exod. 34.13). Passives are vocalised as either *nif^cal* (Jer. 4.26; Nah. 1.6) or *qal* internal passive/*pu^cal* (Judg. 6.28). The *pi^cel* is also known from SH (Lev. 14.45 || MT *qal*).

1.1.8. Related Phenomena

Disappearance of *Qal* Internal Passive

Additionally, one indirect result of pielisation in LBH (and other late antique Hebrew sources) noted by Fassberg (2001, 252–55) is the disappearance of the *qal* internal passive. While accepting the reality of phonetic and morphosemantic factors, Fassberg opines that the shift of **qutal* forms to *quttal* was facilitated by broader movement from *qal* to *pi^cel*.

Increased Usage of *Pu^cal* Participles

A not unrelated development in exilic and post-exilic Hebrew was increased usage of *pu^cal* participles in place of various classical alternatives. Focusing principally on the linguistic periodisation of Ezekiel vis-à-vis the Priestly Source of the Pentateuch, Hurvitz (1982, 27–30, 35–39; 1983) calls attention to the late distribution of such terms as מְחַלֵּל ‘defiled’, מְטַהֵר ‘purified’, מְטַמֵּא ‘defiled’, מְקַדְּשׁ ‘sanctified’, and מְרַבֵּעַ ‘square’. While rejecting the extreme position that such terms were necessarily coined in exilic or post-exilic times, Hurvitz (1982, 29–30) argues that their historical usage follows a clearcut chronological sequence, accord-

ing to which the *pu^{cc}al* participles dominate in the late period. More diagnostically characteristic of LBH proper are:

- מְלִבְּשִׁים ‘dressed’ (1 Kgs 22.10 || 2 Chron. 18.9; Ezra 3.10; 2 Chron. 5.12) – *qal* לָבַשׁ ‘wear’ comes over 60 times in the Hebrew Bible, joined by a causative *hif^{cc}il* 30+ times, with no *pi^{cc}el*; use of the *pu^{cc}al* continues in RH (e.g., t. Shabbat 8.17).¹
- מְפֹרָצָה ‘broken down’ (Neh. 1.3; see also the *ketiv* המפרוצים, *qere* פְּרוּצִים Neh. 2.13) – in place of the expected פְּרוּצָה (Prov. 25.28; Neh. 2.13 *qere*; 4.1; 2 Chron. 32.5; and cf. the standard *qal* form—42 times—against zero *pi^{cc}el* forms).
- מְפַרֵּשׂ ‘made distinct’ (Neh. 8.8) – פָּרַשׂ (Num. 15.34) is analysable as a *qal* internal passive on the basis of לְפָרֵשׂ ‘to clarify’ (Lev. 24.12); the *pi^{cc}el* is also attested in SH (§1.3.1) and RH (§1.5), the *pu^{cc}al* in the NBDSS (§1.2.2) and RH (§1.5).

1.2. Dead Sea Scrolls

Fassberg (2001, 245–46) collects examples of various categories of *pi^{cc}el* replacements of *qal* cited by scholars, e.g.,

- וְנִלְכָּה (= וְנִלְכְּהוּ) ‘that we may walk’ (1QIsa^a 2.10) || וְנִלְכָּה (MT Isa. 2.3)

¹ Possibly also to be read in 11Q17 9.7, but the context is broken and the reading questionable (see the *Ma’agarim* website).

- ישח{{ו}}קו '(they) mock' (1QpHab 4.6)² || ישחֶק (MT Hab. 1.10)³
- המכרת 'who sells, i.e., betrays' (4Q169 f3–4ii.7) || המכרת (MT Nah. 3.4; cf. §1.3.1, below)

A Tiberian BH *qal* internal passive is twice replaced with *pu*^{cal} in 1QIsa^a:

- וממרט 'polished' (1QIsa^a 14.25) || ומזרט (MT Isa. 18.2)
- וממרט (1QIsa^a 15.1) || ומזרט (MT Isa. 18.7)

A *pu*^{cal} participle comes where a *qal* passive participle is expected in the case of:

- מגולי און 'with opened ears' (1QM 10.11); cf. גלה און 'open the ear' (e.g., 1 Sam. 9.15) and וגלוי עינים 'and with opened eyes' (Num. 24.4, 16) (see below, §3.3)

To Fassberg's list of BDSS *qal* > *pi*^{cal} shifts, the following may be added.

1.2.1. The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

דבר 'speak'

Though *pi*^{cal} morphology prevails for this verb in the MT, significant *qal* vestiges remain (see below, §3.1, for details). Most cases of MT *qal* forms of דב"ר are paralleled by *qal* forms in the BDSS, with the following as a notable exception.

² The *waw* is marked for erasure by dots above and below.

³ The citation of a parallel in MT Lam. 1.7 in Fassberg (2001, 245) is evidently an error.

- הלל (ו) י צדקות וידבר מישרים ‘(he) walks righteously and speaks uprightly’ (1QIsa^a 27.16) || הלך צדקות ודבר מישרים (MT Isa. 33.15)

Here, whether due to textual or linguistic factors, or to a combination of these and/or other factors, 1QIsa^a presents what is most reasonably interpreted as a *pi^{cc}el* prefix conjugation form, which arguably contemporises the language at the expense of the poetry (cf. the preceding participle).

רִינָה ‘sing’

The MT knows common *qal* and *pi^{cc}el* forms, as well as rarer *hif^{cc}il* and *pu^{cc}al* ones, with no obvious difference in meaning (though there may well have been one). What is more, both the *qal* and the *pi^{cc}el* persist in late biblical traditions. Crucially, however, in late non-biblical corpora, especially the NBDSS, but RH as well, *pi^{cc}el* usage dominates markedly over that of *qal*. Thus, the following example from the Great Isaiah Scroll, may be part of a broad *qal* > *pi^{cc}el* shift.

- ירננו ‘they will sing; (1QIsa^a 52.20) || יִרְנְנוּ (MT Isa. 65.14)

Local Shifts *Pi^{cc}el* > *Qal* in the Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

In the interests of comprehensiveness, it may be noted that stem change between the MT and the BDSS involving *qal* and *pi^{cc}el* does not always reflect the direction exemplified above, i.e., *qal* > *pi^{cc}el*. Select cases of the reverse are also known, e.g.,

- ויסקלהו ‘and he destoned it’ (MT Isa. 5.2) || ויסקלוהו (1QIsa^a 4.13)
- סקלו ‘destone!’ (MT Isa. 62.10) || סקולו (1QIsa^a 50.23)

- לְבַצֵּר ‘to fortify’ (MT Isa. 22.10) || לבצור (1QIsa^a 17.14)
- יִשְׁבֵּר ‘he shatters’ (MT Isa. 38.13) || ישבור (1QIsa^a 32.5)
- אֶשְׁבֵּר ‘I will break in pieces’ (MT Isa. 45.2) || אשבור (1QIsa^a 38.8)
- וְתַחֲשְׁבֵהוּ ‘that you consider him’ (MT Ps. 144.3) || ותחושבהו (1Q5 23.15)
- לְלַקֵּט ‘to glean’ (MT Ruth 2.23) || ללקוט (2Q16 f5ii–6i.2)

In these cases, it may be that the DSS text preserves an ancient *qal* form that secondarily shifted to *pi^{ce}l* in the Tiberian reading tradition, presumably for purposes of semantic disambiguation, e.g., *qal* סָקַל ‘stone (to death)’ versus *pi^{ce}l* ‘destone (a field, road); throw stones’, *qal* בָּצַר ‘harvest grapes, trim vines’ versus *pi^{ce}l* בָּצַר* ‘fortify’, *qal* שָׁבַר ‘break’ versus *pi^{ce}l* שָׁבַר ‘shatter, break into pieces’, *qal* חָשַׁב ‘think’ versus *pi^{ce}l* חָשַׁב ‘consider, calculate’. On the other hand, since the *qal* form in these cases is often the more common alternative, it may be that the technical *pi^{ce}l lectio difficilior* was inadvertently replaced by the better-known form. In the specific case of לְלַקֵּט (MT Ruth 2.23) || ללקוט (2Q16 f5ii–6i.2), there also seem to be local textual factors at work. In the MT generally and in MT Ruth more specifically there is a mix of *qal* לָקַט and *pi^{ce}l* לָקַט, the *qal* with perhaps a more generic sense of ‘gathering’, the *pi^{ce}l* referring specifically to ‘gathering by the less fortunate at harvest time’. As MT Ruth has both *qal* and *pi^{ce}l* infinitive construct forms, it may be that the tradition preserved in 2Q16 reflects secondary harmonisation of the original *pi^{ce}l* in Ruth’s actions in Ruth 2.23 to match the *qal* of Boaz’s instructions in Ruth 2.8. Whatever the case may be, the difference between these examples and the examples of the *qal* > *pi^{ce}l* shift dis-

cussed above is that while the latter appear to be part of a broad trend, the former seem to be more case-specific in nature.

1.2.2. The Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Fassberg focuses chiefly on acknowledged differences between Tiberian BH and DSSBH, but also observes the following probable instance of *qal* > *pi^cel* movement in the NBDSS:

- מרוגלת 'attached' (1QM 5.13); cf. RH רגול 'bound' (m. Shabbat 5.3)

To this list it is possible to add further examples.

גאל 'defile'

Alongside *pi^cel* [מגאלי] 'defiling' (4Q513 f13.3; perhaps also 4Q274 f1i.6; 4Q284a f1.7; 11Q19 47.13) and *pu^cal* יגאולו ('that are desecrated' (CD 12.16) the *hitpa^cel* also occurs (1QM 9.8; 4Q379 f3i.5); for the Tiberian biblical distribution, see above, §1.1.2.

דחק 'charge'

דחוק 'and charging' (4Q223–224 f2iv.13) is clearly *pi^cel*. Verbs with this root are rare in the MT, occurring only in *qal* in the sense 'press'; the Aramaic G-stem serves in a similar meaning in the Targums, though D-stem forms are comparatively more common in the Jerusalem Targum (i.e., Targum Jerusalem).

חבא 'hide'

In Tiberian BH, the transitive form is *hifⁱil* (6x), while the middle (reflexive/intransitive) sense is typically encoded with *nifⁱal*

(16x) or *hitpa^{ca}el* (10x). A *hof^{ca}al* passive is known (Isa. 42.22), as is a possible *pu^{ca}al* or *qal* internal passive in MT חֲבֵּאִים ‘are hidden’ (Job 24.4). The NBDSS have the clearcut *pu^{ca}al* participle מחובאים ‘hidden (things)’ (1QH^a 16.7, 19; see also, perhaps וּחְבֵּא 1QS 4.6).

חִקֵּר ‘seek, investigate’

מחִקֵּר ‘seeking’ (4Q420 f1aii–b.3) may be a *pi^{ca}el* participle in line with the LBH *pi^{ca}el* form seen above (§1.1.3), but the syntax may just as well point to a nominal form or to an Aramaic-style infinitive.

נָדַב ‘commit’

Tiberian BH shows *qal* and *hitpa^{ca}el* usage (the latter with specifically late semantics in LBH; see Hurvitz 2014, 179–81), one or both of which are also evidenced in SH, RH, and BS; RH and the NBDSS also add *nif^{ca}al* forms. Against the MT’s transitive *qal*, the NBDSS passive *pu^{ca}al* form המְנוֹדָבִים ‘those who are committed’ (4Q501 f1.3) seems indicative of pielisation.

סָכַךְ ‘confine’

The context of וּבְמִסְכָּכָה ‘and like a confined (woman)’ (4Q179 f2.7) arguably indicates a *pu^{ca}al* participle. In Tiberian BH, the relevant forms are *qal* and *hif^{ca}il* (though *qal yaqtel* morphology may also be conjectured for some prefix conjugation forms), not *pi^{ca}el* or *pu^{ca}al*. *Pi^{ca}el* forms are common in RH, especially in the context of the *sukkah* (e.g., m. Sukkah 1.4).

פחד ‘fear’

In the MT, against 22 *qal* cases come just two cases of *pi^cel*. In both Isa. 51.13 and Prov. 28.14, the *pi^cel* occurs with the adverbial תָּמִיד ‘always’, once with כָּל-הַיּוֹם ‘all day’ (Isa. 51.13). It is conceivable that the biblical *pi^cel* began with a more intensive (pluractional/iterative) meaning than the *qal*, but that the two forms eventually became virtual synonyms.⁴ An active participle with no accompanying pluractional/iterative adverb comes in 4Q381 f31.8 (see also 1QS 4.2; 4Q510 f1.4; 4Q511 f8.4; f48–49 + 51.2⁵); see also on BS (see below, §1.4.3).

פרש ‘clarify’

Tiberian BH attests active *qal* (Lev. 24.12) and passive *qal* (or *pu^cal*) (Num. 15.34) and *nif^cal* (Ezek. 34.12), with the only explicit *pu^cal* in LBH Neh. 8.8 (see above, §1.1.8). Like LBH, the NBDSS have explicitly *pu^cal* מפורשים ‘made distinct’ (4Q177 f1–4.11); cf. the *pi^cel* in SH (see below, §1.3.1) and the *pi^cel* and *pu^cal* in RH (see below, §1.5).

⁴ Modern Hebrew knows a quasi-suppletive paradigm not dissimilar from the paradigm in Tiberian BH (see <https://hebrew-academy.org.il/2011/07/08/פּוֹחַד-וּמְפוֹחַד/>).

⁵ In several of the potential NBDSS examples, the consonantal form is ambiguous, i.e., is analysable as *qal* or *pi^cel*, and some take the meaning of the *pi^cel* to be causative (as in early Paytanic Hebrew, on which see Rand 2006, 190).

פרש 'spread (a net)'

In the Hebrew of the NBDSS, one encounters מפרשי רשת 'net-spreaders' (1QH^a 21.24 || 4Q427 f11.2 || 4Q428 f13.7–8 [?]). In Tiberian BH, cases of *qal* פָּרַשׁ 'spread' outnumber cases of the synonymous *pi*^{ca}*el* by a margin of 54 to 9, though it is important to note that this applies to all biblical chronolects and that the *pi*^{ca}*el* is absent from LBH proper. However, collocations involving פָּרַשׁ and רֶשֶׁת come nine times in BH, always employing a *qal* verb (Ezek. 12.13; 17.20; 19.8; 32.3; Hos. 5.1; 7.12; Ps. 140.6; Prov. 29.5; Lam. 1.13), which makes the NBDSS shift to the *pi*^{ca}*el* in this collocation especially conspicuous. It may be significant that the *qal* > *pi*^{ca}*el* shift applies specifically to cases of the active participle with substantival (nominal/adjectival) semantics, a category that excludes the biblical tokens.

רחץ 'wash, bathe'

Against the single NBDSS case of *pu*^{ca}*al* מרחצים 'washing, rinsing (tr.)' (11Q19 34.10), in Tiberian BH the verb is consistently *qal*, whether reflexive, e.g., לְרַחֵץ עַל-הַיָּאֵר 'to bathe by the Nile' (Exod. 2.5), weakly transitive, e.g., וְרַחֲצוּ רַגְלֵיכֶם 'so you (MPL) may wash your (MPL) feet' (Gen. 18.4), or strongly transitive, e.g., וְרַחֲצֶתָ אֹתָם 'and you (MS) will wash them (i.e., Aaron and his sons)' (Exod. 29.4) (the apparent *pu*^{ca}*al* forms in Ezek. 16.4 and Prov. 30.12 should arguably be analysed as *qal* internal passives). This is generally the case in the NBDSS, too. However, compare Tiberian BH וְרַחֲצֶתָ קִרְבּוֹ וּכְרָעָיו 'and you must wash its entrails and its legs' (Exod. 29.17; see also Lev. 1.9, 13; 8.21; 9.14; Isa. 4.4) with NBDSS וּמְרַחֲצִים אֶת הַקִּרְבִּים וְאֶת הַכְּרָעִים 'and washing the entrails and

the legs' (11Q19 34.10–11). The *pi^{cc}el* also occurs in Amoraic Hebrew (y. Shabbat 9.3).

שנא 'hate'

Tiberian BH forms of שׁנ"א reflect a basically *qal* paradigm: שׁנֶא-שׁנֵא-שׁנָא-שׁנְא-שׁנֹא-שׁנֻא-שׁנָה/ה(ל)שׁנָה-שׁנָה-שׁנָה*, verbal passive שׁנֶאשׁנָה*. The exception is the *pi^{cc}el* participle with substantival semantics שׁנֵא 'enemy', which appears 15 times throughout biblical literature. Of particular interest is the term used for a less-favoured wife, viz. the *qal* passive participle שׁנֹאָה (Gen. 29.31, 33; Deut. 21.15, 15, 16,17; 2 Sam. 5.8; Isa. 60.15; Prov. 30.23). Against this contextual background, one may consider the NBDSS *pu^{cc}al* participle מְשׁוֹנָה 'unloved, despised, hated' (4Q179 f1ii.3). Though the context is broken, it appears that the MT passive *qal* participle has been replaced in the Qumran text with a *pu^{cc}al* participle. Cf. BS for a *yiqtol* form of the *pu^{cc}al* (see below, §1.4.4).

1.3. Samaritan Hebrew

While the Samaritan written tradition largely resembles its Tiberian counterpart when it comes to the distribution and semantics of verbal stems, the Samaritan reading tradition exhibits systematic deviations away from the *qal* in favour of *nif^{cc}al* (see above, ch. 10), *hif^{cc}il* (see above, ch. 11), and *pi^{cc}el*. Indeed, in comparison not just to the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition, but to recognised Second Temple Hebrew biblical and non-biblical corpora, the Samaritan reading tradition exhibits an advanced stage of pielisation. This manifests in two main ways: wholesale or partial movement to standard D-stem

pi^ˈel/pu^ˈal, with expected gemination of the middle radical (§1.3.1); wholesale or partial movement to *pi^ˈel B/pu^ˈal B*, i.e., D-stem with singleton middle radical (§1.3.2). A potentially related phenomenon is the development of *qal B* prefix conjugation forms, whose patterns resemble that of *pi^ˈel B* (§1.3.3). Given the extensiveness of pielisation and related shifts in the Samaritan reading tradition, no attempt at exhaustiveness is made in the following treatment.

1.3.1. *Qal* > *Pi^ˈel*

מכר ‘sell’: Comprehensive Shift

Relative to the Tiberian biblical tradition, the SP shows comprehensive G- to D-stem shifts in the case of the verbs גלל ‘roll’, חנך ‘dedicate, educate’, מכר ‘sell’, ענש ‘punish’, פרש ‘explain’, and קרע ‘tear’. As the most common of these, מכר ‘sell’ serves as a useful example. The dominant Tiberian active-passive *qal-nif^ˈal* arrangement is mirrored in the SP by an active-passive arrangement consisting of *pi^ˈel-nif^ˈal B* (i.e., *nitpa^ˈel* with assimilated *tav*), e.g., *pi^ˈel* מכרתם *makkertimma* ‘you (MPL) sold’ (Gen. 45.4) and *nif^ˈal B* ונמכר *wnimmakkar* ‘then he must be sold’ (Exod. 22.2). The Samaritan D-stem extends even to active participles without the characteristic preformative *-מ-*, as in מכר *makkār* ‘is selling (MS)’ || MT מכר (Lev. 25.16). For historical context, it is worth noting that a D-stem form of מכר occurs in the NBDSS: הממכרת ‘who sells, i.e., betrays’ (4Q169 f3–4ii.7) || המכרת (MT Nah. 3.4). It may also be relevant that the Aramaic equivalent זבן ‘sell’ is also D-stem (cf. G-stem זבן ‘buy’).

דבר 'speak': Unification of a Mixed Paradigm

In other cases of apparent Samaritan pielisation vis-à-vis *qal* use in the MT, the SP presents a unified *pi^{cc}el* conjugation against a mixed Tiberian paradigm. The Tiberian arrangement sometimes involves a semantic distinction between G- and D-stem, as in the case of זרה 'winnow', לקט 'collect, gather, glean', and קבץ 'gather, collect, assemble'. An alternative Tiberian arrangement is that of dominant *pi^{cc}el* morphology with vestigial *qal* forms, as in the well-known case of דבר 'speak'. In this case, against the MT's 1000+ *pi^{cc}el* forms and forty apparently synonymous *qal* participial (active and passive) and infinitival forms (and *nif^{cc}al* passives), the Samaritan paradigm is comprehensively *pi^{cc}el*, including *pi^{cc}el* active participles without the characteristic prefix -מ, e.g., דברות *dabbērot* 'speak (FPL)' (Num. 27.7; see also Gen. 16.13; Exod. 6.29; Num. 32.27; 36.5; Deut. 5.1; 15.9) (see below, §3.1).⁶

משה 'anoint': Formal and Semantic Suppletion

Finally, Samaritan pielisation can result in suppletive paradigms, whether formal or semantic/grammatical. Consider the case of משה 'anoint'. Against a consistently *qal* Tiberian paradigm (with corresponding *nif^{cc}al* medio-passive), the SP preserves *qal* mor-

⁶ In the case of MT *hitpa^{cc}el* מְדַבֵּר || SP *pi^{cc}el* מדבר *amdabbər* '[the voice] speaking' (Num. 7.89; cf. Ezek. 2.2; 43.6), the Samaritan D-stem is likely more original, with the Tiberian tradition exhibiting a secondary shift to *hitpa^{cc}el* as part of the broad Second Temple trend of avoiding anthropomorphisms of the deity (see, especially, the Targums; Ben-Hayyim 2000, 218, fn. 189; see below, ch. 13, §2.2.4).

phology in the *qaṭal* (13x, e.g., מִשַׁחַת *māšatta* Gen. 31.13), passive participle (5x, e.g., מִשְׁחִים *māšim* Lev. 2.4, with *qāṭil* rather *qāṭūl* morphology), and infinitive construct (מִשְׁחוּ *māšā'u* Lev. 7.36). In six of seven cases of the *yiqtol*, conversely, a *pi^{cc}el* form obtains (e.g., תִּמְשַׁח *tēmašša* Exod. 30.30). The distinction between the dominant *pi^{cc}el yiqtol* forms and the lone *qal yiqtol* exception מִשַׁח *yimša* (Lev. 16.32) may be explicable in terms of pluractionality—all cases of the *pi^{cc}el* involve multiple objects,⁷ whereas the verb in Lev. 16.32 has a single object. Beyond Samaritan Hebrew, D-stem מִשַׁח is not known from ancient Hebrew. However, the relevant Aramaic form is D-stem רָבִי (e.g., TO Num. 35.25).⁸

בכה ‘weep; mourn’: Semantic/Grammatical Suppletion

Semantic and/or grammatical suppletion obtains when different cognate stems have diverse semantics and/or valency. Especially illustrative is the case of בכה ‘weep; mourn’. In the Tiberian BH tradition, *qal* morphology is nearly exclusive (112x), with just two *pi^{cc}el* participle exceptions (Jer. 31.15; Ezek. 8.14). Rare D-stem forms in the face of far more common G-stem morphology are known from Tannaitic RH, QA, and Syriac (*Maʿagarim*, s.v.; *CAL*, s.v.). For its part, SH is characterised by a complex situation of suppletion involving *qal*, *pi^{cc}el*, and *qal B* forms (see below,

⁷ This includes Lev. 8.12, where, notwithstanding the singular grammatical object in the immediate context, it is clear from Lev. 8.10–11 that multiple objects are anointed.

⁸ Formal suppletion occurs in the case of גָּרַשׁ ‘drive away, divorce’ (vestigial *qal* use in Tiberian), יָסַף ‘add, do again’ (partial *qal* > *hifʿil* shift in Tiberian), נָטַשׁ ‘allow, leave, forsake’, שָׁלַח ‘send’.

§1.3.3). The suppletion appears generally to involve both grammatical and formal factors. All infinitives construct are *pi^{el}* (Gen. 23.2; 43.30), and other than the infinitive at Gen. 43.30, *pi^{el}* forms consistently take a direct object, i.e., have the meaning ‘mourn (trans.)’ (6x: Gen. 23.2; 37.35; 50.3; Lev. 10.6; Num. 20.29; Deut. 21.13; 34.8). For their part, intransitives are characterised by formal suppletion: *qal* suffix conjugation forms (2x: Gen. 45.14; Num. 11.18) and active participles (3x: Exod. 2.6; Num. 11.10; 25.6) and *qal B* prefix conjugation forms (16x: Gen. 21.16; 27.38; 29.11; 33.4; 42.24; 43.30; 45.14, 15; 46.29; 50.1, 17; Num. 11.4, 13, 20; 14.1; Deut. 1.45).⁹

יָלַד ‘bear (a child); beget, father, sire’

SH, like Tiberian Hebrew, generally distinguishes between *qal* יָלַד ‘bear (a child)’ and *hif’il* הוֹלִיד ‘beget, father, sire’. On occasions where the MT presents a *qal* form that denotes ‘beget, father, sire’, SH does not tolerate the polysemy of the *qal*. In a few instances, disambiguation is achieved via hifilisation of verbs that refer to the act of the male (see ch. 11, §1.3.2), but this is far less common than the alternative strategy, namely, pielisation. On nine occasions, the SP has *pi^{el}* יָלַד *yallad* ‘he fathered’ parallel to MT *qal* יָלַד ‘he bore, i.e., fathered’ (Gen. 4.18, 18, 18; 10.13, 15, 24, 24, 26; 25.3) and on one occasion *pi^{el}* יָלַד *yallad* ‘he fathered’ parallel to MT *qal* passive יָלַד ‘was born (M)’ (Gen. 10.21). This approach achieves the formal disambiguation of distinct semantic values that would otherwise be subsumed under the same

⁹ חָשַׁב ‘consider, calculate’, יָלַד ‘beget, sire, father; midwife’, עָבַד ‘work, serve; worship’, עָבַר ‘pass, cross’, and פָּרַע ‘let loose, go wild’.

form, but it also results in a *pi^cel* form with two distinct meanings separated by gender: masculine ‘beget, father, sire’, feminine (active participle) ‘serve as midwife’ (Gen. 35.17; 38.28; Exod. 1.15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). Clear contextual and formal differences evidently made the association of such diverse semantic values with *pi^cel* more tolerable than the original association of diverse meanings with the *qal*.

1.3.2. *Qal* > *Pi^cel B*

Alongside the standard D-stem, SH knows a less frequent, though by no means rare, D-stem form without middle radical gemination, which Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 113–15, §§2.1.3.5–7) labels *pi^cel B*. Though most of the relevant verbs are II-guttural, the frequency in this stem of select non-II-guttural verbs—namely, כבד ‘honour’, כפר ‘atone’, and ספר ‘tell, recount’—confirms the heuristic validity of the *binyan*.¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. Tiberian Hebrew, where, due to the rarity of non-II-guttural D-stem forms with singleton middle radicals, it is more parsimonious to include II-guttural D-stem forms in the standard *pi^cel* category and to account phonologically for the lack of gemination. In his discussion of D-stem forms without gemination, Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 114, §2.1.3.6–7) adduces parallels from Babylonian RH, TO, and Babylonian and Tiberian BH. The examples of כפר with *peh rafa*, all from the Sifra, are compelling (Yeivin 1985, 515). Of the alleged Tiberian BH examples, מְלַשְׁנִי ‘slanderer’ (Ps. 101.5 *qere*) seems pertinent, but the additional examples listed by Ben-Ḥayyim, viz. מְאַסְפֵיּוֹ ‘its (M) gatherers’ (Isa. 62.9) and תְּרַצְחוּ ‘you (MPL) murder’ (Ps. 62.4), are variants that bear more conventional vocalisation in L and A: מְאַסְפֵיּוֹ and תְּרַצְחוּ, respectively.

The mixed nature of the *pi'el B* template is most evident in the morphology of the active participle, which forms occur both with and without the standard prefix -נ, e.g., מצחק *amṣā'əq* 'play, joke, mock' versus לשא *šā'əl* 'ask, borrow'. Indeed, on the basis of examples like the latter, a reasonable hypothesis is that some II-guttural *pi'el B* verbs began as *qal* statives with PS *qaṭil* morphology. The broader process of pielisation and the more restricted simplification of *pi'el*'s originally geminate middle radical seem to have converged, with the result that statives like לשא *šā'əl* 'ask, borrow' and אהב *ā'əb* 'love' could be analysed as *pi'el B*.¹¹ This was facilitated by the fact that the standard Samaritan *pi'el* participle requires no prefix -נ. On this basis, *pi'el B* prefix forms in *yēqāṭəl* could be secondarily generated. It should be noted, though, that Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 109, §2.1.1.7) accounts for generation of the very similar *qal B* prefix conjugation pattern *yēqāṭəl* on the basis of purely phonological shifts to the standard *qal* *yiqṭəl* template, i.e., *yēqāṭəl* < **yiqāṭəl* < **yiqṭəl* (see below, §1.3.3)—which could conceivably equally apply to the *pi'el B* prefix conjugation, too. Alternatively—or complementarily—the broad process of pielisation may have been a significant factor in the secondary development of *yēqāṭəl* and *yēqāṭəl* prefix conjugation forms.

¹¹ Cf. the remnants of stative pronunciation of these verbs in the Tiberian tradition, e.g., אהב 'he loved' (Gen. 27.9), שאלתי 'I asked him' (Judg. 13.6).

לגא 'redeem': Comprehensive Shift

As a comprehensive shift from *qal* to *pi'el B*, consider the case of לגא 'redeem'. The Tiberian biblical paradigm is *qal-nif'al*. SH preserves the *nif'al* (Lev. 25.30, 49, 54; 27.20, 27, 28, 33), but all MT *qal* forms are paralleled by *pi'el B* forms in the SP (28x), e.g., MT וְגִאֲלֶתִי 'and I will redeem' || SP וּגְאֲלֵתִי *wgā'ilti* (Exod. 6.6), MT יִגְאֵל 'will redeem (3MS)' || SP יִגְאֵל *yēgā'al* (Lev. 25.33). Significantly, this includes the participle (13x), e.g., MT הַגֹּאֲלֵי 'the redeeming (angel)' || SP הַגְאֵל *aggā'al* 'the redeeming (king)' (Gen. 48.16). The latter are clear evidence of the *qal* > *pi'el B* shift. The Samaritan pielisation of this verb seems unique, as the D-stem is otherwise unattested in late antique Hebrew and Aramaic traditions, though the corresponding Aramaic פֿר"ק has occasional D-stem derivations (see *CAL*, s.v.).¹²

אחר 'tarry, delay, stay': Unification of a Mixed Paradigm

In other cases, consistent Samaritan *pi'el B* morphology parallels mixed G-/D-stem morphology in the MT, e.g., אחר 'tarry, delay, stay'. Most of the 16 cases in the MT are *pi'el*. *Qal* exceptions are וְאָחַר 'and I remained' (Gen. 32.5) and *ketiv* וַיִּזְחַר *qere* וַיִּזְחַר 'but he exceeded (the deadline)' (2 Sam. 20.5). In the Samaritan tradition, all parallels to Tiberian *pi'el* forms and the single *qal* exception are *pi'el B*.¹³

¹² Similar cases are געל 'loathe, detest', מאס 'reject', מהר II 'pay a bride price', מחץ 'strike, shatter, crush', נאף 'commit adultery', פעל 'do, make', צעק 'cry out', and שאב 'draw, pull'.

¹³ Similar cases include אחז 'take, grasp, seize; possess', לחך 'lick', לחץ 'press', נאץ 'spurn, despise', פקח 'open (eyes)', and צחק 'laugh, play, per-

1.3.3. *Qal* > *Qal B*

In SH, certain verbs have prefix conjugation forms with a *yēqāṭāl* pattern, not dissimilar from the *yēqāṭāl* pattern of the *pi‘el B* (seen above, §1.3.2). Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 109, §2.1.1.7) groups such forms under the label *qal B*. Though the *yiqtol* pattern of strong verbs of this type can be explained as a result of sound shifts in the standard *qal* prefix conjugation pattern—namely, *yiqtāl* > **yiqāṭāl* > *yēqāṭāl* (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 109, §2.1.1.7)—its similarity to the *pi‘el B* pattern (*yēqāṭāl*) and, for that matter, to the standard *pi‘el* pattern (*yēqatṭāl*), may also be attributed, even if partially, to the overall expansion of D-stem and D-stem-like vocalism.

It is to be noted that *qal B* forms are limited almost exclusively to verbs III-*r* and III-*y* (< III-’).¹⁴ The most common verb is זכר *zākār* ‘remember’ with prefix conjugation יזכר *yēzākār*. Against the contention that this (along with other III-*r* forms) might be more parsimoniously classified as *pi‘el B*, attributing the shift of *ə* > *ā* of the middle radical to the following *r*, one need

form, revel, jest, mock’. In most of the above, the Tiberian morphological diversity is semantically and/or grammatically explicable, though there are some cases, e.g., אחר ‘tarry, delay, stay’ and לחדך ‘lick’, where there is no obvious semantic or grammatical difference between the MT *qal* and *pi‘el* alternatives.

¹⁴ The relevant verbs, with example forms, are בטא ‘speak rashly’ *yēbēṭa*, בכה ‘weep’ *wyēbēki*, *wyēbēku*, בקר ‘seek’ *yēbāqār*, דקר ‘pierce’ *wyēdāqār*, זכר ‘remember’ *wyēzākār*, פדה ‘redeem’ *tēfēdi*, פנה ‘turn’ *wyāfānu*, *wnēfāna*, פצל ‘peel’ *wyēfāšāl*, פצר ‘urge, press’ *wyēfāšār*, פשה ‘spread’ *tēfēši*, *yēfēši*, ראה ‘see’ *wyēre*, *wyērē‘u*, *wtēre*, רעה ‘shepherd, pasture, feed’ *yē‘rū*.

only compare *pi^cel B* ויספר *wyēsāfār*, which occasions no such shift.¹⁵ Likewise, in the case of III-y (and similar) verbs, though it may be tempting to view apparent *qal B* forms, such as ויבך *wyēbēki*, as mere *pi^cel* allomorphs, the existence of genuine *pi^cel* ויבך *wyēbakki* militates against this. So, too, does the apparent morphosemantic distinction between the forms of בכה, viz. intransitive *qal/qal B* ‘cry, weep’ and transitive *pi^cel* בכה ‘mourn’ (see above, §1.3.1).

In sum, notwithstanding the apparent validity of the classification of *qal B* forms as a G-stem subcategory primarily reflecting processes of phonetic resyllabification, in a tradition characterised by various manifestations of pielisation, it is plausible to hypothesise that the morphological shift to D-stem was favourable to parallel phonetic developments.

1.4. Ben Sira

According to Fassberg (2001, 246), Ben-Ḥayyim (1958, 238) gives two examples of *qal* > *pi^cel* shift in BS, both from the medieval MS B from the Cairo Geniza. One involves the substitution of *pu^cal* participle משואל (SirB 16r.11 = Sir. 46.13) for the MT *qal* passive participle שָׁאֵל ‘borrowed’ (1 Sam. 1.28). The other is

¹⁵ Perhaps relevant is Ben-Ḥayyim’s (2000, 113, §2.1.3.4) contention made regarding the unexpected *ā*, rather than *a/ē*, vocalisation after the second radical in certain *pi^cel* prefix conjugation forms:

It is likely that in SH the identity of the second radical in the perfect and the imperfect is considered an obligatory feature, and so the vowel characteristic of the perfect was transferred to the imperfect in the few verbs preserving the original *a*-vowel.

גיבע (SirB 20r.8 = Sir. 50.27), which Ben-Ḥayyim interprets as a *pi^cel* with the meaning ‘poured forth’ (cf. the *qal* in Prov. 18.4).

To these may be added further examples of *qal* > *pi^cel* movement.

1.4.1. יאש ‘be weary, despair’

All but one of the MT’s six forms are *nif^cal* intransitives in the sense ‘become weary, despair’. The sole exception is the late transitive *pi^cel* infinitive in Qoh. 2.20. BS’s מִיִּאֵשׁ ‘hopeless’ (SirB 17r.18 = Sir. 47.23) is in line with the MT’s late *pi^cel* usage and seems to take the place of more classical intransitive *nif^cal*.

1.4.2. יטַעַר ‘cover, be enveloped’

The rare and poetic verb in the MT is *qal* יטַעַר ‘cover, be enveloped’ (Ps. 65. 14; 73.6; Job 23.9). In one BS MS it comes as the *pu^cal* participle במעוטט ‘in being covered’ (SirB 1v.3 = Sir. 11.4).

1.4.3. פחד ‘fear’

In the MT, the dominant form is *qal* (22x), which is joined by a factitive *hif^cil* (Job 4.14) and a *pi^cel* (Isa. 51.13; Prov. 28.14) limited to contexts of pluractionality/iterativity—note the use of the adverbials תָּמִיד כָּל־הַיּוֹם ‘always, all day’ (Isa. 51.13) and תָּמִיד ‘always’ (Prov. 28.14). BS material twice exhibits similar pluractional/iterative examples in usages similar to Prov. 28.14 (SirB 7v.5 || SirD 1r.19 = Sir. 37.12). In the Masada MS, however, we confront the case of [] טוב רע איש מטוב אשה [] ‘It is better to harmed by a man than to be treated well by a woman, [] and a daughter who fears is better

than any reproach' (Mas1h 4.25 = Sir. 42.14). While the adjectival use is not dissimilar from the pluractional/iterative biblical use, the lack of an explicit adverbial signalling such is conspicuous (cf. the active participle with adverbial in Prov. 28.14). This is comparable to the less restrictive use of the *pi^cel* in the DSS.

1.4.4. שׂנא 'hate'

Tiberian BH knows the *pi^cel* stem for this verb, but only in the active participle form, where it has the nominal semantics of 'enemy'. Like the NBDSS, which attest a *pu^cal* participle (see above, §1.2.2), BS also knows a *pu^cal*, but it is the prefix conjugation שׂנא 'is [3MS] hated' (SirA 3v.18 = Sir. 9.18).

1.5. Rabbinic Hebrew

Fassberg (2001, 247–49) provides a brief, but illuminating discussion of pielisation in Tannaitic and Amoraic Hebrew, acknowledging various scholarly opinions on whether or not *qal* and *pi^cel* forms are genuine synonyms or not (Yalon 1937; 1964; Ben-Ḥayyim 1958; Kutscher 1972). From Ben-Ḥayyim (1958, 236) he lists בזה 'despise', דין 'judge', זנה 'fornicate', חסך 'spare', יעץ 'advise', מחה 'wipe out; try to prevent', מתח 'stretch', עבר 'pass', עקר 'uproot', צוח 'cry out', and רקם 'form'.¹⁶ He also cites studies by Ben-Ḥayyim (1958, 235–36), Kutscher (1969, 64–65), and Elitzur (1987, 84–87) on the relevance of *qittūl*-pattern verbal nouns, such as איבול 'mourning', איסור 'prohibition', בירורין 'ar-

¹⁶ Fassberg (2001, 247, fn. 25) also refers to Bendavid (1967–1971, I:376, II:482–83) for additional examples, though one must be cautious regarding the supposed semantic synonymy of some of the verbs listed.

bitration', גידול 'growth', גירומים 'extra, bonus', חיבוט 'beating', חיסום 'sharp edge', ישוב 'settlement', כיבושים 'admonition; conquest', לימודים 'taught, disciple; teaching', פיקודים 'charge, trust, account; (book of) Numbers', ציבור/ציבורים 'community, public', and שיפולי 'bottom of'. Illustrative examples from Tannaitic Hebrew include midrashic treatments of biblical passages in which RH *pi*^{el} verbs (a) replace *qal* verbs (b), e.g.,

(1a) רבי עקיבא אומר מוכר הוא אם רצה ליער מיער

'Rabbi Akiba says, "the father sells her, and if the master wishes to designate (espouse) her, he may do so"' (Mekhilta, Mishpatim, parasha 3, ed. Horowitz-Rabin 257.7); cf.

(1b) אִם-רָעָה בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנָיהָ אֲשֶׁר-לֹא (K) לֹא (Q) יַעֲרֶהָ וְהִפְדָּהּ לְעַם נִכְרֵי לֹא-
יִמְשַׁל לְמִכְרָהּ בְּבַגְדוֹ-בָּהּ:

'if she is displeasing in the eyes of her master who **designated her** for himself, then he shall let her be redeemed. He shall have no right to sell her to a foreign people, since he has broken faith with her' (Exod. 21.8)

(2a) ומי שינה במי אם ישראל קלקלו במקום או המקום שינה בהם... וכן הוא
אומר כי אני לו שניתי

'And who **changed** his attitude toward whom? Did Israel rebuff God, or **did** God **change** his attitude toward Israel?... and thus he says, "**I have not changed**"' (Sifre Devarim, Ha'azinu, pisqa שו, ed. Finkelstein 330.16–17); cf.

(2b) כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה לֹא שִׁנִּיתִי

'For I, the LORD, **I have not changed**' (Mal. 3.6a)

From Amoraic Hebrew, consider:

- (3a) אין לי אלא בזמן שבייזה דברי תורה
 ‘I know that this applies only when **he despised** the teaching of the Law’ (y. Sanhedrin 27d 10.4); cf.
- (3b) כִּי דְבַר־יְהוָה בְּיָדָהּ
 ‘for the word of the LORD **he despised**’ (Num. 15.31a)
- (4a) שִׁמְרֵי יַעֲקֹב אֲבִינוּ אֶת הַשַּׁבָּת
 ‘Jacob, our father, **kept** the Sabbath’” (Genesis Rabba 945.4); cf.
- (4b) וְשָׁמְרוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת
 ‘**And** the children of Israel **will keep** the Sabbath’ (Exod. 31.16a)

To the verbs listed in Fassberg’s article, one may add the following from the discussions above: בכה ‘weep; mourn’ (§§1.3.1; 1.3.3), לבש ‘dress, wear’ (§1.5), מעט ‘be few’ (§1.5), סכך ‘confine’ (§1.2.2), פרש ‘clarify’ (§§1.2.2; 1.3.1).

For the sake of precision, it is worth noting that contemporary with the process of pielisation seen in RH specifically and in Second Temple Hebrew more generally, RH saw the disappearance of the *pu^{al}* in all but adjectival (i.e., participial) forms (Breuer 2013, 737–38). In verbal usage, it was largely replaced especially by *hitpa^{al}/nitpa^{al}*.

2.0. The Tiberian Reading Tradition of Classical Biblical Hebrew Texts

As a form of Hebrew rooted in the Iron Age but orally transmitted by later generations, it might be expected that the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition of early texts should exhibit a degree of drift from G- to D-stem where the consonantal

text was amenable to such. And, indeed, there is evidence of limited pielisation in CBH texts in line with that documented above from Second Temple sources, especially LBH consonantal evidence.

2.1. מָאָן ‘refuse’

Consider the verb מָאָן ‘refuse’. The verb comes 46 times in the Bible, where there is usually no reason to question its *pi^{cc}el* morphology, e.g., וַיִּמָּאֵן ‘but he refused’ (Gen. 37.35). On the five occasions when its participle occurs, however, the consonantal spelling conflicts with *pi^{cc}el* analysis. In four of the five, the formulation is וְאַם־מָאָן אַתָּה ‘and if you (MS) refuse’ (Exod 7.27; 9.2; 10.4; Jer. 38.21), leading some to suggest that the expected prefix -מ of the *pi^{cc}el* participle was elided between two other identical sounds (GKC §52s). Beyond the fact that just such a -מ is preserved in the similar string אַם־מָמַתִּים אַתָּה אֵתִי ‘if you put me to death’ (Jer. 26.15), the form הַמָּאֲנִים ‘[this people] who refuse’ (Jer. 13.10) cannot be so explained. Since it is not until RH that one finds unequivocal *pi^{cc}el* consonantal forms, e.g., מִמָּאֲנִים (m. Yevamot 13.1, 1, 1, 4, 5; m. Ketubbot 11.6; m. ‘Eduyot 6.1), it seems worth entertaining the possibility that the Tiberian realisation of this verb reflects some degree of mixture of First Temple *qal* stative and Second Temple *pi^{cc}el* morphology. It is also worth noting that the Aramaic translational equivalent סרב is commonly *pa^{cc}el*. While suffix and prefix conjugation forms such as מָאָן and וַיִּמָּאֵן would on this view represent secondary vocalisations, since the original *qal* form may well have had stative morphology, the

MS participle and infinitive absolute form מִאָזַן (Exod. 22.16) can be viewed as instances of preservation.

In SH this particular verb reflects a shift *qal* > *nif^{al}* in the prefix conjugation (see above, ch. 10, §1.3.2) and a *qal* > *pi^{el}* B shift in the suffix conjugation. In the latter, the Samaritan lack of a requirement for prefix -מ on D-stem participles facilitated the reinterpretation of this and other apparent *qal* stative forms as *pi^{el}* B (e.g., אָהַב, שָׂאָל, §1.3.2).

If a *qal* > *pi^{el}* shift did occur in the case of this verb in the Tiberian tradition, notwithstanding the fact that the earliest unambiguous *pi^{el}* evidence is from the Mishna, it is conceivable that it took place early in the Second Temple Period, i.e., during the LBH period, though this is conjectural, because the LBH texts present no participles of this verb. It is also possible that the shift began earlier than LBH.

2.2. גָּרַשׁ ‘drive out/away, expel, divorce’

A similar example is גָּרַשׁ* ‘drive out/away, expel, divorce’. All consonantal forms amenable to *pi^{el}* analysis in the MT—suffix conjugation, prefix conjugation, imperative, infinitives—are so read ($\approx 35x$), with passives in *pu^{al}*, but *qal* forms obtain in the case of participles, both active, גָּרַשׁ ‘[Behold, I am about to] drive out’ (Exod. 34.11), and passive, גָּרוּשָׁה ‘divorced (FS)’ (Lev. 21.7, 14; 22.13; Num. 30.10; Ezek. 44.22).¹⁷ Unambiguous consonantal evidence of D-stem גָּרַשׁ comes in the DSS and RH in *pi^{el}* מְגַרֵּשׁ

¹⁷ Likewise, in לְמַעַן מְגַרֵּשׁהָ לְבָזוֹ ‘to cast it out for a prey’ (Ezek. 36.5 KJV) the apparent Aramaic-style infinitive was not amenable to *pi^{el}* realisation. Many, however, take מְגַרֵּשׁהָ here as a noun (cf. NIV, ESV, NET).

‘man divorcing’ (CD 13.17; m. Yevamot 3.7; 4.8; etc.) and *pu^{al}* מגורשת ‘woman being divorced’ (m. Giṭṭin 7.4, 5; etc.). RH also shows pielisation of this verb in the verbal noun גירושין (m. Yevamot 3.8; t. Yevamot 13.5). Finally, the Aramaic equivalents for biblical גרש, namely תרד, תרך, and שלח commonly occur in D-stem. Again, it would seem that a once unified *qal* paradigm was secondarily made suppletive under the influence of Second Temple morphological sensibilities, though a dearth of diagnostic forms in LBH makes it difficult to determine with precision when the shift began.

2.3. כָּבַס ‘wash, launder’

Consider also the verb כָּבַס ‘wash, launder’. Most active and passive forms in the MT are *pi^{el}* and *pu^{al}*, respectively. The exception is the *qal* participle *nomen agentis* that occurs in the toponym שְׂדֵה כֹּבֵס ‘Washer’s Field’ (2 Kgs 18.17 || Isa. 36.2; Isa 7.3). In this case, the earliest clearcut consonantal evidence for *pi^{el}* morphology is in post-exilic מְכַבְּסִים ‘launderers’ (Mal. 3.2), which becomes common in RH as the verbal participle alongside nominal *qal* כֹּבֵס; cf. *pu^{al}* מְכֹבֵסִין (m. Miqwa’ot 10.4). Note also the post-biblical Hebrew knows two verbal nouns, i.e., כִּיבוּס (CD 11.22; 4Q271 f5i.15; m. Zevahim 7.1; etc.) and כְּבִיסָה (m. Miqwa’ot 8.1; t. Bava Metsia^c 11.2), with respective patterns typical of *pi^{el}* and *qal*. The Aramaic equivalents חור and צבע are also D-stem. It may well be that a significant number of biblical forms prior to LBH were originally *qal*, but were secondarily read as *pi^{el}* where possible, in line with Second Temple convention.

3.0. The Tiberian Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

In the preceding section, the emphasis was on apparently late instances of pielisation within the Tiberian reading tradition. While it may be that the *qal* > *pi^cel* shifts discussed began prior to Second Temple times, the evidence of unambiguous consonantal *pi^cel* and *pu^cal* forms seems indicative of a late development in line with post-biblical conventions.

For a proper characterisation of pielisation within the reading component of the Tiberian tradition, however, one must take into consideration relevant developments rooted in the written component of the tradition as found in CBH texts. From the perspective of these, it becomes clear that the drift from *qal* to *pi^cel* seen above is, rather than a complete innovation, the continuation of an ancient process.

First of all, while Iron Age Hebrew and cognate epigraphy lack *pi^cel* participles and *pu^cal* forms in general, there is ample unambiguous biblical consonantal evidence of the use of D-stem morphology in the orthographic tradition of CBH texts. Among verbs with unequivocal classical *pi^cel/pu^cal* attestation, some have no cognates in other stems, e.g., *בָּקַשׁ* ‘seek, request’ (63x); others exhibit well-established semantic specialisation of the *pi^cel* form vis-à-vis the relevant *qal*, e.g., pluractional *קָבַר** ‘bury en masse’ (Num. 33.4; 1 Kgs 11.15; Jer. 14.16; Ezek. 39.14–15;

Hos. 9.6) versus *qal* קָבַר ‘bury’/*nif^{al}* נִקְבָּר* ‘be buried’.¹⁸ Clearly, D-stem morphology was an early option in ancient Hebrew.

Second, even when it comes to the drift from *qal* to *pi^{el}*—which, it was argued above (§2.0), resulted in the partial replacement of original G-stem morphology with D-stem morphology in line with Second Temple Hebrew trends—not all of the evidence is late. Rather, certain cases of early, well-established *qal-pi^{el}* suppletion responsible for apparently synonymous G- and D-stem forms seem to indicate the reality of early pielisation. It is to examples of this latter category that the discussion now turns. The early evidence of pielisation that they furnish shows that later results of pielisation, though secondary, were very much in a line of linguistic evolution long since initiated.

3.1. דָּבַר ‘speak’

Extremely common in BH, דָּבַר occurs in *pi^{el}* in all forms, making it clear that its D-stem morphology—which continues into Second Temple traditions—is of ancient pedigree. *Pu^{al}* forms, including a participle, also occur (Ps 87.3; Song 8.8). Alongside these, however, there occur vestigial *qal* forms: active participle דָּבַר ‘speaker, speaking’ (39x), passive participle דִּבְּרָ ‘spoken’

¹⁸ Given the proposed morphosemantic distinction, the form קָבַר ‘was (were) buried’ (Gen. 25.10) is to be analysed as a *qal* passive. Despite the reference to two corpses, the event here arguably involves Abraham’s burial, Sarah having previously been buried (*qal*) in Gen. 23.

In the absence of consonantly unambiguous biblical evidence for *nif^{al}* נִקְבָּר ‘be buried’—for which all representative forms are in the prefix conjugation—it is possible that many, if not all, of the apparent *nif^{al}* forms conceal original *qal* internal passives (see above, ch. 10, §2.2).

(Prov. 25.11), and infinitive construct בְּדַבֵּר ‘when you speak’ (Ps. 51.6). Since there is no obvious semantic distinction between ostensible *qal* דַּבֵּר^* and *pi^{cc}el* דַּבֵּר , the particular instance of pielisation in question may well have been driven by broader cognitive processes to do with morphosemantics, such as the D-stem’s perceived active iconicity vis-à-vis *qal*’s perceived opacity. Whatever the case may be, given the widespread nature of unambiguous *pi^{cc}el* morphology in CBH orthography, if this verb underwent a process of pielisation, it must have occurred relatively early on in the history of CBH. Even so, in light of the fact that the *qal* participle דַּבֵּר (39x) is as common in the MT as the *pi^{cc}el* participle מְדַבֵּר (39x), while *pi^{cc}el* use persists and *qal* use decreases in post-exilic Hebrew (see Table 1), the Tiberian reading tradition’s wholesale pielisation of prefix and suffix conjugation may arguably be characterised as anachronistic, influenced by Second Temple linguistic trends (note that the Aramaic equivalent מלל is also D-stem).

Table 1: Frequency of *qal* and *pi^{cc}el* participles of דב"ר 'speak' in select ancient Hebrew corpora¹⁹

	<i>qal</i> ד(ו)בר	<i>pi^{cc}el</i> מדבר
MT	39	39
MT LBH	2	8
NBDSS	2	6
Ben Sira	2	1
Mishna	1	23
SP	0	18

3.2. בִּרְךְ 'bless'

Like the verb דִּבֶּר, so too Tiberian בִּרְךְ 'bless' appears at some point rather early on in its history to have undergone secondary pielisation, which eventually produced a predominantly D-stem paradigm with significant G-stem residue. Classical orthographic evidence of pielisation is seen in participles in *pi^{cc}el* (Gen. 12.3; 27.29; Num. 24.9; Isa. 66.3; Prov. 27.14) and *pu^{cc}al* (Num. 22.6; Deut. 33.13; Ps. 37.22; 113.2; Job 1.21; 1 Chron. 17.27), as well as in *hitpa^{cc}el* forms (Gen. 22.18; 26.4; Deut. 29.18; Isa. 65.16; Jer. 4.2; Ps. 72.17). Evidence of G-stem morphology comes primarily in the form of the *qal* passive participle בְּרוּךְ 'blessed' (71x) and in *nif^{cc}al* forms (Gen. 12.3; 18.18; 28.14). The dominance of the *qal* passive participle over the *pu^{cc}al* participle may be con-

¹⁹ As far as can be determined given the extant data, the MT and BDSS agree on the distribution and frequency of *qal* and *pi^{cc}el* participles of דב"ר 'speak'.

Regarding the SP—while there is no difference between the Samaritan and Tiberian orthographic traditions when it comes to participles of the verb in question, all Samaritan forms, whether with or without a prefix -מ, are analysed as D-stem (see above, §1.3.1).

strued as evidence of an early *qal* verb ‘bless’,²⁰ while the absence of any *qal* active participle arguably signifies very early pielisation of this verb. From this perspective, the *pi^{cc}el* dominance outside of the passive participle seems less artificial and anachronistic than does *pi^{cc}el* dominance in the case of *דָּבַר* above. Another difference between this case and that of *דָּבַר*, discussed in the foregoing section, is that the specific arrangement of a prevailing *pi^{cc}el* paradigm with *qal* dominance restricted to the passive participle *דָּבַר* vis-à-vis *מְדַבֵּר* persists in post-exilic Hebrew, where the *pu^{cc}al* participle never gains ascendancy. This, however, is possibly due at least in part to the conservative contexts in which the forms are used, e.g., blessings, prayers, and other forms of liturgy. Regardless, if the verb in question was subject to pielisation, it is clear that the CBH written tradition reflects a time when the process was well advanced.

3.3. גִּלָּה ‘uncover, reveal’

In the meaning ‘uncover, reveal’, the D-stem enjoys overall numerical superiority in the Tiberian tradition (*pi^{cc}el* 56x, *pu^{cc}al* 2x),²¹ as well as in Second Temple extra-biblical sources (see

²⁰ Assuming the early existence of *qal* *בָּרַךְ* ‘bless’, its shift to *pi^{cc}el* may have resulted from a perceived need to distinguish it from *qal* *כָּרַע* ‘kneel’ (Ps. 95.6; 2 Chron. 6.13; related *hif^{cc}il* *הִכְרִיעַ* at Gen. 24.11).

²¹ *Pi^{cc}el*: Lev. 18.6, 7, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15, 16, 17, 17, 18, 19; 20.11, 17, 18, 18, 19, 20, 21; Num. 22.31; Deut. 23.1; 27.20; Isa. 16.3; 22.8; 26.21; 47.2, 2; 57.8; Jer. 11.20; 20.12; 33.6; 49.10; Ezek. 16.37; 22.10; 23.10, 18, 18; Hos. 2.12; Mic. 1.6; Nah. 3.5; Ps. 98.2; 119.18; Job 12.22; 20.27; 41.5; Prov. 11.13; 25.9; Ruth 3.4, 7; Lam. 2.14; 4.22. *Pu^{cc}al*: Nah. 2.8; Prov. 27.5.

above, §2.0).²² Yet, the evidence of G-stem morphology is not rare, especially in *qal* expressions with the nouns אָזְן ‘ear’, עַיִן ‘eye’, and סֵדֶר ‘secret’ (21x).²³ Passive *nif^cal* forms, also presupposing an active *qal* form, are even more numerous (32x).²⁴ Thus, in the sense ‘uncover, reveal’, D-stem active and passive morphology (58x) is just slightly more common than the G-/N-stem morphology (53x). What is more, while unequivocal G-stem morphology is unambiguously evidenced—in forms such as the active participle וְאִין־גִּלָּה אֶת־אֲזְנִי ‘there was no one to tell me’ (1 Sam. 22.8, 8) and the passive participle גָּלוּי (Num. 24.4, 16)—are relatively common throughout the Bible, unambiguous orthographic evidence for D-stem active and passive is rather restricted (Job 12.22; Prov. 11.13; 27.5). Notwithstanding the rather narrow list of expressions employing *qal* גָּלוּי, the rather broader use of the *nif^cal* arouses the suspicion that certain orthographically ambiguous forms vocalised as *pi^cel* might originally have been read as *qal*. Mismatches occur in the case of the nouns עַיִן (*qal* 2x; *nif^cal* 3x; *pi^cel* 2x), סֵדֶר ‘secret’ (*qal* 2x; *pi^cel* 2x), עֶרְוָה ‘nakedness’ (*pi^cel* 24x; *nif^cal* 4x). While there is no reason to doubt the original authenticity of some or even many D-stem cases, there are grounds

²² I am grateful to my Middlebury student, Rachel Kaufman, for her question on the mixed stem morphology of גָּלוּי.

²³ *Qal*: Num. 24.4, 16; 1 Sam. 9.15; 20.2, 12–13; 22.8, 8, 17; 2 Sam. 7.27; Jer. 32.11, 14; Amos 3.7; Job 33.16; 36.10, 15; Prov. 20.19; Ruth 4.4; Est. 3.14; 8.13; 1 Chron. 17.25.

²⁴ *Nif^cal*: Gen. 35.7; Exod. 20.26; Deut. 29.28; 1 Sam. 2.27, 27; 3.7, 21; 14.8, 11; 2 Sam. 6.20, 20, 20; 22.16; Isa. 22.14; 23.1; 38.12 (?); 40.5; 47.3; 49.9; 53.1; 56.1; Jer. 13.22; Ezek. 13.14; 16.36, 57; 21.29; 23.29; Hos. 7.1; Ps. 18.16; Job 38.17; Prov. 26.26; Dan. 10.1.

for suspecting a degree of movement from *qal* to *pi^ˁel* in the case of this verb, a process from which *qal* active and passive participles were exempted due to their orthographic intransigence.

4.0. Conclusion

Based on the foregoing survey of examples of pielisation in ancient Hebrew, the following summary may be sketched. First, the shift *qal* > *pi^ˁel* is unambiguously documented throughout the history of Hebrew, from CBH texts associated with the Iron Age on. Second, when compared to Tiberian CBH, Second Temple Hebrew—represented by Tiberian LBH, the DSS, the Samaritan biblical reading tradition, BS, and RH—exhibits a comparatively advanced stage in the pielisation process. However, a distinction should be drawn between the orthographic component of Tiberian CBH and the corresponding reading component, the latter sometimes showing evidence of secondary variance from the former in favour of *pi^ˁel* morphology in line with late linguistic conventions. Though such secondary dissonance between the written and recitation components of the Tiberian biblical tradition inevitably entails the positing of a mixed tradition characterised by a degree of linguistic anachronism, the pielisation of a specific verb may not represent deviation from the normal path of BH grammatical development, but a typologically more advanced stage on a shared path.

13. HITPAELISATION

Along with the fairly common processes of nifalisation (ch. 10), hifilisation (ch. 11), and pielisation (ch. 12)—all generally involving movement away from the *qal* verbal stem—hitpaelisation is also a known phenomenon. It differs, however, from the three aforementioned processes, in that it rather rarely manifests in the *hitpa^{el}* revocalisation of *qal* orthographic forms. This must be due, at least in part, to the consonantal difference between *qal* and *hitpa^{el}*, i.e., only with difficulty would original *qal* orthography lend itself to *hitpa^{el}* realisation. More frequently, *hitpa^{el}*/*nitpa^{al}* replaces passive or reflexive *nif^{al}* or passive *pu^{al}*, especially in the case of finite forms. Other stems are also occasionally affected. In these cases, too, revocalisation often required special measures, especially the assimilation of *hitpa^{el}*/*nitpa^{al}*'s characteristic *t*-infix.

1.0. Second Temple Evidence

1.1. Tiberian Late Biblical Hebrew

1.1.1. Movement to *Hitpa^{el}*

Broad indication of the diachronic significance of hitpaelisation may be gleaned from Baden's (2010, 39, fn. 18) acceptance of conclusion reached by Bean (1976, 149–53), namely, that the later books of the Hebrew Bible witness increased *hitpa^{el}* usage in comparison to earlier books. But Bean's statistics must be considered no more than impressionistic, because his methodology

has no means of ruling out the possibility that differences in content are responsible for the apparent increase, i.e., that further *hitpa*^{‘els} might possibly have been used in CBH given the same subject matter. What is needed is a more detailed, word-by-word study that applies Hurvitz’s (2014, 9–11) three-pronged strategy for identification of diagnostically late linguistic features, namely, (1) late distribution, (2) classical opposition, and (3) extra-biblical confirmation. Such an approach is applied to a series of Tiberian LBH *hitpa*^{‘el} forms below.

הַתְּבַאֵשׁ ‘stink, be odious’

The root is represented by *qal* (Exod. 7.18, 21; 8.10; 16.20; Isa. 50.2) and *nif*^{‘al} (1 Sam. 13.4; 2 Sam. 10.6; 16.21) forms. The *qal* consistently refer to physical smells, the *nif*^{‘al} to the metaphorical ‘you have become a stench’. The *hitpa*^{‘el} comes just once in Tiberian Hebrew, in the late parallel to the *nif*^{‘al} in 2 Sam. 10.6 found in 1 Chron. 19.6; see examples (1)–(2).

- (1) וַיִּרְאוּ בְנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי נִבְאֲשׁוּ בְדָוִד ...
 ‘When the Ammonites saw that **they had become a stench** to David...’ (2 Sam. 10.6)
- (2) וַיִּרְאוּ בְנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי הִתְבַּאֲשׁוּ עִם־דָּוִד ...
 ‘When the Ammonites saw that **they had become a stench** to David...’ (1 Chron. 19.6)

While *hitpa*^{‘el} הַתְּבַאֵשׁ is not again documented in Hebrew sources until *piyyut*, the Targumic equivalent of both N-stem נבאש and Dt-stem התבאש in Tiberian BH is Aramaic Dt-stem אַתְגַּרִּי.

התגאֵל 'defile'

All derivations of the root גאל II 'defile' are late, including *pi*^{ca}*el* (Mal. 1.7), *pu*^{ca}*al* (Mal 1.7, 12; Ezra 2.62; Neh. 7.64), *nif*^{ca}*al* (Isa. 59.3; Zeph. 3.1; Lam. 4.14), and *hitpa*^{ca}*el* (Dan. 1.8, 8). The *hitpa*^{ca}*el* 'become defiled' is also known from NBDSS texts (1QM 9.8; 4Q379 f3i.5). The classical equivalents are derivations of גע"ל 'abhor', for the *hitpa*^{ca}*el* of גא"ל II evidently *nif*^{ca}*al* נִגְעַל 'be defiled' (2 Sam. 1.21).

התגדֵּל 'magnify oneself'

In classical texts, the *hif*^{ca}*il* expression על הגדיל is sometimes used in the antagonistic sense 'to raise oneself against' (Ezek. 35.13; Zeph. 2.8, 10; Ps. 35.26; 41.10). Twice in LBH, the phrase with *hitpa*^{ca}*el* על התגדל comes in the same meaning (Dan. 11.36–37¹). Cf. also RH: אֵל תַּעֲשֶׂם עֲטָרָה לְהִתְגַּדֵּל בָּהֶן 'R. Sadoq says, "Do not make [Torah teachings] a crown with which to glorify yourself..." (m. 'Avot 4.5). Interestingly, the Targumic equivalent of C-stem על הגדיל is t-stem אתררב; Syriac ܐܬܪܪܒ is also t-stem.

התחבר 'join, associate'

The *qal* has the basic sense of 'join, associate', and can refer to people (Gen. 14.3; Hos. 4.17; Ps. 94.20) or objects (Exod. 26.3, 3; 28.7; 39.4; Deut. 18.11 [?]; Ezek. 1.9, 11; Ps 58.6 [?]; 94.20). The *hitpa*^{ca}*el* refers only to human alliances (Dan. 11.6, 23; 2 Chron. 20.35, 37). The *hitpa*^{ca}*el* also occurs in reference to human

¹ Possibly also in Isa. 10.15, but the context does not involve a ruler raising himself up.

association in BS (SirA 5r.23–25 || Sir. 13.2), NBDSS material (4Q374 f1a–b.3; 4Q416 f2iii.21); and RH (m. ʿAvot 1.7). The Mishna also includes an example of non-human association (m. ʿTohorot 9.1). In reference to human association, the Targums also utilise Dt-stem forms, e.g., אתכנש and אתחבר; so, too, occasionally the Peshitta.

הִתְנַדֵּב ‘freely offer (cultic)’

In the cultic sense of ‘freely offer’, the relevant CBH usages involve transitive *qal* with רוּחַ ‘spirit’ or לֵב ‘heart’ as subject, e.g., כָּל-אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִדְבְּנוּ לִבּוֹ ‘every man whose heart moves him’ (Exod. 25.2), וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר נִדְבָה רוּחוֹ אֹתוֹ ‘and every one whose spirit moved him’ (Exod. 35.21), כָּל-אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָדַב לִבָּם אֹתָם ‘every man or woman whose heart moved them’ (Exod. 35.29). In LBH, the early transitive *qal* expression gives way to an apparently reflexive *hitpa*^{el} involving the freewill offering of sacrifices or service (Ezra 1.6; 2.68; 3.5; Neh. 11.2; 1 Chron. 29.5–6, 9, 14, 17; 2 Chron. 17.16).² The Dt-stem form is also common in Qumran writings (1QS 5.1, 6, 8, 10, 21–22; 6.13; 1Q14 f8–10.7; 1Q31 f1.1; 4Q256 9.1, 5; 4Q258 1.1, 5; 2.1–2; 4Q368 f10i.6; 4Q433a f2.5) and in RH (m. Sheqalim 4.1; 5.6; m. Zevaḥim 10.8, 8; m. Menahot 12.3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5; 13.3; m. Keritot 6.3, 3; m. Meʿila 3.6, 6; m. Middot 3.8). The Targums also frequently resort

² *Hitpa*^{el} forms also occur in Judg. 5.2, 9, but these are in a military, rather than cultic context. In other words, the late aspect of הִתְנַדֵּב is not merely its Dt-stem morphology, but its cultic semantics and use in place of *qal* נָדַב.

to Dt-stem forms, whether of נד"ב or רע"י (the latter even in the case of two of the CBH *qal* usages).

הַתְּעַנָּה ‘fast’

Classical cases of הַתְּעַנָּה have the general sense of ‘humble oneself, afflict oneself, suffer affliction’ (Gen. 16.9; 1 Kgs 2.26; Ps. 107.17). It is possible that in LBH the sense narrows to ‘fast’ (Dan. 10.12; Ezra 8.21), in line with post-biblical sources (DSSH, RH; see BDB 726b; Qimron 1980, 250; Hurvitz 2014, 242). Clearly, only in the specific meaning ‘fast’ can הַתְּעַנָּה be considered especially characteristic of post-exilic Hebrew.

הַתְּפַעֵם ‘disturb’

Nif^{al} forms in the sense ‘be disturbed’ occur in CBH (Gen. 41.8), LBH (Dan. 2.3), and poetic material of less certain diachronic linguistic profile (Ps. 77.5). *Nif^{al}* forms are also preserved in the BDSS (4Q3 f1ii.15 || MT Gen. 41.8) and in SH (Gen. 41.8). Against the *nif^{al}* רוּחִי וַתְּפַעֵם ‘and my spirit was troubled’ (Dan. 2.3), one nearby encounters *hitpa^{el}* רוּחוֹ וַתְּפַעֵם ‘and his spirit was troubled’ (Dan. 2.1). While further Hebrew examples of הַתְּפַעֵם go undocumented until the time of *piyyut*, making them non-diagnostic as far as ancient periodisation goes, TA and, to a lesser extent, Syriac resort to t-stem forms in their renderings of both Tiberian הַתְּפַעֵם and נַפְעֵם.

הַשְׁתַּכַּח ‘forget’

Throughout the Tiberian biblical tradition, the standard passive of שָׁכַח ‘forget’ is *nif^{al}* נִשְׁכַּח ‘be forgotten’ (Gen. 41.30; Deut.

31.21; Isa. 23.15–16; 65.16; Jer. 20.11; 23.40; 50.5; Ps. 9.19; 31.13; Job 28.4; Qoh. 2.16; 9.5). Qohelet, widely considered late on the basis of its post-exilic linguistic profile (Schoors 1992–2004; Hurvitz 2007; see Hornkohl 2013b, 321, for further bibliography), includes two of the classical *nif^{al}* cases, but also the only Tiberian biblical example of *hitpa^{el}* (Qoh. 8.10), apparently with the same meaning as its more common *nif^{al}* counterpart. The *hitpa^{el}* also appears in Tannaitic sources (Mekhilta deRabbi Ishma^{el}; Sifre Devarim; Tosefta) and Amoraic Hebrew (Yerushalmi; Bavli). Finally, the Aramaic and Syriac equivalents to both Tiberian *nif^{al}* נִשְׁכַּח and *hitpa^{el}* הִשְׁתַּכַּח are commonly t-stem verbs.

1.1.2. *Hippa^{el}* < *Hitpa^{el}*

On relatively rare occasions, Tiberian Hebrew evinces forms of the type *hippa^{el}* < *hitpa^{el}*. In these cases, suffix conjugation forms in texts from no earlier than the Exile can be read only as *hitpa^{el}* forms with assimilated *tav*: הִנְבְּאוּ ‘they prophesied’ (Jer. 23.13); וְהִנְחַמְתִּי ‘and I will be satisfied’ (Ezek. 5.13); וְהִנְבְּאתִי ‘and I prophesied’ (Ezek. 37.10). These unambiguous consonantal *hitpa^{el}* forms with assimilated *tav* are not especially important in their own right, as the *hitpa^{el}* forms of both נב"א and נח"ם are well attested throughout the Tiberian biblical corpus, from CBH to LBH. Their significance in the context of the phenomenon of hitpaelisation is as evidence of the door opened via assimilation of the infix *tav* for the apparent secondary development in the Tiberian reading tradition of consonantal *nif^{al}* forms into *nip-*

pa^cel [*< nitpa^cel*] forms (see §2.0 below; the development is especially characteristic of SH, §1.3).

1.2. Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew

There is limited evidence of hitpaelisation in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in both biblical and non-biblical material.

1.2.1. The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

In the BDSS, a possible manifestation of hitpaelisation involves textual variation in which various MT forms are paralleled in Qumran texts by synonymous t-stem alternatives. Consider the following cases:

- (3) מַתְּנַבֵּא ‘prophesying’ (4Q51 9e–i.13) || MT נִבְּא (1 Sam. 10.11)
- (4) תִּסֵּד ‘its foundation will be laid’ (1QIsa^a 38.6) || MT תִּסֵּד ‘your foundation will be laid’ (Isa. 44.28)
- (5) תִּמְוִטִינָה ‘(and the hills) will shake’ (1QIsa^a 45.8) || MT תִּמְוִטִינָה (Isa. 54.10)³
- (6) וַיִּתְגַּרְשׁוּ ‘and (its waters) are tossed up (with mire and dirt)’ (1QIsa^a 47.20) || MT וַיִּגְרְשׁוּ ‘and (its waters) tossed up (mire and dirt)’ (Isa. 57.20)
- (7) תִּתְנַחֲמוּ ‘(and in Jerusalem) you will be comforted’ (1QIsa^a 53.29) || MT תִּנְחַמוּ ‘(and in Jerusalem) you will be comforted’ (Isa. 66.13)

³ Cf. הִתְמוֹטְטָה ‘(the earth) shook’ (1QIsa^a 19.18) || MT הִתְמוֹטְטָה (Isa. 24.19).

The frequency of hitpaelisation in 1QIsa^a in particular—representing shifts from *qal* (5)–(6), *nif^cal* (4), and *pu^cal* (7)—seems to have diachronic significance. Despite its basis in CBH, 1QIsa^a is renowned for its degree of linguistic contemporisation (Kutscher 1974, 77–89; Abegg 2010, 25; Fassberg 2013; Muraoka 2013; cf. Young 2013). The t-stem forms נב"ט (3) and נח"ם (7) are known from CBH, and that of מו"ט (5) occurs elsewhere in MT Isaiah and 1QIsa^a (see fn. 4), so that it might stem more from stylistic harmonisation than linguistic convention, but the t-stem form of ט"ד (4) is unknown in Tiberian BH, being unique in Hebrew until it resurfaces in early medieval poetry, and the earliest documentation of t-stem גר"ש comes in the BDSS (6) and NBDSS (1QH^a 10.14; 11.16–17), it next appearing in the meaning ‘be divorced’ in RH (m. Yevamot 14.1; m. Nedarim 9.9; m. Giṭṭin 6.2) and in Amoraic sources (Yerushalmi; Bavli). The evidence as such does not confirm the late character of hitpaelisation in the BDSS, but it is in line with such a theory.⁴

1.2.2. The Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

It has already been noted that the NBDSS exhibit diagnostically late *hitpa^cel* forms known from Tiberian LBH—התגאל ‘be defiled’ (2x), התחבר ‘join, associate’ (2x; also in BS, RH), and התנדב ‘freely

⁴ There are also a few cases of apparent BDSS shifts away from *hitpa^cel* in comparison to the MT. Thus, והנחלתם ‘and you will bequeath’ (4Q24 f27–28.2) || MT וְהִתְנַחֲלֶתֶם (Lev. 25.46); הרגזכה ‘your raging’ (1QIsa^a 31.7) || MT הִתְרַגְּזָה (Isa. 37.28); יכסו ‘they will (not) cover’ (1QIsa^a 48.17) || MT יִתְכַסּוּ ‘they will not cover themselves’ (Isa. 59.6). Rather than reflecting a broad shift away from *hitpa^cel*, these cases seem to stem from local exegetical differences and/or difficulties.

offer (cultic)' (17x; also in RH)—and from the BDSS—התגרש 'storm, be tossed up (waves)'. But this does not remotely reflect the degree of hitpaelisation encountered in the NBDSS. Indeed, many *hitpa*^{el} forms unknown from BH are documented in the NBDSS, sometimes also appearing other Second Temple Hebrew material. Here they are listed in order of frequency in the NBDSS with notation of additional corpora in which they occur, if relevant: ה(ת)דשן 'become fat, savour' (10x; BS); התיסר 'be chastised' (8x; RH2); הטמא 'become defiled, unclean' (6x; BDSS, SH, RH, Tiberian reading tradition [see below, §2.0]); התאחר 'be delayed' (6x; BS (cf. below, התקדם)); השתלם 'be rewarded' (5x; RH); התיחד 'unite (intr.)' (4x; RH); הוכה 'be cleansed, considered innocent' (?; 4x; BDSS, Tiberian reading tradition [see below, §2.0]; Amoraic Hebrew); התרגש 'storm, be tossed up (waves)' (4x; Amoraic Hebrew); השתלה 'be sent' (3x; RH); התבהל 'be eager, pass quickly' (3x); התפזר 'be scattered' (3x; RH); התרמה 'be cheated' (3x); התקדם 'go/be early' (2x; cf. above, התאחר); התבעה 'inquire (of prophetic dreams)' (?) (2x); התענה if in the meaning 'fast' (2x; LBH, BDSS, RH); התקלה 'be put to shame' (2x); התארמל 'become a widow' (RH); התפתה 'be fooled, deceived' (BS); התקרע 'be torn asunder' (RH); התרשע 'condemn oneself, be condemned'; התפרר 'break (intr.), be shattered'; התאמן 'trust' (?); התאנה 'sigh, groan' (BS, Amoraic Hebrew); התישר 'be right' (?); התכבס 'be washed' (RH); התמלא 'be filled' (RH—different semantics in MT Job 16.10); התנסה 'be tested' (?) (RH); התעכל 'be consumed' (?); התעצל 'hesitate, be sluggish' (RH); התפחד 'fear, tremble'; הצטרף 'be refined'

(RH). Consider the following NBDSS example with התקדם ‘be/go early’ and התאחר ‘be/go late’.

- (8) יתקדם או יתאחר ולא ישביתו את העבודה כולה
 ‘let him **go earlier** or **later** so that they need not stop the whole service...’ (CD 11.23)
- (9) מי הקדימני ואשלם תחת כל השמים ליהוא:
 ‘Who **has preceded me**, that I should repay him? Whatever is under the whole heaven is mine.’ (Job 41.11)
- (10) ויצו אתם לאמר כה תאמרו ללאדני לעשו כה אמר עבדך יעקב עם לבן
 גִּרְתִּי וְאַחֲרַי עַד-עַתָּה:
 ‘And he commanded them, “Thus you shall say to my lord Esau: Thus says your servant Jacob, ‘I have sojourned with Laban **and delayed** until now.’”

The Tiberian *hif^lil* and *qal* forms are matched by DSS *hitpa^{el}* forms in approximately the same meanings.

Consider also the case of הצטרף ‘be refined’. Parallel to Tiberian *nif^{al}* ויצטרפו ‘and will be refined’ (Dan. 12.10), 4Q Eschatological Commentary A presents *hitpa^{el}* ויצטרפו ‘and they will be refined’ (4Q174 f1–3ii.4). Though in RH the *hitpa^{el}* generally has the sense ‘join’, the meaning ‘be refined’ also occasionally surfaces, e.g., מישיצטרפו בכבשן ‘after they are fired in a furnace’ (m. Kelim 4.4–5);⁵ מישיצטרפו בכבשן ‘after they are fired in a furnace’ (t. Kelim Bava Batra).

⁵ In Codex Kaufmann, an interlinear *tet* has been placed above the apparently *nif^{al}* form מישיצטרפו between the *tsade* and the *resh* (Beer 1968, 447b). The vocalisation also corresponds to that of the *hitpa^{el}* rather than a *nif^{al}*—what appears to be a *ḥatef qameṣ* below the *tsade* is in reality a *shewa* beneath the *ṣade* and a *qameṣ* below the supralinear *tet*.

1.3. Samaritan Hebrew

1.3.1. *Nif^cal B = Nippa^cel (< Nitpa^cel) < Nif^cal*

As has already been discussed above (ch. 10, §1.3.4), from a synchronic perspective, SH has a second N-stem alongside its standard *nif^cal* (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 117–18). This so-called *nif^cal B* is in reality a result of hitpaelisation, since it is a hybrid that incorporates components of the N- and Dt-stems. It consists of secondary *hitpa^cel/nitpa^cel* pronunciation imposed on originally *nif^cal* orthography, with gemination of both the first and middle radicals—the former in line with assimilation of the *t*-infix especially common in some late Aramaic dialects (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 117–18; Bar-Asher 2016, 209–10) and the latter characteristic of the Dt-stem pattern.

1.3.2. Samaritan *Nif^cal B* || Tiberian *Qal*

Above in ch. 10, §1.3.4, the focus was on shifts *nif^cal B < qal*. Relevant Tiberian *qal* verbs with SH *nif^cal B* parallels include (in order of frequency) נָחַל ‘inherit’ (6x), קָדַשׁ ‘be holy’ (5x), בָּלָה ‘finish (intr.)’ (3x) (along with *pu^cal* בָּלָה ‘be finished’), גָּבַר ‘prevail’ (2x), קָשָׁה ‘be hard, severe’ (2x), with single instances of יָרָא ‘fear’, לָוָה ‘borrow’, מָכַר ‘sell’, רָגַז ‘tremble with emotion’, תָּמַה ‘be astonished’.⁶ In these cases, *qal* morphology is preserved in the case of suffix conjugation forms, whereas prefix conjugation forms have

⁶ Certain individual cases may represent local interpretive peculiarities, rather than broad shifts in verbal morphology.

secondary *nif'al B* realisations (Hornkohl 2022, 7–9). Compare (11) and (12), repeated from ch. 10, §1.3.4.

(11) חמש עשרה אמה מלמעלה נברו *MT* || גְּבֵרוּ (המים ויכסו) ההרים:

‘The waters **prevailed** above the mountains, covering them fifteen cubits deep.’ (Gen. 7.20; see also Gen. 7.19; 49.26)

(12) ויגברו *MT* || וַיִּגְבְּרוּ (המים על הארץ חמשים ומאת) יום:

‘**And** the waters **prevailed** on the earth 150 days.’ (Gen. 7.24; see also Gen. 7.18)

The Tiberian form is *qal* in both (11) and (12), whereas the SH form is *qal* in (11), where required by the orthography, but *nif'al B* in (12), where the spelling is amenable to *nif'al B* realisation.

1.3.3. Samaritan *Nif'al B* || Tiberian *Nif'al*

The hitpaelisation inherent in the SH proliferation of *nif'al B* goes beyond shifts *nif'al B* < *qal*. Indeed, far more common is correspondence between Samaritan *nif'al B* and Tiberian *nif'al*, which occur in the case of the following Tiberian *nif'al* forms (listed here in order of frequency of Samaritan *nif'al B* forms): ‘be sold’ (10x), נטמא ‘become unclean’ (9x; BDSS, NBDSS, RH, Tiberian reading tradition), נפרד ‘separate (intr.), be separated’ (7x), נחם* ‘be comforted, regret, relent’, *נמלט ‘escape’ (5x), נקדש ‘be sanctified’ (4x), נאות ‘consent’ (3x; ?), נברך ‘bless’ (3x), נלוה ‘join’ (3x), נשמד ‘be destroyed’ (3x), *נבנה ‘be built’ (2x), נכבש ‘be subdued’ (2x),⁷ נצל ‘survive, escape’ (2x), *נקה ‘be released, freed’ (2x),

⁷ Note that the Samaritan reading tradition is consistent in its reading of Dt-stem forms in Gen. 12.3; 18.18; 22.18; 26.4; 28.14; Deut. 29.18,

נקרע *‘tear (intr.)’ (2x), נגגר *‘ruminate, chew the cud’, ניסד *‘be founded’, נצה *‘fight’, נקש *‘become ensnared’, נסכר *‘be closed’, נקבץ *‘gather (intr.)’, נענש *‘be punished’, נפתח *‘be opened’, נקרב *‘approach’, נשם *‘be desolate’. *Nif^{al} B* passives are particularly common when the corresponding active form is in *pi^{el}*.

Consider the case of נמכר ‘be sold’. The Tiberian active-passive *qal-nif^{al}* combination is paralleled by a *pi^{el}-nif^{al} B* combination according to the Samaritan reading tradition (on the *pi^{el}*, see above, ch. 12, §1.3.1). Thus,

(13) אם זרחה השמש עליו דם לו שלם ישלם אם אין לו ונמכר
 (MT || *wnimmakkâr*) בגנבתו:

‘but if the sun has risen on him, there shall be bloodguilt for him. He shall surely pay. If he has nothing, **then he shall be sold** for his theft.’ (Exod. 22.2; see also Lev. 25.39, 47–48; 27.27)

(14) והארץ לא תמכר (MT || *timmakkâr*) לתמכר לצמיתת כי לי הארץ כי
 גרים ותושבים אתם עמדי:

‘The land **shall not be sold** in perpetuity, for the land is mine. For you are strangers and sojourners with me.’ (Lev. 25.23, 42; 27.28; Deut. 15.12)

whereas the Samaritan written tradition and Tiberian tradition show a mixture of Dt- and N-stem forms.

- (15) וחשב עם קנהו משנת המכר (MT || *immakkâr*) הַמְכָרִי לוֹ עַד שְׁנַת היובל והיה כסף ממכרו במספר שנים כימי שכיר יהיה עמו:
 ‘He shall calculate with his buyer from the year of (his) **being sold** to him until the year of jubilee, and the price of his sale shall vary with the number of years. The time he was with his owner shall be rated as the time of a hired worker.’ (Lev. 25.50)

The double gemination—of first and second radical—is clear evidence of the *hitpa*^{el}/*nitpa*^{el} derivation of these forms, showing an advanced stage of hitpaelisation in the Samaritan reading tradition.

1.4. Ben Sira

Hitpaelisation in BS is evident in the occurrence of several *hitpa*^{el} forms already mentioned as characteristic of

- LBH: התחבר ‘join, associate’ (§1.1.1, above);
- DSS Hebrew: התאחר ‘delay (intr.), be delayed’ (3x); התפתה ‘be seduced’ (2x); התאנח ‘sigh, groan’ (3x; Amoraic Hebrew; §1.2.2, above)
- SH: התירא ‘fear’ (see §1.3, above).

BS also presents the first documentation of certain *hitpa*^{el} forms (presented here in order of frequency): התנצב ‘stand’ (8x); התסייד ‘become intimate, take counsel with’ (7x); התעבר ‘neglect, pass’ (5x; RH); התחנג ‘take delight’ (2x); התמרר/התמרמר ‘be bitter’ (2x); התרחק ‘distance oneself, move away’ (2x; RH); התגר ‘trade’ (2x); התחרש ‘be deaf’ (?); התישן ‘grow old’ (RH); התלבש ‘wear’ (RH); התלעב ‘mock’ (?); התנבל ‘become a fool’ (RH2); התנוה ‘brag’ (RH1); התעלה ‘go up’ (?); התעסק ‘exploit’ (MT Gen. 26.2, RH);

התעשר 'become rich' (RH2); התפחו 'be reckless'; התקצר 'be short' (RH); התקרבו 'come near, approach' (RH); התרשש 'break down'; התשעה 'be looked upon'. Several of these are characteristic of RH, whether Tannaitic, Amoraic, or both.

1.5. Rabbinic Hebrew

RH, consisting of Tannaitic Hebrew and Amoraic Hebrew, has in common with other Second Temple Hebrew chronolects the use of many Dt-stem/Nt-stem forms unknown from Tiberian CBH. The following list focuses on the Mishna (no attempt is made in the following lists to distinguish between *hitpa*^{el} and *nitpa*^{al}, i.e., all forms are listed as *hitpa*^{el}):

- LBH: התענה 'fast' (19x; NBDSS; BS); התנדב 'freely offer (cultic)' (19x; NBDSS), התחבר 'join, associate' (2x; BS), and התגדל 'magnify yourself' (LBH);
- NBDSS: הטמא 'become defiled, unclean' (167x; SH, Tiberian reading tradition [see below, §2.0]); השתלח 'be sent' (14x); התיחד 'unite (intr.)' (10x); התמלא 'be filled' (4x—different semantics in MT Job 16.10); התפזר 'be scattered' (2x; RH); התכבס 'be washed'; התעצל 'hesitate, be sluggish'; הצטרף 'be refined';
- BS: התעסק 'exploit' (7x; MT Gen. 26.2); התירא 'fear' (2x; SH); התלבש 'wear'; התרחק 'distance oneself, move away'.

RH, generally, and the Mishna, more specifically, also manifest hitpaelisation via the innovation of many *hitpa*^{el} forms unattested in earlier classical or contemporary Second Temple sources. In the following list, forms are presented in order of frequency, with cognate BH and BA forms noted where relevant:

הצטרף 'to be joined' (137x); התייבם 'enter into levirate marriage (said of a woman)' (35x); התכוון 'intend' (35x); התקיים 'persist, continue' (25x; cf. LBH *pi^{al}*); הסתאב 'become blemished' (23x); התעשר 'be tithed' (20x); השתמש 'use' (17x; cf. BA *pa^{al}*); התחלק 'be divided, distributed' (12x; cf. BH reflexive *hitpa^{al}* with direct object in Josh. 18.5 || *nif^{al}*; *pu^{al}*); התקבל 'receive, accept' (12x; cf. LBH *pi^{al}*); השתכל 'look at' (11x; cf. BA *hitp^{al}*); השתתף 'partner, form a partnership' (11x); התייחד 'be alone (with)' (10x); התחייב 'be liable' (8x; cf. LBH *pi^{al}*); התפרנס 'be provided for, make a living' (7x); התארש 'become betrothed' (6x; || BH *pu^{al}*); מעט 'become diminished' (6x; || BH *qal*); התרגם 'be translated' (5x; cf. BA *pu^{al}*); התארח 'be hosted' (4x); התכנס 'gather (intr.)' (4x); הסתלק 'move, leave, avoid' (4x; cf. TA Dt, BA *qal*); הצטער 'suffer pain, distress' (4x); הטפל 'attend to, take care of' (3x); הטרף 'be shaken, torn away' (3x; || BH *qal* internal passive; *nif^{al}*); הסתפר 'have one's hair cut' (3x); השתעבד 'be enslaved' (3x); השתער 'be measured' (3x; cf. BH *qal*); התבייש 'be ashamed' (3x; BH *qal*); התבשל 'be cooked' (3x; || BH *pu^{al}*); התגרש 'be/get divorced (in reference to the wife)' (3x; cf. BH *qal* passive participle); התחלל 'be profaned, deconsecrated' (3x; || BH *nif^{al}*; *pu^{al}*); התקשט 'adorn oneself' (3x); השתדל 'make an effort, try' (2x); התבער 'be removed' (2x); התגייר 'convert to Judaism' (2x); התאבק 'wallow'; התחרר 'be freed' (2x); התייאש 'despair, give up hope' (2x || BH *nif^{al}*; transitive *pi^{al}* in LBH); הסתפג 'dry oneself' (2x); הודיף 'form pairs'; הודיף 'be falsified'; הסתכר 'earn a profit'; הצטרך 'need'; השתבר 'be broken' (|| BH *nif^{al}*); השתלש 'be divisible by three' (cf. BH *pu^{al}* with different semantics); התאכל 'be digested' (\approx BH *nif^{al}*); התחכך 'rub up against'; התיישב 'become stable'; התלבן

‘become white, be bleached’ (the form in MT Dan. 12.10 is often rendered as a reflexive); התמעך ‘be pressed’ (|| BH *qal* internal passive; *qal* passive participle); התמצה ‘drain, be drained’ (|| BH *nif^{al}*); התמרח ‘be rubbed, smeared’; התגונה ‘waste away’; התעבר ‘be intercalated’; התעטש ‘sneeze’; התעכב ‘be delayed’; התעמל ‘be kneaded’; התקנב ‘be trimmed’.

Finally, it should be noted that one of the acknowledged results of hitpaelisation in RH was the replacement of *pu^{al}* *hitpa^{al}*/*nitpa^{al}*. Generally speaking, only *pu^{al}* participles persisted, whereas finite forms gave way to *hitpa^{al}*/*nitpa^{al}* alternatives e.g., BH בָּשַׁל ‘be cooked’ (Lev 6.21, 21) versus RH נִתְבַּשַׁל ‘be cooked’ (m. Terumot 10.12; m. Ma‘aser Sheni 2.1; m. ‘Orla 2.7, 16–17; m. Nederim 6.6; m. Hullin 7.4–5; see <https://hebrew-academy.org.il/2018/07/24/התבקשנו-או-נתבקשנו-על-התפעל-ונתפעל/>).

2.0. The Tiberian Reading Tradition of Classical Biblical Hebrew Texts

The Tiberian reading tradition only occasionally deviates from the morphology reflected by the corresponding written tradition in favour of secondary *hitpa^{al}*/*nitpa^{al}* morphology. In so doing, it joins with the Second Temple chronolects discussed above in terms of hitpaelisation.

2.1. *Nippa^{al}* (< *Nitpa^{al}*) < *Nif^{al}*

Similar to the Tiberian Hebrew written tradition of exilic texts with *hippa^{al}* < *hitpa^{al}* forms (see above, §1.1.2), the Tiberian reading tradition occasionally interprets apparently original *nif^{al}* orthographic forms as cases of *nippa^{al}* (< *nitpa^{al}*). Tiberian vo-

calisations of this sort are relatively rare (see also ch. 10, §2.3): *וַתִּשָּׂא* ‘and (his kingdom) will be exalted’ (Num. 24.7); *וַיִּכַּפֵּר* ‘and (the blood guilt) will be atoned for’ (Deut. 21.8); *וַיְנַסְרוּ* ‘and (all women) should take warning’ (Ezek. 23.48); *תִּכְסֶה* ‘(hatred) will be covered’ (Prov. 26.26); *וַיִּשָּׂאוּ* ‘(and the sons of the violent of your people) will rise up’ (Dan. 11.14); *וַיִּשָּׂא* ‘so he was exalted’ (2 Chron. 32.23); several, but not all, of these come in exilic or post-exilic material.

2.2. I-alveolar Verbs

2.2.1. *טמא* ‘become unclean, defile oneself’

Baden’s (2010, 38–39) discusses the case of the *nif^cal* and *hitpa^{cc}el* of *טמא*, both meaning ‘become unclean, defile oneself’. This appears to be a clear case of secondary suppletion, in which the originally *nif^cal* form was reinterpreted as *hitpa^{cc}el* where permitted by the consonantal spelling. Thus all 18 *nif^cal* forms are either suffix conjugation forms (16x: Lev. 11.43; 18.24; Num. 5.13–14, 14, 20, 27–29; Jer. 2.23; Ezek. 20.43; 23.7, 13, 30; Hos. 5.3; 6.10) or participles (2x: Ezek. 20.30–31). By contrast, all 15 *hitpa^{cc}el* forms are in the prefix conjugation (Lev. 11.24, 43; 18.24, 30; 21.1, 3–4, 11; Num. 6.7; Ezek. 14.11; 20.7, 18; 37.23; 44.25; Hos. 9.4). Note that the two forms often come in the same context, or even the same verse, e.g.,

- (16) אֶל־תִּשְׁקְצוּ אֶת־נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם בְּכָל־הַשְּׂרָץ הַשְּׂרָץ וְלֹא תִטְמְאוּ בָהֶם וְנִטְמַתֶּם
בָּם:

‘You shall not make yourselves detestable with any swarming thing that swarms, and **you shall not defile yourselves** with them, **and become unclean** through them.’ (Lev. 11.43; see also Lev. 18.24)

- (17) וְאָמַר אֶל־בְּנֵיהֶם בְּמִדְבָּר בְּחֻקֵי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם אֲלֵתְלֹכוּ וְאֶת־מִשְׁפָּטֵיהֶם אֲלֵ־
תִשְׁמְרוּ וּבְגִלּוּלֵיהֶם אֲלֵ־תִטְמְאוּ: ... לָכֵן אָמַר | אֶל־בְּיַת יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּה אָמַר
אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הַבְּדֻדָּה אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם אֶתֶם נִטְמְאוּם וְאֶחָרֵי שְׁקוּצֵיהֶם אֶתֶם זָגִים:
וּבִשְׂאֵת מִתַּנְתִּיכֶם בְּהַעֲבִיר בְּנֵיכֶם בְּאֵשׁ אֶתֶם נִטְמְאוּם לְכָל־גִּלּוּלֵיכֶם עַד־
הַיּוֹם וְאֲנִי אֲדַרְשׁ לָכֶם בַּיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל חֵי־אֲנִי נֹאֵם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אִם־אֲדַרְשׁ לָכֶם:
‘And I said to their children in the wilderness, “Do not walk in the statutes of your fathers, nor keep their rules, nor **defile yourselves** with their idols.”... Therefore say to the house of Israel, Thus says the Lord GOD: “**Will you defile yourselves** after the manner of your fathers and go whoring after their detestable things? When you present your gifts and offer up your children in fire, **you defile yourselves** with all your idols to this day. And shall I be inquired of by you, O house of Israel? As I live, declares the Lord GOD, I will not be inquired of by you.”’ (Ezek. 20.18, 30–31)

Though translations sometimes appear to reflect a semantic distinction between the *nif'al* and *hitpa'el* forms, e.g., (14), any distinction between the two is in reality merely formal, both capable of a range of middle semantics covering passive and reflexive force, e.g., (15). The suppletion is an example of partial hitpaelisation made where allowed by the orthography. Note that in

SH, all forms are *nif^{al} B* (§1.3.3). Hitpaelisation of this verb is also documented in the NBDSS (§1.2.2) and RH (§1.5).

2.2.2. זכ"י 'be cleansed, cleanse yourself'

Active verbs with this root occur in *qal*, in the sense 'acquit, be justified' (Mic. 6.11; Ps. 51.6; Job 15.14; 25.4), and *pi^{al}el*, in the sense 'keep/make pure' (Ps. 73.13; 119.9; Prov. 20.9). The imperatival form הִזְכֵּנוּ (Isa. 1.16) is orthographically ambiguous, theoretically presupposing *nif^{al} הזכנו** or its traditionally *hitpa^{al}el* morphology. This is the only apparently *hitpa^{al}el* form of a I-z root in BH, so it is impossible to tell whether the full assimilation of the root-initial z is routine. By way of comparison, root-initial ṣ does not assimilate, but undergoes metathesis. The morphological ambiguity of the NBDSS occurrences of this verb (1QS 3.4; 8.18; 4Q257 3.6; 5Q13 f4.2) make them unhelpful. Metathesis takes place in NBDSS]הזדו' 'to...?' (5Q13 f1.12) and in RH לְהִזְדִּיף 'be falsified' (m. Giṭṭin 2.4) and וּמִיִּזְדִּיגִין 'and (they) would form pairs' (m. Sanhedrin 5.5). It seems possible that the biblical orthography הזכו (Isa. 1.13) reflects a *nif^{al}* form that was secondarily read as a *hitpa^{al}el*.

2.2.3. א"ד 'be crushed'

The verb with transitive semantics is *pi^{al}el* (Isa. 3.15; 53.10; Ps. 72.4; 89.11; 94.5; 143.3; Job 4.19; 6.9; 19.2; Prov. 22.22; Lam. 3.34). The corresponding passive *pu^{al}al* comes four times (Isa. 19.10; 53.5; Jer. 44.10; Job 22.9). An unequivocal *nif^{al}* form comes in נִדְּכָאִים 'ones being crushed' (Isa. 57.15). Ambiguous orthographic forms vocalised as *hitpa^{al}el/nitpa^{al}al* come in the case

of וַיִּדְכָּאוּ ‘and they are crushed’ (Job 5.4) and וַיִּדְכָּאוּ ‘and they are crushed’ (Job 34.25). On semantic grounds, Baden (2010, 38) assumes an original *nif^{al}* secondarily read as *hitpa^{el}*, but the regularity of *pi^{el}* and *pu^{al}* forms may point to the authenticity of the t-stem morphology. Baden (2010, 40–43) also notes that initial-alveolar and initial-affricate forms are disproportionately underrepresented in terms of *nif^{al}* morphology, suggesting that such forms were disproportionately reinterpreted as *hitpa^{el}* forms.⁸

2.2.4. דב"ר ‘speak (divine)’

On three occasions in Tiberian BH one encounters the *hitpa^{el}* active participle מדַבֵּר:

- (18) וּבָא מֹשֶׁה אֶל-אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד לְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת-הַקּוֹל מִן-בֵּית אֱלֹהֵי מֵעַל
הַכַּפֹּרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל-אֲרֹן הָעֵדוּת מִבֵּין שְׁנֵי הַכְּרֻבִים וַיְדַבֵּר אֵלָיו:

‘And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with the LORD, he heard the voice **speaking** to him from above the mercy seat that was on the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim; and it spoke to him.’
(Num. 7.89)

- (19) וַתָּבֵא בִי רוּחַ כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֵלַי וַתַּעֲמֵדְנִי עַל-רַגְלֵי וְאֶשְׁמַע אֶת מִדְבַּר אֱלֹהֵי:
‘And the Spirit entered into me as he spoke to me and [the spirit] set me on my feet, and I heard **him speaking** to me.’
(Ezek. 2.2)

⁸ Citing the likes of Yellin (1924), Bergsträsser (1918–1929, II:§16d), and Siebesma (1991, 169), Baden (2010, 39, fn. 17) also lists the roots בר"ר, גא"ל, and כס"י as mixing *nif^{al}* and *hitpa^{el}* morphology. But the suppletion in these cases is not as consistent as in those discussed above.

(20) וְאִשְׁמַע מִן־בֵּר אֵלַי מִהַבַּיִת וְאִישׁ הָיָה עִמָּד אֶצְלִי:

‘I heard **one speaking** to me out of the temple, while the man was standing beside me.’ (Ezek. 43.6)

The apparently secondary use of *hitpa*^{el} is restricted to originally *pi*^{el} participles, as this consonantal form is amenable to hitpaelisation due to the assimilation of the infix *-t-* to the following dental *d*. Notably, it is restricted to contexts of divine speech. This was evidently one strategy among many employed as part of a broad Second Temple effort to avoid anthropomorphism of the deity. Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 218, §2.14.18, fn. 198) notes that such techniques are especially characteristic of the Targums. Indeed, observe that in the Aramaic rendering of Targums Onqelos in (21), Dt-stem participles correspond to both the participle and a finite verbal form in the MT:

(21) וכד עליל משה למשכן זמנא למללא עמיה ושמע ית קלא דמתמלל עימיה
מעלוי כפורתא דעל ארונא דסהדוּתא מבין תרין כרוביא ומתמלל עמיה:
‘And when Moses would go into the tent of meeting to speak with the LORD, and he would heard the voice **speaking** to him from above the mercy seat that was on the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim; and it would speak to him.’ (TO Num. 7.89)

For further evidence of the Targumic distinction between the D-stem for human speech and the Dt-stem for divine speech, see

(22) וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל-מֹשֶׁה דַּבֵּר-אַתָּה עִמָּנוּ וְנִשְׁמָעָה וְאַל-יְדַבֵּר עִמָּנוּ אֱלֹהִים פֶּן-

MT נָמוּת:

TO ואמרו למשה מליל את עימנא ונקביל ולא יתמלל עמנא מן-קדם יי דלמא נמות:

‘And they said to Moses, “You **speak** to us, and we will listen; but do not **let God speak** to us, lest we die.” (Exod. 20.19)

(23) וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂמוּאֵל אֶל-שָׁאוּל הֲרָף וְאַגִּידָה לְךָ אֵת אֲשֶׁר דַּבְּרָ יְהוָה אֵלַי הַלַּיְלָה

MT ויאמרו (K) ויאמר (Q) לוֹ דַּבֵּר: ס

TO ואמר שמואל לשאול אוריך ואחוי לך ית דאתמלל מן קדם יי עמי בליליא ואמר ליה מליל:

‘Then Samuel said to Saul, “Stop! I will tell you what which the LORD **spoke** to me this night.” And he said to him, “**Speak**.” (1 Sam.15.16; see also TJ Ezek. 2.2)⁹

The Targums, thus, reflect a tradition similar to that reflected in the Tiberian reading tradition. The same is true of RH (Tannaitic and Amoraic sources). Conversely, other Second Temple Hebrew sources show no sign of this distinction. In the relevant passage, the SP has the more expected—and original—*pi^{el}* form מדבר *amdabbār* ‘[the voice] speaking’ (Num. 7.89). Likewise, the Peshitta has D-stem forms parallel to the MT *hitpa^{el}* forms. Neither the Old Greek nor the Vulgate show special forms corresponding to the MT’s *hitpa^{el}*s. The use of dedicated Dt-stem verbs for divine speech is thus a feature specific to Jewish interpretive traditions. It dates to at least the Tannaitic period, prior

⁹ For Dt-stem forms of מל"ל ‘speak’ more generally in reference to divine speech, see in TO Gen 16.13; Exod. 33.9; TJ Jer. 9.11; Ezek. 1.3, 28; 13.7; 22.28; Hab. 2.1; Targum Song 1.2; 2.5.

if the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition had already crystallised by then.

3.0. The Tiberian Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

3.1. Northwest Semitic Inscriptions

No *hitpa*^{el} forms occur in the limited corpus of Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy (Gogel 1998, 119). However, t-stem forms are found in the wider Northwest Semitic repertoire, specifically, in the Moabite of the Mesha^c Stele, where one finds repeated occurrences of the *hifte*^{el} form הלתחם ‘fight’ (KAI 181 1.11, 15, 19, 32–33). Clearly, t-stem forms semantically parallel to BH *nif*^{al} forms were extant in Iron Age sources.

3.2. Synonymy between *Hitpa*^{el} and Other Stems

Yet, it would be misleading to suggest that synonymy between *hitpa*^{el} and other stems is an exclusively late phenomenon. Consider the following examples, which may be considered more broadly representative.

3.2.1. הַתְּבַרֵךְ || בְּרַךְ ‘be blessed, bless oneself’

Whatever the exact meaning of the *hitpa*^{el} (Gen. 22.18; 26.4; Deut. 29.18; Isa. 65.16; Jer. 4.2; Ps. 72.17) and *nif*^{al} (Gen 12.3; 18.18; 28.14), their appearance in nearly parallel contexts in Genesis would seem to demonstrate early semantic overlap.

3.2.2. הִתְחַבֵּא || נָחַבָּא ‘hide (intr.)

In both Tiberian CBH and LBH, the *hitpa*^{el} (Gen. 3.8; 1 Sam. 13.6; 14.11, 22; 23.23; 2 Kgs 11.3; Job 38.30; 1 Chron. 21.20; 2 Chron. 22.9, 12) and *nifal* (Gen. 3.10; 31.27; Josh. 2.16; 10.16–17, 27; Judg. 9.5; 1 Sam. 10.22; 19.2; 2 Sam. 17.9; Amos 9.3; Job 5.21; 29.8, 10; Dan. 10.7; 2 Chron. 18.24) forms appear with identical semantics. Indeed, they occur separated by a single verse in the same story in Gen. 3.8 and 10.

3.2.3. נָצַב/הִתְיַצֵּב ‘position oneself, stand’

The connection between the *hitpa*^{el} הִתְיַצֵּב and the *nifal* נָצַב is not merely one of semantic synonymy, but of partial suppletion. In Tiberian BH the *hitpa*^{el} occurs primarily as a prefix conjugation form, imperative, or infinitive construct. It occurs just twice as a suffix conjugation form, specifically in LBH. The *nifal*, conversely, occurs only as a participle and suffix conjugation form, the latter outside of LBH. Given this sort of mutual exclusivity, it is not surprising that the two forms should occur with similar semantics in close proximity, e.g., וְנִצַּבְתָּ ‘and you will stand’ (Exod. 34.2) and וַיִּתְיַצֵּב ‘and he stood’ (Exod. 34.5). Consider also the *hitpa*^{el} forms in Num. 22.22; 23.3, 15 versus the *nifal* forms in Num. 22.23, 31, 34; 23.6, 17. Finally, nearly parallel uses involve the *nifal* וְנִצַּבְתָּ ‘and you will stand’ (Exod. 7.15; see also 5.20) and the *hitpa*^{el} וְהִתְיַצֵּב ‘and stand’ (Exod. 8.20; see also 9.13). Clearly, the above is strong evidence of early *hitpa*^{el}-*nifal* correspondence.

3.2.4. הַתְּבוּנָה || נְבוּן ‘be established’

There is arguable semantic overlap between the *hitpolel* and the *nif'al*, but the most striking feature of the *hitpolel* is the consonantal evidence it provides for the *hippa^cel* < *hitpa^cel* (*nippa^cel* < *nitpa^cel*), or, more specifically, *hippolel* < *hitpolel* (*nippolel* < *nitpolel*), shift more evident in the pronunciation component of the Tiberian reading tradition and other Second Temple traditions (i.e., SH). Indeed, in three of the four *hitpolel* instances, the *t* has assimilated: הַתְּבוּנָה ‘be established, rebuilt (FS)’ (Num. 21.27); תְּבוּנָהּ ‘you (FS) will be (re)established’ (Isa. 54.1); וַיִּבְנוּ ‘and they (M) make ready’ (Ps. 59.5); cf. יְתְבוּנָהּ ‘it (M) is established’ (Prov. 24.3). Note that the relevant consonantal forms are unambiguously *hippolel/nippolel* < *hitpolel/nitpolel*, as evidenced by reduplication of the *n*. This is strong evidence that the apparently secondary vocalisation development seen above in §2.1 is in line with developments already seen in the Tiberian written tradition.¹⁰

3.2.5. הַתְּנַבֵּא || נָבֵא ‘prophecy’

So apparently interchangeable are the *hitpa^cel* and *nif'al* of נב"א that they both come throughout BH, frequently appearing in close proximity, including on four occasions within a single verse: נְבִאִים ‘prophesying (MPL)’ and וַיִּתְנַבְּאוּ ‘and they prophesied’ (1 Sam. 19.20); נְבִאִים ‘prophesying (MPL)’ and מְתַנַּבְּאִים ‘prophesying (MPL)’ (Jer. 14.14); הִיָּה מְתַנַּבֵּא ‘would prophesy (MS)’ and וַיִּנְבֵּא ‘and he prophesied’ (Jer. 26.20); הַמְתַּנַּבְּאוֹת ‘who are prophesying

¹⁰ Consider also *hippolel/nippolel* אֶרְוֹמֶם ‘I will exalt myself’ (Isa 33.10) versus *hitpolel/nitpolel* וַיִּתְרוֹמֶם ‘and he will exalt himself’ (Dan 11.36).

(FPL)' and והנבא 'and prophesy! (MS)' (Ezek. 26.20). In the case of these verbs, semantic correspondence between *hitpa*^{el} and *nif*^{al} seems to have deep historical roots.

3.2.6. || התנחם נחם 'be comforted; regret, change one's mind'

Hitpa^{el} forms, usually in the sense 'take comfort, be comforted', (7x) are rarer than *nif*^{al} (48x), usually 'repent, regret'. The *hitpa*^{el} occasionally has the meaning more commonly associated with the *nif*^{al}, e.g., ...וַיִּתְנַחֵם 'God is not a man that he should like, nor a human **that he should change his mind**' (Num. 23.19); cf. וְגַם נִצַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִשְׁקַר וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם כִּי לֹא 'And also the Glory of Israel does not lie **and does not change his mind**, for he is not a man, **that he should change his mind**'" (1 Sam. 15.29).

The reverse semantic shift, that of *nif*^{al} bearing the sense more typically associated with *hitpa*^{el}, also occurs. Consider the following verses about Judah from consecutive chapters:

(24) וַיִּקְמוּ כָּל-בָּנָיו וְכָל-בָּנוֹתָיו לְנַחֲמוֹ וַיִּמָּאֵן לְהִתְנַחֵם וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי-אֶרְדּוּ אֶל-בְּנֵי אָבִי שְׂאֵלָה וַיִּבְדַּךְ אֹתוֹ אָבִיו:

'All his sons and daughters stood by him to console him, but he refused **to be consoled**. "No," he said, "I will go to the grave mourning my son."' (Gen. 37.35)

(25) וַיִּרְבוּ הַיָּמִים וַתָּמָת בַּת-שׁוּעַ אִשְׁת־יְהוּדָה וַיִּנָּחֵם יְהוּדָה וַיֵּעַל עַל-גִּזְיוֹ צֹאנוּ הוּא וְחִירָה רַעְהוּ הָעַדְלָמִי תַמְנָתָה:

'After some time Judah's wife, the daughter of Shua, died. After Judah **was consoled**, he left for Timnah to visit his sheepshearers, along with his friend Hirah the Adullamite.' (Gen. 38.12)

One further piece of evidence for morphosemantic overlap between *hitpa*^{el} and *nif*^{al} can be found in the form *וְהִנְחַמְתִּי* ‘and I will satisfy myself’ (Ezek. 5.13). It represents the development *hippa*^{el} < *hitpa*^{el}, which in SH came to be identified as *nif*^{al} *B* and is related to RH *nitpa*^{al}.

3.2.7. *הִסְתַּתֵּר* || *נִסְתַּר* ‘hide (intr.)’

There appears to be little to no semantic difference between *hitpa*^{el} *הִסְתַּתֵּר* and *nif*^{al} *נִסְתַּר* when in reference to a human subject (the *nif*^{al} is more common overall, and with non-human subjects, but cf. Isa. 29.14). For synonymous usage, compare

- (26) *וַיַּעֲלוּ זִפְתִּים אֶל-שָׁאוּל הַגִּבְעָתָה לְאֹמֶר הַלּוֹא דָּוִד מְסִתְתָּר עִמָּנוּ בְּמַצְדּוֹת בְּחִירְשָׁה בְּגִבְעַת הַחֲכִילָה אֲשֶׁר מִיָּמִין הַיְשִׁימוֹן:*

‘Then the Ziphites went up to Saul at Gibeah, saying, “Is not David **hiding** among us in the strongholds at Horesh, on the hill of Hachilah, which is south of Jeshimon?”’ (1 Sam. 23.19; see also 26.1)

- (27) *וַיִּסְתַּר דָּוִד בְּשָׂדֵה וַיְהִי הַחֹדֶשׁ וַיֵּשֶׁב הַמֶּלֶךְ עַל (K) אֶל־ (Q) הַלֶּחֶם לֶאֱכֹל: ‘And David **hid** in the field. And when the new moon came, the king sat down to eat food.’ (1 Sam. 20.24; see also 20.5, 19)*

3.2.8. *הִתְקַבֵּץ* || *נִקְבַּץ* ‘gather (intr.)’

In reference to humans, the *hitpa*^{el} and *nif*^{al} are largely synonymous regarding the meaning ‘gather (intr.)’, though the *nif*^{al} apparently has passive semantics as well. Cf. *הִתְקַבְּצוּ וּבֹאוּ עָלַיָּהּ*: ‘gather and come against it and rise for war’ (Jer. 49.14) and *הִתְקַבְּצוּ וּבֹאוּ הָאֲסָפוּ מִסְבִּיב*: ‘gather and come, assemble

around' (Ezek. 39.17). Even more convincing as examples of semantic synonymy are the *nif^{al}* and *hitpa^{el}* in consecutive verses in *nif^{al}* וַיִּקְבְּצוּ 'and they gathered (intr.)' (1 Sam. 7.6) followed by *hitpa^{el}* הִתְקַבְּצוּ 'the Israelites gathered (intr.)' (1 Sam. 7.7).

3.3. Evidence of *Hitpa^{el}-Nif^{al}* Merger

Discussed above, in §2.1, was the reinterpretation of *nif^{al}* forms as *hitpa^{el}/nitpa^{el}* forms with assimilated *t*-infix. Emphasised were the secondary nature of the vocalism and its agreement with trends characteristic of late Aramaic and Hebrew sources. In a few cases, however, suffix conjugation forms can be read only as *t*-stem forms with assimilated infix *-t-*: וְתִבְנוּן 'be established, rebuilt (FS)' (Num. 21.27); אֶרְוֶמֶם 'I will exalt myself' (Isa. 33.10); תִּבְנוּנִי 'you (FS) will be (re)established' (Isa. 54.1); הִנְבְּאוּ 'they prophesied' (Jer. 23.13); וְהִנְחַמְתִּי 'and I will be satisfied' (Ezek. 5.13); וְהִנְבְּאתִי 'and I prophesied' (Ezek. 37.10). וַיִּבְנוּ 'and they (M) make ready' (Ps. 59.5). Clearly, these unambiguous consonantal *t*-stem forms with assimilated *tav* lend credence to the vocalisation of the apparently *hippa^{el}/nippa^{el}* < *hitpa^{el}/nitpa^{el}* forms seen above.

4.0. Conclusion

Probably as a result of factors external (contact with Aramaic) and internal (growing use of *hitpa^{el}* as a medio-passive, not just a reflexive), hitpa^{el}isation is a characteristic of Second Temple Hebrew as reflected in multiple sources and traditions (§1.0). A number of apparent cases of dissonance between the reading and written components of the Tiberian biblical tradition involve sec-

ondary *hitpa*^{‘el}/*nitpa*^{‘el} analysis of forms originally in other stems, especially, *nif*^{‘al} (§2.0). As seen in §3.0, however, the secondary vocalic deviations find precedents in several features seen in First Temple sources, including the use of t-stem forms in Iron Age Semitic epigraphy (§3.1); not infrequent synonymy between t-stem and N-stem, including cases of suppletion (§3.2); and evidence of the N- and t-stem merger in the case of *nippa*^{‘el}/*nippolel* < *nitpa*^{‘el}/*nitpolel* shifts.

14. ṬEREM QATAL

The temporal particle טָרַם (מ/ב) ‘before’ comes 56 times in BH. Occasionally followed by a noun or infinitive,¹ it most frequently—52 times—precedes a finite verb or verbal clause (see below). In 48 of these 52 cases, the finite verbal form in question is in the prefix conjugation *yiqtol*. The focus of this chapter is the minority syntactic structure of טָרַם followed by the suffix conjugation, i.e., *ṭerem qatal*.

1.0. The Majority Syntax: *Ṭerem Yiqtol*

It is opportune to begin with a brief discussion of the dominant syntactic structure, טָרַם followed by the prefix conjugation, i.e., *ṭerem yiqtol*.

1.1. *Ṭerem Yiqtol* with Expected *Yiqtol* Semantics

In some 27 cases of *ṭerem yiqtol*, the prefix conjugation may be construed to have a TAM value consistent with its standard semantic range: (1) future or modal (i.e., prescriptive), (2) generic/stative present, of (3) habitual past:²

¹ Noun: בָּטָרַם בְּקֶרֶן ‘before morning’ (Isa. 17.14); בָּטָרַם לְיָזֵן ‘before summer’ (Isa. 28.4); infinitive: בָּטָרַם לְדַת חֵק ‘before a decree takes effect’ (Zeph. 2.2a); מִטָּרַם שׁוֹם־אֶבֶן ‘before the placing of a stone’ (Hag. 2.15).

² The TAM semantics of some cases of *ṭerem yiqtol*, especially in poetry, are debatable.

- (1) כְּבִיאֲכֶם הָעִיר כִּן תִּמְצְאוּן אֹתוֹ בְּטָרֶם יַעֲלֶה הַבִּמְתָּה לְאָכֹל...
 ‘As soon as you enter the city you will find him, **before he goes up** to the high place to eat...’ (1 Sam. 9.13; additional future/modal cases include Gen. 27.4; 45.28; Lev. 14.36; Deut. 31.21; 2 Kgs 2.9; Isa. 7.16; 8.4; 65.24; 66.7 [?], 7 [?]; Jer. 13.16, 16; 38.10; Ps. 39.14; 58.10 [?]; Zeph. 2.2b, 2c; Prov. 30.7; Job 10.21)
- (2) לֹא כַנְשִׁים הַמִּצְרַיִת הָעֵבְרַיִת בִּיְחִיּוֹת הִנָּה בְּטָרֶם הַבּוֹא אֵלֶיהָ הַמִּילֶדֶת וַיִּלְדוּ:
 “Because Hebrew women are not like Egyptian women, for they are vigorous and **before** the midwife **comes** to them, they give birth.” (Exod. 1.19; additional generic present cases include Exod. 9.30; 10.7; Isa. 42.9 [?]; Prov. 18.13)
- (3) גַּם בְּטָרֶם יִקְטְרוּן אֶת־הַחֶלֶב וַיָּבֵא יַעֲרֵר הַכֹּהֵן וְאָמַר לְאִישׁ הַזֹּבֵחַ...
 ‘Moreover, **before they could burn** the fat, the priest’s servant would come and say to the one sacrificing...’ (1 Sam. 2.15; Ruth 3.14)

None of these usages of the prefix conjugation after טָרַם is unexpected or surprising, given that the *yiqtol* form regularly encodes such semantic values even in the absence of טָרַם.

1.2. *Ṭerem Yiqtol* with Unexpected *Yiqtol* Semantics

In some 21 instances of *ṭerem yiqtol*, however, the *yiqtol* form in question appears to represent a completive eventuality temporally anterior to speech time, i.e., perfective past. In such cases, ancient and modern translations routinely (though not exclusively) resort to preterite or pluperfect renderings. Some scholars have thus concluded that the prefix conjugation in the *ṭerem yiqtol*

structure has otherwise anomalous perfective past semantics (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 497–98, §31.1.1d, 501, §31.1.1f, 513–14, §31.6.3). To account for this, some even opine that the prefix conjugation in question is a vestige of short preterite *yiqṭol* (< PS *yaqtul*) (Arnold and Choi 2003, 60). Yet, while the eventualities depicted in the relevant cases of *ṭerem yiqṭol* are indeed anterior to the moment of speech (i.e., past tense) and are in context aspectually completive (i.e., perfective), where a morphological distinction is perceptible, they consistently exhibit forms consistent with long *yiqṭol* (< *yaqtulu/a*), rather than short *yiqṭol* (< *yaqtul*) morphology expected for preterite semantics (Williams 1976, 30–31, §167).³

If so, notwithstanding the propensity for perfective past glossing in translations, the usage is unlikely to consist of a genuinely perfective past *yiqṭol*, whether short or long. Rather, it is most plausibly explained in light of *yiqṭol*'s rather common reference to relative future (Hendel 1996, 159–60; JM, 342, §113j and fn. 21; Cook 2012, 262–63; van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 2017, 161, §19.3.2, 462–63, §41.8).⁴ In past tense narrative context, a *yiqṭol* form can be used to express the prospective or posterior past, i.e., future-in-the-past. Consider the bolded *yiqṭol* forms in examples (4)–(5):

³ Observe the long III-y forms in Gen 2.5a; 24.45; 37.18; 1 Sam. 3.3, 7b; Jer. 47.1; Ezek. 16.57; Ps. 119.67.

⁴ On the notion of relative tense in BH, see Goldfajn (1998); Cohen (2013, 33–34 *et passim*).

- (4) וַיְבִא אֱלֹהִים לְרֵאשִׁית מַה־יִּקְרָאֵלוּ...
 ‘and [God] brought [each animal] to the man to see what
he would call it’ (Gen 2.19)
- (5) וְאֵלִישָׁע חָלָה אֶת־חֲלָיו אֲשֶׁר יָמֹת בּוֹ...
 ‘And Elisha became ill with the illness from which **he**
would die...’ (2 Kgs 13.14a)

The same future-in-the-past sense of *yiqtol* can occur after the particle (אֲשֶׁר) עַד, as in (6)–(7), the latter of which includes a second example of the prefix conjugation for relative future in a subordinate clause after the particle מה ‘what’.

- (6) וַיֵּדֶם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וַיִּרְחַח עָמֵד עַד־יָקֻם גּוֹי אֲיָבָיו...
 ‘And the sun stood still, and the moon stopped, **until** the
 nation **could take vengeance** upon its foes...’ (Josh.
 10.13)
- (7) וַיֵּצֵא יוֹנָה מִן־הָעִיר וַיֵּשֶׁב מִקְדָּם לְעִיר וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ שֵׁם סֹכָה וַיֵּשֶׁב תַּחְתֶּיהָ בַצֶּל
 עַד אֲשֶׁר יֵרְאֶה מַה־יִּהְיֶה בָּעִיר:
 ‘Jonah went out of the city and sat to the east of the city
 and made a booth for himself there. He sat under it in the
 shade, **till he should see what would become** of the city.’

In (4)–(7) above, the relevant *yiqtol* forms encode perfective eventualities anterior (i.e., past) in relation to speech time, but posterior (i.e., future) relative to narrative reference time, or, in Reichenbachian terms, $R < E < S$ (see Cohen 2013, 151–53). This would seem to be the same meaning that obtains in *yiqtol* following טָרָם ‘before’, as in (8).

(8) ...וּלְיוֹסֵף יָלְדוּ שְׁנֵי בָנִים בְּטָרַם הַתְּבוּאָה שָׁנַת הָרָעָב...

‘And to Joseph were born two sons before the year of the famine **would come...**’ (Gen. 41.50; additional relative future/prospective past cases include Gen. 2.5, 5; 19.4; 24.46; 27.33; 37.18; Exod. 12.34; Num. 11.33; Josh. 2.8; 3.1; Judg. 14.18; 1 Sam. 3.3, 7b; 2 Kgs 6.32; Isa. 48.5; Jer. 1.5, 5; 47.1; Ezek. 16.57; Ps. 119.67)

In (4)–(8) above, the eventualities are past from the perspective of speech time and are most naturally given to complete interpretations, but *yiqtol* is employed due to the relative future force in a subordinate clause. *Yiqtol* dominates after טָרַם to the near exclusion of *qatal*, evidently because within narrative context, the standard relative future/prospective past force of the verbal form after טָרַם routinely (though not always; see below) overrides the call for explicit encoding of perfective past semantics, which are contextually inferred.⁵

Significantly, a relative future/prospective account of *ṭerem yiqtol* not only explains the otherwise anomalous use of *yiqtol* in reference to perfective past eventualities, as in example (8), but is consistent with *yiqtol* for future/modal, generic present, and past habitual force, as in examples (1)–(3), above. In all cases, the relationship between the eventuality conveyed by the prefix

⁵ While the most natural rendering of relative future *yiqtol* in many languages, including after טָרַם and עַד, is by means of a perfective past form, this is by no means universal. For example, JM (342, §113j and fn. 21) note that Jerome favoured a subjunctive alternative in the Vulgate. Whatever the case may be, analysis of BH verbal semantics should seek maximal Hebrew-internal semantic consistency.

conjugation following טָרַם is posterior (i.e., future) relative to the contextual reference time of the verb in the main clause, while other TAM values must be contextually construed.

A relative future/prospective past explanation for cases of *ṭerem yiqṭol* where the prefix conjugation refers to a perfective past eventuality also justifies the explicit use of morphologically long *yiqṭol* (< *yaqtulu/a*), against the claim of some (see above) that the form in question derived from archaic preterite short *yiqṭol* (< *yaqtul*) the original length distinction of which was lost.

2.0. The Minority Syntax: *Ṭerem Qaṭal*

On four occasions in Masoretic BH a verb in a טָרַם construction referring to a perfective past eventuality comes in the *qaṭal* rather than *yiqṭol* pattern: Gen. 24.15; 1 Sam. 3.7a; Ps. 90.2; Prov. 8.25. Before a detailed treatment of each of these passages, it is opportune to take a step back for perspective on טָרַם constructions within and beyond BH.

2.1. Diachronic Considerations

First, it is worth noting that the four exceptional examples of *ṭerem qaṭal* in BH do not congregate in any one portion of Scripture. Two are in narrative sections generally regarded as CBH (Genesis and Samuel), one is in poetry (Psalms), and one comes in Wisdom literature (Proverbs).

2.1.1. Tiberian Late Biblical Hebrew

None comes in LBH. Indeed, no Masoretic verbal construction employing טָרַם—with *qaṭal* or *yiqṭol*—is to be found in LBH.

2.1.2. Rabbinic Hebrew

The particle *ṭerem* is also absent from Tannaitic literature.

2.1.3. The Dead Sea Scrolls

More helpful are the data from the DSS. While in the BDSS verb forms after *ṭerem* match their Masoretic counterparts, in the NBDSS there is no trace of *ṭerem yiqṭol* where the verb refers to a perfective past eventuality, against seven apparent cases of perfective past *ṭerem qaṭal*. Assuming the correctness of the readings, examples (9)–(15) appear to be instances of *ṭerem qaṭal*, though several are also interpretable as *ṭerem* + infinitive construct.

- (9) **ובטרם נוסדו ידע את מעשיהם**
 ‘before they were established, he knew their deeds’ (CD 2.7–8)
- (10) **ואלה אשר הכי[ינותה מקדם] עולם לשפוט במ אֵת כול מעשיך בטרם בראתם**
 ‘And it is these which you pre[pared from ancient] eternity to judge, all your works before you created them’ (1QH^a 5.24–25)
- (11) **ואדעה כי בידך יצר כול רוח [וכול פעול]תו הכינותה בטרם בראתו**
 ‘But I know that in your hand is the inclination of every spirit [and all] his [acts] you had prepared before you created him’ (1QH^a 7.21–22)
- (12) **ובטרם בראתם ידעתה {כול} מעשיהם**
 ‘and before You created them You knew {all} their works’ (1QH^a 9.9)

(13) טרם הייתם

‘before you (MPL) were (?)’ (4Q176 f22.3)⁶

(14) כטרם בראם הכין פעולותיהם⁷

‘Before he created them, he established [their] workings’
(4Q180 f1.2)

(15) בטרם בראם ידע מחשבֹותיהם

‘before he created them, he knew [their] design[s]’ (4Q180
f2–4ii.10)

2.1.4. Ben Sira

To these examples should be added one from the concluding poem of BS, preserved in 11QPs^a (11Q5).

(16) אני נער בטרם תעיתי ובקשתיה

‘I was a youth **before I wandered** and I found her.’ (11Q5
21.11 = Sir. 51.13)

These are striking evidence of a late preference for *ṭerem qatāl* over *ṭerem yiqṭol*, perhaps to be explained—along with Hendel (1996, 160, fn. 36)—as due to “the loss of the relative future (as with the whole relative tense system) in LBH, where *ʿaz*, *ṭerem*, and *ʿad* in the past frame are consistently followed by the *Pf*.”⁸

⁶ Cf. infinitival בטרם היוותם ‘before they were (lit. before their being)’ (1QH^a 9.30).

⁷ Cf. infinitival בטרם הבראם ‘before their creation (lit. before their being created)’ (4Q215a f1ii.9)

⁸ The comparison with עַד + verb in past contexts is apposite, but the relevance of אָז + verb is questionable. Notwithstanding approaches that lump together constructions composed of the particles אָז, טָרָם, and

Whereas in past contexts the particle (אָשָׁר) *ṣ* is not followed by *yiqṭol* in LBH (except where paralleled in SBH⁹), it is followed by *qaṭal*.¹⁰

If Hendel is correct, then it is possible that Second Temple Aramaic played a role in the post-exilic substitution of *qaṭal* for *yiqṭol* after *ṭeṛem*. The typical Targumic equivalent of BH *ṭeṛem yiqṭol* is אֲשֶׁר followed by the suffix conjugation.¹¹ The Syriac equivalents are ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, consistently followed by the suffix conjugation, and ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, followed by prefix or suffix conjugation.¹² In both structures, a particle meaning ‘until’ precedes a negated verb, equivalent in English to ‘as long as not...’; cf. Latin *nequidum*

ṣ followed by a verb referring to the perfective past (e.g., Hendel 1996; Arnold and Choi 2003, 60), it is best to distinguish cases of relative future *yiqṭol* after אָשָׁר and *ṣ* from the past-tense use of *yiqṭol* after אָז (JM, 341–42, §113i–j; Cook 2012, 262), which, despite notable attempts at elucidation (Bergsträsser §7c, g; Rundgren 1961, 97–101; Rabinowitz 1984; Waltke and O’Connor 1990, §31.6.3; Hendel 1996, 160), remains enigmatic. Also, while Hendel (1996, 160, fn. 36) is broadly correct on the LBH loss of relative-future *yiqṭol* after *ṣ*, Cohen (2013, 151–53) identifies a few examples.

⁹ 2 Chron. 21.10 (|| 2 Kgs 8.22).

¹⁰ Dan. 11.36; 2 Chron. 9.6; 36.21.

¹¹ See TO to Gen. 2.5, 5; 19.4; 24.45; 41.50; Exod. 12.34; Num. 11.33; TJ to Josh. 2.8; 1 Sam. 3.3, 7b; Jer. 1.5, 5. אֲשֶׁר + prefix conjugation and אֲשֶׁר + infinitive are also attested. In BH אֲשֶׁר + *qaṭal* occurs only here in Prov. 8.25 and in Deutero-Isaiah’s Isa. 47.7, where the corresponding text in 1QIsa^a 39.26 reads אֲשֶׁר עוֹד לֹא rather than אֲשֶׁר.

¹² ܐܘܪܝܢܐ: Gen. 2.5, 5; 19.4; 24.15, 45; 1 Sam. 3.3, 7, 7; ܐܘܪܝܢܐ + *qtl*: Num. 11.33; Ps. 119.67; ܐܘܪܝܢܐ + *yqtl*: Gen. 37.18; 2 Kgs 6.32; Isa. 48.5; Jer. 1.5, 5; 47.1; Ps. 90.2; Prov. 8.24, 26.

followed by a past-tense verb. Similar Hebrew עַד לֹא constructions come in the NBDSS and other late sources.¹³ The CBH *ṭerem yiqtol* structure, by contrast, has no negative component, but can be analysed with the basic semantic value of ‘before’. When followed by *yiqtol*, the force is prospective, i.e., relative future ‘before he would come’; when followed by *qatal*, the force is retrospective, i.e., absolute past ‘before he came’. It is entirely possible that the diminished relative future use of *yiqtol*, combined with the influence of Aramaic and Aramaic-like conjunctions including a negative and followed by suffix conjugation forms, were factors in the replacement of classical perfective past *ṭerem yiqtol* with *ṭerem qatal*. As we shall see, however, the evidence is also consistent with the hypothesis of inner-Hebrew development already at work in CBH.

Evidence for some sort of logical connection between טָרַם and Aramaic/Hebrew עַד לֹא and similar negative conjunctions may be gleaned from the apparent synonymy of the three טָרַם structures in Zeph. 2.2:

(17) בְּטָרַם לְבָרַת חֹק בְּמַזְעַר יוֹם בְּטָרַם | לֹא־יָבוֹא עֲלֵיכֶם חֲרוֹן אַף־יְהוָה
בְּטָרַם לֹא־יָבוֹא עֲלֵיכֶם יוֹם אַף־יְהוָה:

‘before the delivery of the decree, like chaff the day has passed, **when** the burning anger of the LORD **does not yet come** upon you, **when** the day of the anger of the LORD **does not yet come** upon you.’ (Zeph. 2.2)

¹³ CD 10.10 (with *yiqtol*); 4Q300 f1a11-b.2; Mas1h 2.7 (|| Sira 40.17; cf. SirB 10r.8). Significantly, other alternatives, also employing the suffix rather than prefix conjugation, likewise appear in late corpora, e.g., עָנָן לֹא (Qoh. 4.3), אַדְיִין/עַדְיִין לֹא (m. Yadayim 4.4), קוּדָם עַד שְׁלָא (y. Berakhot).

Here the initial טָרַם structure containing an infinitive construct has approximately the same meaning as the two subsequent טָרַם constructions with negated *yiqṭol* forms. These all have absolute future, rather than past, semantics, but the crucial point is that the standard future-oriented *ṭerem yiqṭol* construction with no negative connotation or particle, probably with the force ‘before X will/does’, has acquired negative morphology and semantics, apparently with the revised force ‘when X does not yet’.¹⁴

In light of the evidence, it would seem that the particle טָרַם had become somewhat obsolete in Second Temple Hebrew and that when late writers employed it, they were more prone than their predecessors to opt for *qaṭal* over *yiqṭol* in reference to perfective past eventualities. Be that as it may, on the surface, the ostensible diachronic shift from *ṭerem yiqṭol* to *ṭerem qaṭal* discernible when comparing BH (whether Masoretic or DSS) to the Hebrew of the NBDSS finds no confirmation in perceptible dia-

¹⁴ Similar phenomena are known in Hebrew and crosslinguistically. For example, עַד ‘while’ versus עַד ‘until’ in Hebrew (cf. Job 1.16–18); post-classical ancient Hebrew עַד לֹא ‘not yet’ parallels Modern Hebrew עַד לֹא ; in vernacular Italian, the construction *finché non* ‘until’ is routinely shortened to its logical opposite *finché* ‘as long as’. French *avant qu’il ne vienne* ‘before he comes’ seems to include a superfluous negative particle. It has been suggested that ‘before’, with a basic sense of ‘when still not’, is inherently negative. Relatedly, in English ‘before’ licenses negative polarity items, e.g., ‘before they saw anyone’. I am grateful to Ambjörn Sjörs for noting many of the above points. See Hetterle (2015, 131–51)—kindly referred to me by Christian Locatell—for crosslinguistic perspective on the intersection of tense, aspect, and negation in adverbial clauses.

chronic distribution within the MT, in that LBH exhibits no cases of *ṭerem qatal* (or of *ṭerem* more generally).

Even so, there may be evidence, albeit both limited and arguable, of the shift in question in cases of apparent dissonance between the written (consonantal) and reading (vocalisation) components of the Tiberian biblical tradition, the latter showing slight drift towards the purported Second Temple convention. Crucially, whereas in nearly all instances of perfective past *ṭerem yiqtol*, the consonantal text allows for no reading other than that of a prefix conjugation, in a tiny minority of cases, orthographic ambiguity allows for a secondary *ṭerem qatal* reading. But such reanalysis accounts for only a portion of the *ṭerem qatal* exceptions; it would seem that others are genuine classical outliers.

2.2. Secondary *ṭerem qatal* in the Tiberian Reading Tradition

In two cases of *ṭerem qatal* in the Masoretic Hebrew Bible, a compelling argument can be made that the *qatal* forms reflected in the reading tradition are secondary. Both cases involve I-y *qal* verbs, the consonantal forms of which may well have been intended to represent more standard *yiqtol* alternatives.

2.2.1. 1 Sam. 3.7

(18) וּשְׁמוּאֵל טָרַם יָדַע אֶת־יְהוָה וְטָרַם יְגִלָּה אֵלָיו דְּבַר־יְהוָה:

‘Now Samuel **did not yet know** the LORD and the word of the LORD **would yet be revealed** to him.’ (1 Sam. 3.7)

This well-known example helpfully presents two instances of *ṭerem* + verb: the anomalous *ṭerem qatal* in the first half of the

verse and the more common *ṭerem yiqṭol* in its second half. The grammatical mismatch is conspicuous. The accepted—and arguably most compelling—explanation for the instance of *ṭerem qaṭal* assumes secondary divergence of the recitation tradition from the tradition presupposed by the consonantal text, presumably under the influence of Second Temple Hebrew. As has been proposed by many (e.g., Driver 1890, 34), it is likely that the consonants עṭ here were originally intended to represent a *yiqṭol* form expected to yield Tiberian עṭ , but were read—presumably in line with later grammar, like that of the NBDSS Hebrew cases cited above in (9)–(15)—as *qaṭal* עṭ . Certainly, the conjectural *yiqṭol* עṭ is a better match than *qaṭal* עṭ for the accompanying *yiqṭol* הִלֵּךְ later in the verse, as well as for the majority of other cases of *ṭerem yiqṭol* in reference to perfective past eventualities.

An important consideration relevant to this example is that the proposed modification to the oral realisation would have been facilitated by the graphic identity of the I-y *qal qaṭal* and *yiqṭol* consonantal forms, in this case עṭ and עṭ , respectively, so that the change would have occasioned no violence to the consonantal text. This is broadly characteristic of other cases of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition—secondary linguistic features standard in Second Temple Hebrew supplanted their First Temple counterparts where the ambiguity of the consonantal tradition made it amenable to substitute realisations. Indeed, not even was an explicit marking of *ketiv-qere* necessary.

A comparable phenomenon took place more generally in the case of I-y *qal wayyiqtol* forms in the Samaritan reading tradition, where Tiberian *wayyiqtol* forms, like וַיֵּרַד ‘and he went down’ (Deut. 26.5), were re-analysed as perfective conjunctive *waw + qatal* forms, like וירד *wyārād*. So pervasive was the penetration of *qatal* morphology, that it was applied even to feminine I-y *qal* forms, e.g., MT וַתֵּלֶד ‘and she gave birth’ (Gen. 4.1) || SP ותלד *wtālād* (Khan 2021, 331; cf. Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 170, 173).¹⁵ It is reasonable to assume that the Samaritan reading of original I-y *qal* forms in *ṭerem yiqtol* might also have been along the lines of *ṭerem yiqtol*, but this must remain conjecture, as the Pentateuch presents no cases of perfective past *ṭerem yiqtol* with a I-y *qal* verb (likewise for perfective past I-y *qal yiqtol* following אָז and עַד [אַשְׁרֵי]).

In light of the morphological mismatch between טָרַם יָדַע and טָרַם יָגִילָה in 1 Sam. 3.7, a local explanation for the anomalous use of the characteristically late *ṭerem qatal* structure predicated on the Tiberian reading tradition’s secondary divergence from the written tradition seems persuasive. Given this, one is primed for similar explanations in the case of the remaining tokens of *ṭerem qatal*. However, while a similar explanation might hold for one other case, and while all could conceivably be chalked up to textual fluidity in the consonantal tradition, the possible authen-

¹⁵ Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 173) accepts this explanation for 3MS and 3MPL *wayyiqtol* forms, but not for 2MS and 3FS *wayyiqtol* forms, which he sees as *yiqtol* forms with an \bar{a} -vowel preformative reflecting original *yaf^cul*; cf. Khan (2021, 331), who sees SP forms like ותלד *wtālād* as secondary forms that developed on the analogy of *qatal* for purposes of distinguishing preterite *yiqtol* (e.g., *wtārād*) from non-preterite *yiqtol* (e.g., *térād*).

ticity of one or more of the remaining three cases tallies with early evidence of other secondary vocalisation features that represent standardisations of early minority options. In other words, the fact that a single case of *ṭerem qaṭal* is compellingly explained as a late secondary vocalic deviation from the presumed recitation of the written tradition in line with Second Temple conventions does not mean that all similar structures should be so explained.

2.2.2. Ps. 90.2

Another case of *ṭerem qaṭal* occurs in the poetry of Ps. 90.2:

(19) בְּטֶרֶם הָרִים יִלְדוּ וַתְּחַוֶּלְךָ אֶרֶץ וַתִּבְלֵךְ עַד-עוֹלָם אֶתְהָא אֵל:
 ‘**Before** the mountains **were brought forth**, or ever you had formed the earth and the world, from everlasting to everlasting you are God.’ (Ps. 90.2)

The form יִלְדוּ appears to be a *pu^{ca}l* form of the suffix conjugation, internal passive of either *pi^{ca}el* or—more likely from a semantic perspective—*qal*.¹⁶ The *qal* internal passive is itself the focus of a well-known case of divergence between the Tiberian consonantal and reading traditions (ch. 10, §§1.1.2; 2.2; 3.2). Even if the middle-radical doubling in such forms can be explained as organic secondary gemination for preservation of the characteristically passive short *u* vowel, it is suspicious that such *qal* passives are preserved chiefly where reinterpretation as alternative passive

¹⁶ Since the *pi^{ca}el* form is used exclusively in BH as a substantive in the meaning ‘midwife’: Gen. 35.17, 28; Exod. 1.15–21.

patterns (suffix conjugation *pu^{cc}al* and prefix conjugation *hof^{cc}al/huf^{cc}al*) was possible,¹⁷ but are otherwise realised as *nif^{cc}als*. Thus,

1. ostensibly *pu^{cc}al* suffix conjugation יִגְנֹב pairs with *nif^{cc}al* prefix conjugation יִגְנֹב (rather than יִגְנֹב*);
2. *qal* passive participle (or ostensibly *pu^{cc}al* participle without the expecting preformative -מ) אֲכָל corresponds to *pu^{cc}al* (i.e., *pi^{cc}el* internal passive) prefix conjugation אֲכָל (rather than אֲכָל/אֲכָל*),¹⁸ and
3. ostensibly *hof^{cc}al* prefix conjugation יִתֵּן parallels *nif^{cc}al* suffix conjugation יִתֵּן (rather than יִתֵּן*).

The problem is not the authenticity of alternatives for the *qal* internal passive, since, for example, consonantly unambiguous *nif^{cc}al* forms are sometimes documented alongside apparent *qal* passives in classically-worded texts (ch. 10, §3.0).¹⁹ The issue is rather the near total absence of *qal* passive forms where the consonantal text permitted an alternative reading—a situation difficult to interpret as anything other than systemic dissonance in realisation between the pronunciation tradition presupposed by the consonantal orthography and that of the recitation tradition.

¹⁷ Exceptions include *qal* internal passive participles, e.g., אֲיִנְנוּ אֲכָל ‘was not being consumed’ (Exod. 3.2); לְגַעַר הַיּוֹלֵד ‘to the child being born’ (Judg. 13.8); אִם-תִּרְאֶה אֹתִי לְקַח מִמֶּנִּי ‘if you see me being taken from you’ (2 Kgs 2.10).

¹⁸ BH knows know *pi^{cc}el* אֲכָל; cf. *pi^{cc}el* אכל in the Samaritan reading tradition and *pi^{cc}el* אכל/עכל in Amoraic Hebrew, as well as *pu^{cc}al* אכל in Tannaitic Hebrew.

¹⁹ Consider the *nif^{cc}al* יִנְקָם (Exod. 21.20) and the *qal* passive (apparently *hof^{cc}al*) יִקָּם (Exod. 21.21) both ‘will be avenged’ in successive verses.

The structure *ḥerim yaldū* | *ḥerim* | *ḥerim* | *yaldū* in Ps. 90.2 presents opposing diachronic tendencies. On the one hand, as noted above, the *ṭerem qatal* syntagm appears to have late affinities. On the other hand, *qal* passive *yaldū* is characteristically classical. Note that in terms of unambiguous consonantal spellings, forms of *qal* internal passive *yaldū* (*qatal*) are confined chiefly to CBH, whereas forms of *nif^cal* *noaldū* (*qatal*, participle, infinitive construct), though documented in CBH, appreciably accumulate in LBH.²⁰ Orthographically, the relevant *yiqtol* forms, e.g., *yōldū*, are generally ambiguous, but are consistently vocalised as *nif^cal*.²¹ The lone exception is the subject of a *ketiv-qere* mismatch in 2 Sam. 3.2.

(20) [וַיִּלְדּוּ] [וַיִּלְדּוּ] לְדָוִד בְּנִים בְּחֶבְרוֹן...

‘And sons **were born** to David at Hebron...’ (2 Sam. 3.2)

It is likely here that the *ketiv* *yōldū* reflects an original *qal* internal passive *wayyiqtol*, along the lines of *wayyulladū*,²² and that the synonymous *qere* *yōldū* is a secondary linguistic update in line

²⁰ *Qal* internal passive *yaldū qatal*: Gen. 4.26; 6.1; 10.21, 25; 24.15; 35.26; 36.5; 41.50; 46.22, 27; 50.23; Judg. 18.29; 2 Sam. 3.5; 21.20, 22; Isa. 9.5; Jer. 20.14–15; 22.26; Ps. 87.4–6; 90.2; Job 5.7; Ruth 4.17; 1 Chron. 1.19; *nif^cal* *noaldū qatal*, participle, infinitive construct: Gen. 21.3, 5; 48.5; 1 Kgs 13.2; Hos. 2.5; Ps. 22.32; Qoh. 4.14; 7.1; Ezra 10.3; 1 Chron. 2.3, 9; 3.1, 4–5; 7.21; 20.6, 8; 22.9; 26.6.

²¹ The dominant spelling with *waw* certainly facilitated *nif^cal* reinterpretation. However, even in the case of a I-y *qal* internal passive *yiqtol*, the spelling with *waw* is expected, e.g., *yōldū*, as in *yōkāl* and *tōkād*, resulting from contraction of the diphthong *uw*, i.e., *yūlad* < *yuwlad*.

²² The lack of the expected *mater waw*, though rare, is more common in forms with suffixes, e.g., the plural here.

with the Second Temple preference for *nif'al* over *qal* internal passive in the case of the prefix conjugation.

How does this shed light on the spelling יָלְדוּ in Ps. 90.2 in example (19)? Obviously, as spelled, it was not amenable to simple re-analysis as a *nif'al yiqtol*, i.e., without resorting to overt signalling of a *ketiv-qere* mismatch. So, then, why was the *ketiv-qere* mechanism left unexploited here? A plausible explanation is that the spelling יָלְדוּ in Ps. 90.2, following as it does the particle טָרַם, was originally intended as a *yiqtol* form. However, unlike in 1 Sam. 3.2, where the *wayyiqtol* form could not be reanalysed as a conjunctive *we* + *qatal* form, the *terem yiqtol* structure ...בָּטָרַם יָלְדוּ in Ps. 90.2 was ripe for easy reanalysis, as both the prefix and suffix conjugation of the relevant *qal* internal passive verb could be written יָלְדוּ. Original *terem yiqtol* was simply reinterpreted as *terem qatal*. The phrase בָּטָרַם | הָרִים יָלְדוּ in Ps. 90.2 thus represents both secondary development—replacing classical *terem yiqtol* with *terem qatal*—and classical preservation—the incidental persistence of characteristically classical *qal* internal passive יָלְדוּ in the face of the encroachment of *nif'al yiqtol* יָלְדוּ or *qatal* נוֹלְדוּ. To summarise: while the form יָלְדוּ as realised according to the Tiberian recitation tradition is analysable as a *qatal* form in the characteristically late *terem qatal* syntagm, its spelling may well represent that of a *yiqtol* form in the classic *terem yiqtol* structure.

Regardless of the validity of the arguments laid out above, two further factors may have contributed to the *terem qatal* rather than *terem yiqtol* construction. First, the context is poetic. Though the poetry-prose linguistic distinction in ancient Hebrew is sometimes abused, it may help to explain the deviation from the stand-

ard *ṭerem yiqtol* construction here. Second, it is important to note that the syntagm employed in Ps. 90.2 is not precisely *ṭerem* + verb, but *ṭerem* + X + verb. The interruption of the syntagm due to the intervening constituent הָרִים may have facilitated variation in the ensuing verbal form. Both factors—non-prose genre and interruption of the syntagm—also apply to the case discussed below, §2.3.1.

2.3. Original *Ṭerem Qaṭal* in the Tiberian Reading Tradition

While evidence for the late secondary character of the two forms above may be compelling, there is no reason to reject the possibility of the non-secondary use of *ṭerem qaṭal* in BH. Indeed, despite the decidedly minority status of the two following biblical examples, and notwithstanding the fact that unambiguous extrabiblical evidence for *ṭerem qaṭal* is limited to Second Temple sources (the NBDSS), there seems no reason *a priori* to question the authenticity of the cases below or of the formulaic diversity they represent.

2.3.1. Prov. 8.25

(21) בְּטָרָם הָרִים הִטְבַּעוּ לִפְנֵי גְבְעוֹת חוֹלְלָתַי:

‘before the mountains were settled in place, before the hills, I was given birth...’ (Prov. 8.25)

Here, as in Ps. 90.2 (see above, §2.2.2), the noun הָרִים ‘mountains’ follows בְּטָרָם and precedes a passive verb denoting their origin. As has already been suggested, it is possible that the interrupted nature of the *ṭerem* + verb structure facilitated the use of *qaṭal*

rather than *yiqtol*. The literary and notional similarities between Ps. 90.2 and Prov. 8.25 are also evident. Whatever the case may be, accepting the text as is, **עָטַבְעָ** clearly cannot be analysed as anything other than a form of the suffix conjugation, i.e., there are no grounds for claiming that the *terem qatal* structure here results from dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition.

There are several factors that may have contributed to the use of a non-standard syntactic structure here. Beyond the interrupted nature of the syntagm, there is also the question of genre. Wisdom literature, though different from biblical poetry, nevertheless exhibits its own non-prose traits. One noted feature, probably due in part to its pan-national Ancient Near Eastern character, is its affinity for forms redolent of Aramaic (Hornkohl 2013a, 17). Indeed, in the Hebrew Bible there are four contexts in which Aramaisms are expected: LBH, due to language contact during and after the Exile; poetry, due to, *inter alia*, the need for lexical variation between common and rarer words (the B-words often being characteristic of Aramaic); stories set in foreign contexts or featuring foreigners, in which Aramaic forms are employed for ‘style switching’; and Wisdom literature (Stadel 2013). Regarding the specific construction under examination here, it is of crucial importance to point out that the language of Prov. 8 is replete with non-standard forms, a few especially characteristic of Aramaic.²³ Of special interest here is **עַד-לֹא עָשָׂה אֲרָץ וְחֻצוֹת** ‘be-

²³ E.g., **מִפְתָּח** ‘opening’ (v. 6), **אֲרָח** ‘way’ (v. 20), **מִפְעֵל** ‘deed’ (v. 22), **עַד** **לֹא עָשָׂה** ‘before he had made’ (v. 26), **אָמוֹן** ‘craftsman’ (v. 30). The exclu-

fore he had made earth and fields' in the immediately following v. 26, since $\text{עָד לֹא} +$ the suffix conjugation is a common Targumic rendering of BH perfective past *ṭerem yiqṭol* (see above, §2.1).

Finally, there is the factor of grammatical attraction. In the immediate literary context, comprised of vv. 22–26, each verse begins with the structure *X qaṭal*, where *X* is either subject or adverbial. There are therefore multiple factors potentially contributing here to the choice of the suffix conjugation rather than the prefix conjugation after *ṭerem*, but little justification for doubting the textual authenticity of the *ṭerem qaṭal* syntagm.

2.3.2. Gen. 24.15

The only remaining case of *ṭerem qaṭal* in the Hebrew Bible comes in Gen. 24.15.

(22) ... וַיְהִי־הוּא טָרֵם בְּלֵה לְדַבֵּר וְהִנֵּה רַבֵּקָה יֵצֵאת...

'And he was—**before** he **finished** speaking, and here Rebekah... was coming out' (Gen. 24.15)

This instance comes in the narrator's description of Abraham's servant's search for a wife for Isaac. Complicating any explanation of the minority construction here is the near-parallel verse with the majority *ṭerem yiqṭol* construction in the 1st-person account later in the chapter.

sive use of אָנִי 'I', though not limited to Aramaic-like Hebrew, can also be interpreted as fitting Aramaic patterns.

(23) אָנִי טָרָם אֲכַלֶּה לְדַבֵּר אֶל־לִבִּי וְהִנֵּה רַבֵּקָה יֵצֵאתָ...

‘**Before I would finish** speaking in my heart, and here was Rebekah coming out...’ (Gen. 24.45)

This case of *terem qatal* shows some similarity to that in 1 Sam. 3.7 (above, §2.2.1), in that there is internal inconsistency with an instance of *terem yiqtol* in the same context. And, indeed, it has been suggested that the *qatal* form כָּלָה in Gen. 24.15 should be considered an error for יְכַלֶּה (GKC 1910, §107c). There are also, however, differences between 1 Sam. 3.7 and Gen. 24.15. Because the crux in 1 Sam. 3.7 involves a I-y *qal* verb, the purported shift from *yiqtol* to *qatal* there is limited to vocalic realisation. In Gen. 24.15, conversely, the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition agree on *terem qatal*. What is more, while the evidence of the Ancient Versions is, as is generally the case, opaque with regard to verbal form in this verse, the combined Samaritan consonantal and recitation tradition joins the MT in exhibiting the mismatch between *terem qatal* in Gen. 24.15 and *terem yiqtol* in Gen. 24.45—this despite the Samaritan tradition’s well-known harmonistic penchant. If כָּלָה טָרָם in Gen. 24.15 is a secondary development, it must be one of considerable depth, predating the divergence of the proto-Masoretic and proto-Samaritan traditions.

Assuming the genuineness of the structure in Gen. 24.15, it is reasonable to ask if such a non-standard use can be explained. Cook (2012, 262, fn. 96) argues that the difference centres on the foregoing use of וַיְהִי:

In this case, the discourse וַיְהִי... sets the narrative deictic center in the past (C_{pos1}) and the *qatal* in the past context shifts the time back one step further (C_{RF}) to express a past-

in-the-past (past perfect): [$C_{RF} < C_{pos1} < S$]. The participle, expressing a progressive event, is then indicated as intersecting the past perfect action by the adverbial טָרַם.

Even if Cook's rendering of וַיְהִי־הוּא as 'It happened' is acceptable,²⁴ the claim that temporal ordering of pluperfect בָּלָה טָרַם relative to simple past וַיְהִי is responsible for *ṭerem qaṭal* is puzzling. The temporal ordering of וַיְהִי and בָּלָה לְדַבֵּר is irrelevant to the narrative; the emphasis is rather on the order of רַב־קָה יֵצֵאת and בָּלָה לְדַבֵּר: while the progressive aspect of the former precludes use of the pluperfect, the ordering is clear: 'before he finished speaking... and here Rebekah was coming out', which could be paraphrased as 'before he finished praying, Rebekah had already appeared'. BH טָרַם 'before' explicitly signals the situation prior to the ensuing verb, whether *yiqṭol* or *qaṭal*. It also bears noting that no other biblical or extra-biblical cases of *ṭerem qaṭal* are conditioned by a preceding וַיְהִי. It thus seems that there is nothing peculiar to the syntax of Gen. 24.15 that requires *ṭerem qaṭal* instead of *ṭerem yiqṭol*.

Turning to another line of argumentation, in three separate publications Alexander Rofé (1976; 1981; 1990) has argued, on the basis of a series of non-standard, especially Aramaic, linguistic usages, that Genesis 24 is a post-exilic composition. Though *ṭerem qaṭal* is not among the Aramaisms he lists, given the construction's comparative frequency in late extra-biblical sources, as well as the late distribution of synonymous Hebrew and Aramaic constructions employing the suffix conjugation, an argu-

²⁴ Cf. Driver (1892, §165 Obs) on the Masoretic accentuation, which the English glossing in (21) is intended to reflect.

ment involving the chapter's late provenance might neatly account here for *ṭerem qaṭal*, which could then be seen as an anachronistic deviation from the standard classicism *ṭerem yiqṭol* later in the same chapter.

Gary Rendsburg (2002; 2006) is sensitive to the non-standard linguistic features detected by Rofé, but interprets them differently. Since it is specifically the accumulation of *diagnostically late* Aramaisms, not the mere concentration of Aramaic(-like) features, that demonstrates post-exilic provenance (Hurvitz 1968; 2003), Rendsburg argues for a literary rather than diachronic explanation for these in Genesis 24—namely that the writer engaged in *style switching*, intentionally employing foreign-sounding phraseology to reflect the story's foreign setting. Rendsburg does not list טָרֵם כְּלָה as a non-standard linguistic feature requiring explanation, but in light of the foregoing discussion, in which both diachronic and foreign factors have been mentioned, perhaps the syntagm bears reinvestigation. For if either Rofé or Rendsburg is correct, the construction in question, like the three cases of *ṭerem qaṭal* already discussed, could perhaps be considered a *conditioned exception* to the *ṭerem yiqṭol* norm—though the mismatch between vv. 15 and 45 is, admittedly, left unexplained.

While the considerations above might help to explain the appearance of *ṭerem qaṭal* in Gen. 24.15, it is perhaps preferable here simply to accept the possibility of early grammatical diversity, in which case טָרֵם כְּלָה is to be viewed as an early forerunner of the more prevalent use of *ṭerem qaṭal* in the NBDSS (see further, below).

3.0. Methodological Considerations

In BH, the use of relative future *ṭerem yiqṭol* is far more common than the use of absolute past *ṭerem qaṭal*. What is more, it seems that one or more cases of *ṭerem qaṭal* can be explained as either false positives or conditioned deviations from classical standards. Admittedly, though, the philological issues cited above as factors contributing to the use of *qaṭal* rather than *yiqṭol* after *ṭerem* are more convincing in some cases than others. The purported shift from *עָרַם יָדַע** to *עָרַם יָדַע* in 1 Sam. 3.7a (above, §2.2.1) is arguably the most compelling. Some of the other arguments ostensibly explaining the use of *ṭerem qaṭal* for *ṭerem yiqṭol* sound like special pleading. Of course, in the interests of grammatical consistency—i.e., *ṭerem* uniformly followed by *yiqṭol*—some might favour wholesale textual emendation of *ṭerem qaṭal* cases. In light of the extrabiblical (NBDSS) and extra-Masoretic (Samaritan) evidence for *ṭerem qaṭal*, however, this seems gratuitous. Notwithstanding the repetition of patterns inherent to language, expectation of complete formulaic uniformity is unrealistic. For all their regularity, languages are non-static human products, prone to irregularity. Or, as Sapir (1921, 39) put it, “Unfortunately, or luckily, no language is tyrannically consistent. All grammars leak.” There is no reason to expect that this should apply any less to an ancient language, like BH, representing diverse chronolects, dialects, registers, and genres and transmitted in various traditions, both written and oral, or even to a single unified component variety of BH. Even in the case of a modern homogenous language variety, one expects general linguistic regularity sprinkled with irregularity. Crosslinguistic tendencies may help to explain certain

phenomena, but philological approaches may also be relevant. Bringing all these considerations to bear on non-standard Tiberian *ṭerem qaṭal* against the backdrop of standard *ṭerem yiqṭol*, it is reasonable to conclude that certain cases of *ṭerem qaṭal* result from late, secondary discord between the written and reading traditions, while in other cases the two traditions agree on the early authenticity of the syntagm.

But if any early cases of *ṭerem qaṭal* are genuine, even if they might be contextually conditioned, these constitute precedent for potential later secondary shifts from *ṭerem yiqṭol* to *ṭerem qaṭal*. In other words, while *ṭerem qaṭal* יְדַע טָרָם in 1 Sam. 3.7a is almost certainly the result of secondary reinterpretation of original *ṭerem yiqṭol* יְדַע טָרָם* in line with broader Second Temple trends, the early documentation of *ṭerem qaṭal* means that any case of late reinterpretation was not completely out of step with classical norms. As frequently obtains in such cases of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition, a feature especially characteristic of Second Temple Hebrew is foreshadowed by minority classical usage. Thus, if the apparently slight difference in extent of usage of *ṭerem qaṭal* between the Tiberian written and reading tradition is explicable as a result of secondary drift of the reading tradition in the direction of Second Temple linguistic convention, the shift does not involve wholly anachronistic innovation, but a slight extension in the use of a minority feature already documented in CBH. Indeed, given the plausible authenticity or one or more of the four cases of *ṭerem qaṭal* in the MT, it is not impossible, despite indications to the contrary, that *all* are authentic.

It is worth making one final point that also tallies with pre-exilic linguistic diversity. The purported early co-occurrence of majority *ṭerem yiqṭol*, encoding relative future, and minority *ṭerem qaṭal*, encoding absolute past, is reminiscent of other CBH alternations between *yiqṭol* and *qaṭal*. Perhaps most relevant is the relative past usage of *qaṭal* for retrospective future (or future perfect, *futurum exactum*) versus the absolute future force of *yiqṭol* in parallel contexts. Compare the past-within-future *qaṭal* usages with similar future *yiqṭol* usages in the following examples.

(24a) ...בְּכָל־הַמְּקוֹמוֹת הַנִּשְׁאַרִים אֲשֶׁר הִדְרִיתִים שָׁם...

‘...in all the places where **I have driven them...**’ (Jer. 8.3; cf. Jer. 29.14, 18; 32.37; 46.28)

(24b) ...בְּכָל־הַמְּקוֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר־אֶדְרִיחֶם שָׁם...

‘...in all the places where **I shall drive them.**’ (Jer. 24.9)

(25a) וְאָכַלְתָּ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ וּבֵרַכְתָּ אֶת־ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ עַל־הָאָרֶץ הַטֹּבָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן־לְךָ:

‘And you shall eat and be full, and you shall bless the LORD your God for the good land **he has given** you.’ (Deut. 8.10)

(25b) ...וְהָיָה כִּי־תָבֹאוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה לָכֶם:

‘And when you come to the land that the LORD **will give** you...’ (Exod. 12.25)

(26a) אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁחַט שׁוֹר אֹו־כֶּשֶׁב אֹו־עֵז בַּמַּחֲנֶה אֹו אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁחַט מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה: וְאֵל־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד לֹא הֵבִיאוּ...

‘If any one of the house of Israel kills an ox or a lamb or a goat in the camp, or kills it outside the camp, and to the entrance of the tent of meeting **has not brought it...**’ (Lev 17.3–4)

(26b) אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל ... אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲלֶה עָלָהּ אוֹ-זֶבַח: וְאֶל-פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד
 לֹא יָבִיאֵנּוּ...

‘Any one of the house of Israel... who offers a burnt offering or sacrifice and to the entrance of the tent of meeting **does not bring it...**’ (Lev. 17.8–9)

In cases such as these, involving the intersection of diverse speech, event, and reference times, BH users could opt for temporal encoding that centred on absolute tense posterior to speech time (i.e., absolute future *yiqtol*) or retrospective relative tense (i.e., relative past and perfect *qatal*). A similar choice seems to have developed for verbs following טָרַם, though in early sources, a relative future, prospective past *yiqtol* seems to have dominated the absolute past option *qatal*, the latter becoming more common only in later sources.

4.0. Conclusion

The use the *qatal* form following טָרַם is rare in BH, but is comparatively more common in DSS Hebrew. While one or more cases in BH may stem from the secondary recasting of I-*y qal yiqtol* forms as *qatal*, other cases are not so readily explained. These latter may well be early grammatical deviations from the norm, akin to other subordinate structures in which absolute past *qatal* and relative future *yiqtol* forms interchange. If any biblical *terem qatal* instances are original, this calls into question—though does not entirely invalidate—the supposedly secondary character of other cases of *terem qatal*. In any case, on the assumption that some cases of *terem qatal* are secondary, it is clear that such reinterpretations are in line with early minority usage.

15. HA-QATAL

It is well known that in BH the definite article -ה is commonly prefixed to participles as a relativising particle.¹ Indeed, with participles -ה is a far more common relativiser than אֲשֶׁר .² Only irregularly does relativising -ה occur with finite verbs, specifically the suffix conjugation. Most of the biblical cases of *ha-qatal* appear to be late, secondary, or both.

1.0. Relativising -ה with *qatal* in the Tiberian Biblical Tradition

1.1. Post-classical Biblical Hebrew

While relativising -ה + participle is found throughout the Hebrew Bible, a peripheral post-classical feature involves extension of the definite article's relativising role to finite verbs, specifically

¹ GKC (§116o); JM (§138c(2)); Williams (1970, §539); Holmstedt (2016, 69–73). Cf. WO (§19.7b), who reject the classification of -ה with participles as relativising on the grounds that participles can have a relativising function without -ה . Of course, on this logic, neither does אֲשֶׁר qualify as a relativiser, since *qatal* and *yiqtol* forms can also be subordinated in asyndetic relative clauses with no need of an explicit relative particle. The potential for asyndetic relative clauses in no way negates the relativising function of either אֲשֶׁר or -ה .

² There are over 1600 cases of -ה + (active or passive) participle. Even if more purely adjectival participles are excluded in such a way as to leave only verbal participles, these dominate the mere 36 cases of אֲשֶׁר + (active or passive) participle.

qatal forms.³ Consider the acknowledged cases of -ה + *qatal* from TBH and LBH compositions in examples (1)–(12).⁴

- (1) הֲלוֹא אַתְּ־הִיא הַמַּתְרַבֵּת יָם מִי תְהוֹם רַבָּה הַשְּׁמֵדָה מֵעַמְקֵי־יָם הַרְדָּ לְעֵבֶר גְּאוּלַּיִם:
‘Are you not she, who dries up the sea, the waters of the great deep, **who made** the depths of the sea a way for the passing of the redeemed?’ (Isa. 51.10)
- (2) וְאַל־יֹאמַר בְּיַהֲנֹכַר תִּנְלֶנָּה אֱלֹהֵיהוָה לְאַמֵּר הַבְּדֵל יַבְדִּילֵנִי יְהוָה מֵעַל עַמּוֹ...
‘And let not the foreigner **who has joined himself** to the LORD say “The LORD will surely separate me from his people.”...’ (Isa. 56.3)
- (3) אֵיךְ אֲבִדְתָּ נְשֻׁבֹת מִיָּמַיִם הָעִיר תְּהִלָּלָה אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה חֻזְקָה בַיָּם...
‘...How you have perished, you who were inhabited from the seas, O city **which was praised**, who was mighty on the sea...’ (Ezek. 26.17)
- (4) וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ שְׁלֹשֶׁת רֵעֵי אֵיּוֹב אֵת כָּל־הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת הַבָּאָה עָלָיו...
‘And Job’s three friends heard about all this calamity **that had come** upon him...’ (Job 2.11)

³ GKC (§138i–k); Lambert (1931, §295); JM (§138c(2)); Williams (1970, §539); WO (§19.7c); Holmstedt (2016, 69–73).

⁴ The linguistic periodisation of most of the verses in the lists presented in §§1.1 and 1.2 is uncontroversial. On the post-CBH status of Isaiah 40–66 see Paul (2012) and Arentsen (2020) (cf. Rooker 1996); on that of the narrative framework of Job see Hurvitz (1974) and Joosten (2014) (cf. Young 2009). Ruth’s date of composition is debated; while it contains several non-standard features, a few with late affinities, most of these can be attributed to factors other than late provenance, and the composition’s overall linguistic style is classical. Whatever the case may be, its periodisation, whether early or late, does not materially affect the present argument.

- (5) בְּשָׁנָת שְׁלוֹשׁ לְמַלְכוּת בִּלְשַׁצַּר הַמֶּלֶךְ חָזוֹן נִרְאָה אֵלַי אֲנִי דָנִיֵּאל אַחֲרַי
הַנִּרְאָה אֵלַי בַּתְּחִלָּה:
‘In the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar, a vision appeared to me, Daniel, after **that which had appeared** to me previously.’ (Dan 8.1)
- (6) (וּאִשְׁקוּלָה) וְאִשְׁקָלָה לָהֶם אֶת־הַבָּרָד וְאֶת־הַזָּהָב וְאֶת־הַכֵּלִים תְּרוּמַת בַּיִת־
אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַהַרְיָמוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיַּעֲצִיּוּ וְשָׂרָיו וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנִּמְצָאִים:
‘And I weighed out to them the silver and the gold and the vessels, the offering for the house of our God **that** the king and his counsellors and his lords and all Israel there present **had offered.**’ (Ezra 8.25)
- (7) ...וְכָל | אֲשֶׁר בְּעָרֵינוּ הַהוֹשִׁיב נָשִׁים נְכָרִיּוֹת יָבֵא לְעֵתִים מְזֻמָּנִים...
‘...and let all in our cities **who have taken** foreign wives come at appointed times...’ (Ezra 10.14)
- (8) ...וַיָּבֹאוּ בְּכֹל אַנְשֵׁי הַהוֹשִׁיבֵי נָשִׁים נְכָרִיּוֹת...
‘And they came to the end of all the men **who had married** foreign women...’ (Ezra 10.17)
- (9) וְכָל הַהַקְדִּישׁ שְׂמוּאֵל הַרְאֵה וְשָׂאוּל בֶּן־קִישׁ וְאַבְנֵר בֶּן־נֵר וַיֹּאבֵד בֶּן־צְרוּיָה...
‘And all **that** Samuel the seer and Saul the son of Kish and Abner the son of Ner and Joab the son of Zeruah **had dedicated...**’ (1 Chron. 26.28)
- (10) ...וַעֲתָה עִמָּךְ הַנִּמְצָאוּ־כֹּה רָאִיתִי בְּשִׂמְחָה לְהִתְנַדֵּב־לָךְ:
‘...and now your people, **who have been found** here, I have seen, joyously offering freely to you.’ (1 Chron. 29.17)
- (11) אָבָל אָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים הָעֵלָה דָּוִד מִקִּרְיַת יַעֲרִים בְּהַכִּיָּן לוֹ דָּוִד...
‘But David brought up the ark of God from Kiriath-jearim **wherein** David **had prepared** for it...’ (2 Chron. 1.4)

(12) וַיִּשְׂמַח יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ וְכָל-הָעָם עַל-הַכֵּיִן הָאֵלֵהִים לָעָם...

‘And Hezekiah and all the people rejoiced over **what** God **had prepared** for the people...’ (2 Chron. 29.36)

In a few cases above, the written tradition is ambiguous, possibly reflecting relativising *-ה* prefixed to a participle. In these instances, it is not unreasonable to entertain the possibility that the *-ה* + *qaṭal* syntagm reflected in the reading tradition is due to secondary reinterpretation. In the case of the II-*w/y* *qal* forms in examples (1) and (4)—הַשְּׁמַח and הַבְּאֵר—this would involve no more than a shift from ultimate stress in the relevant FS participles to penultimate stress in the 3FS *qaṭal* forms. In the 3MS III-*y* *nif'al* forms in examples (2) and (5)—הַנְּלֹוֹה and הַנְּרָאָה—it presupposes a shift from the MS participle’s expected *segol* to the *qaṭal*’s *qameṣ* in the final syllable. Even so, in the majority of the cases—eight of twelve: (3), (6)–(12)—the written tradition’s consonantal form and the vocalisation tradition unambiguously agree in their testimony regarding a *-ה* + *qaṭal* sequence—the forms הַהֲלִלָה, הַהֲרִימוּ, הַהֲשִׁיבוּ, הַהֲקִדְישׁוּ, הַנְּמַצְאוּ, and בְּהֲכִיִן cannot be read as anything other than *qaṭal* forms prefixed with relativising *-ה*.

Though such frequent agreement between the LBH written tradition and the Tiberian vocalisation does not guarantee the authenticity of the reading tradition’s *-ה* + *qaṭal* interpretation in the four aforementioned consonantly ambiguous forms, it is clear that the explicit understanding of equivocal structures as relativising *-ה* + *qaṭal* sequences in no way contradicts, but in-

deed lines up with the linguistic character of the written tradition as witnessed in consonantal evidence.⁵

1.2. Classical Biblical Hebrew

Of course, the phenomenon of relativising *-ה* prefixed to *qatal* forms is not limited in the Masoretic tradition to post-classical texts, but also shows up in apparently pre-exilic CBH material; see examples (13)–(20).

- (13) אֲרִדָּה־נָא וְאֶרְאֶה הַכַּעֲקֻתָּהּ הַבָּאָה אֵלַי עָשׂוּ | כָּל־הָ...
 ‘I will go down to see whether they have done altogether as the outcry **that has come** to me...’ (Gen. 18.21)
- (14) וַיִּקְרָא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־שְׁמֵבְנוּ הַנּוֹלָד־לּוֹ אֶשְׂרָיִלָּדָה־לּוֹ שָׂרָה יִצְחָק:
 ‘Abraham called the name of his son **who was born** to him, whom Sarah bore him, Isaac.’ (Gen. 21.3)⁶
- (15) כָּל־הַנְּפֹשׁ לְבֵית־יַעֲקֹב הַבָּאָה מִצְרַיִם שְׁבַע־סָדָּסִים:
 ‘...All the persons of the house of Jacob **who came** to Egypt were seventy.’ (Gen. 46.27)

⁵ The form *וַיִּהְיוּ אֵתָּו אֲבָנִים נָתְנוּ לְאֹצֵר בֵּית־יְהוָה... הַנִּמְצָא* ‘And those with **whom** precious stones **were found** gave them to the treasury of the house of the LORD...’ (1 Chron. 29.8) is ambiguous. Here it is considered a participle; cf. JM (§145d).

⁶ The *qatal* analysis of the verbal form in *הַנּוֹלָד־לּוֹ* (Gen. 3.21) is arguable. Though its Tiberian vocalisation with *pataḥ* is characteristic of the *nif'al* suffix conjugation, the form is alternatively analysable as a participle, with *pataḥ* rather than the expected *qameṣ* due to the closed, unstressed status of the syllable before *maqṣef*. See WO (§19.7d), who cite JM (§145e), though the latter do not list the verse in question. Cf. Bauer and Leander (1922, §32e).

- (16) ...וַיִּקְרָא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל-כָּל-אֲנָשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל-קַצְיָנָי אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה
הַהִלְכֹּתָא אִתּוּ...

‘And Joshua summoned all the men of Israel and he said to the chiefs of the men of war **who had gone** with him...’
(Josh. 10.24)

- (17) וַיִּתְאַפַּף יְהוָה בְּשִׁלְמֹה כִּי-נָטָה לִבּוֹ מֵעַם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנְּרָאָה אֵלָיו
פַּעַמַּיִם:

‘And the LORD was angry with Solomon, because his heart had turned away from the LORD, the God of Israel, **who had appeared** to him twice’ (1 Kgs 11.9)

- (18) ...וַתָּשָׁב נָעֲמִי וְרוּת הַמּוֹאֲבִיָּה כְלֹתָהּ עִמָּהּ הַשְּׂבָה מִשְׂדֵי מוֹאָב...
‘So Naomi returned, and Ruth the Moabite her daughter-in-law with her, **who returned** from the country of Moab...’
(Ruth 1.22)

- (19) ...וַנַּעֲרָה מוֹאֲבִיָּה הִיא הַשְּׂבָה עִם-נָעֲמִי מִשְׂדֵה מוֹאָב:
‘She is the young Moabite woman, **who came back** with Naomi from the country of Moab.’ (Ruth 2.6)

- (20) ...חֲלֹקֶת הַשְּׂדֵה אֲשֶׁר לְאַחֵינוּ לְאֵלִימֶלֶךְ מִכְּרָה נָעֲמִי הַשְּׂבָה מִשְׂדֵה מוֹאָב:
‘...Naomi, **who has come back** from the country of Moab, hereby offers for sale the parcel of land that belonged to our relative Elimelech.’ (Ruth 4.3)

Additional cases are sometimes cited, but are excluded here.⁷

⁷ Some cite הַדְּבָר in ...וְהַנְּבִיאִים יִהְיוּ לְרוּחַ וְהַדְּבָר אֵין בָּהֶם as a case of relativising הַ with *qatal*, but according to the pronunciation tradition, this is a noun (Steiner 1992; Hornkohl 2013a, 294–27). JM (§145d, fn. 5) suggest the relevance of ostensibly corrupt cases in 1 Chron. 12.24 and 2 Chron. 15.11, in both of which the relativising הַ is

1.3. Diachrony within the Masoretic Tradition

There is a degree of similarity between early and late material in terms of the use of relativising -ה with *qatal*. However, the similarity is somewhat superficial and must not be allowed to mask significant differences.

1.3.1. Frequency and Diachronic Development

First, it should be noted that the relatively smaller TBH/LBH corpus exhibits a greater proportional incidence of relativising -ה with *qatal* than the much more extensive CBH corpus (a discrepancy that becomes even more pronounced if Ruth, here categorised as CBH, is assigned to the post-exilic category).

1.3.2. Ambiguous Consonantal Forms and the Case for Dissonance

Second, as mentioned above, eight of the twelve cases of relativising -ה with *qatal* in post-classical biblical material involve consonantly unambiguous *qatal* forms. By contrast, among the CBH cases just one of eight cases—example (16) above, הַהֲלִיכִינָא (Josh. 10.24)—has a consonantly unambiguous *qatal* form. Put differently, nearly all of the apparently classical cases of relativising -ה + *qatal*, along with a few of the later ones, involve consonantal forms amenable to analysis as participles.

missing. There is also one apparent CBH case of relativising -ה attached to a preposition: $\text{...וַיִּרָם הַטָּבָח אֶת־הַשֹּׁק וְהֵעֲלִיָּהּ}$ ‘So the cook took up the leg **and what was on it...**’ (1 Sam. 9.24).

As observed above, only penultimate syllable stress distinguishes the 3FS II-*w/y qal qatal* forms—הַשְׁמָה, הַבְּאָה, and הַשְׁבָּה—from FS participles, the latter with ultimate stress, i.e., הַשְׁמָה, הַבְּאָה, and הַשְׁבָּה. The distinction between *qatal* and participle is perceptible in contrasting examples, e.g., (21) versus (22).

- (21) וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ שְׁלֹשָׁתָּא | רֵעֵי אֵיּוֹב אֵת כָּל־הַרְעָה הַזֹּאת הַבְּאָה עָלָיו...
 ‘And Job’s three friends heard about all this calamity **that had come** upon him...’ (Job 2.11)
- (22) יִתְּן יְהוָה אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה הַבְּאָה אֶל־בֵּיתְךָ כְּרַחֵל וְכִלְאָה...
 ‘...May the LORD make the woman **who is coming** into your house like Rachael and like Leah...’ (Ruth 4.11)

In the case of the 3MS *nif'al qatal* forms—הַנְּגֹלָה, הַנְּרָאָה, הַנְּוֹלָד—differentiation from the corresponding MS participial forms lies in the final vowel alone, the respective participles being הַנְּגֹלָה, הַנְּרָאָה, הַנְּוֹלָד. For contrastive examples, see (23) and (24).

- (23) בְּשָׁנַת שְׁלוֹשׁ לְמַלְכוּת בִּלְשַׁצְרַר הַמֶּלֶךְ חָזוֹן נִרְאָה אֵלַי אֲנִי דְנִיָּאל אַחֲרַי
 הַנְּרָאָה אֵלַי בַּתְּחִלָּה:
 ‘In the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar, a vision appeared to me, Daniel, after **that which had appeared** to me previously.’ (Dan 8.1)
- (24) ...קוּם עֲלֶה בֵּית־אֵל וְשִׁב־שָׁם וַעֲשֵׂה־שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ לְאֵל הַנְּרָאָה אֵלֶיךָ בְּבָרְחֶיךָ
 מִפְּנֵי עֲשׂוֹ אַחֲיֶיךָ:
 ‘...Arise, go up to Bethel and dwell there. Make an altar there to the God **who appeared** to you when you fled from your brother Esau.’ (Gen. 35.1)

The salient difference between the incidence of relativising ה- + *qatal* in CBH, on the one hand, and post-classical BH, on the

other, can be formulated thus: while in the post-classical texts most instances of relativising $-ָ$ with *qaṭal* involve explicit agreement between unambiguous forms in the written (consonantal) and reading (vocalisation) traditions, in the more classical material the consonantal ambiguity that attaches to most of the relevant forms leaves room for a claim of dissonance between the written and reading traditions. It is certainly suspicious that such a large proportion of classical relativising $-ָ$ + *qaṭal* cases have consonantal forms amenable to interpretation as the far more common relativising $-ָ$ + participle sequence.

This possibility should be seen in the light of a long list of other features in which it has been argued that the reading tradition of classical texts deviates from that of the written tradition in line with late tendencies on which the written and reading traditions of Second Temple texts agree. If a significant proportion of the apparently early cases of relativising $-ָ$ with *qaṭal* are indeed due to dissonance between the written and reading traditions, then this would be another in such a series of features in terms of which the reading tradition wedded to classical biblical material resembles the combined written-reading tradition of late material. Such a situation is most readily explained by the theory that the reading tradition of CBH material, though reliably preserving much in the way of distinctively classical features, nevertheless drifted in the direction of post-classical Hebrew until crystallisation in the Second Temple Period, i.e., approximately when the LBH material was composed. This means that, on occasion, the vocalisation of CBH texts anachronistically departs from the phonic realisation intended according to the written tradition

in favour a post-classical standard. Such a hypothesis—which, again, applies in the case of a number of features discussed in the present monograph and elsewhere—accounts for the obvious disparity between Masoretic CBH and post-classical BH when it comes to the incidence of relativising $\text{-} \aleph + qat\aleph$: in post-classical material there is widespread agreement between the written and reading traditions involving consonantly unambiguous forms, while in CBH the dearth of consonantly unambiguous forms regularly leaves the reading tradition’s testimony regarding $\text{-} \aleph + qat\aleph$ without corroborating testimony from the written tradition.

1.3.3. Versional Evidence

Given the ambiguity of the Tiberian CBH evidence due to the possibility of dissonance between its written and reading components, it is reasonable to solicit aid from other ancient textual witnesses. Upon examination, however, it becomes apparent that these provide only general and limited evidence. The DSS evidence is fragmentary and ambiguous. The Samaritan written tradition is accompanied by a reading tradition, but the latter does not discern between the *qat\aleph* and participle forms of the relevant verbs. The evidence from the rest of the versions is nearly complete, but ambiguous in its own way, since, as observed below, $\text{-} \aleph + qat\aleph$ appears in contexts where the more frequent $\text{-} \aleph +$ participle can also be used and with similar semantic force. Thus, depending on the context, one might expect similar translations for the two. Table 1 (facing page) gives the equivalents of MT cases of $\text{-} \aleph + qat\aleph$ in the BDSS, the SP, the Peshiṭta, the principal traditional relevant Targums, the Greek, and the Vulgate.

Table 1: Versional equivalents of MT -ה + qatal

MT	DSS*	SP	Peshitta	Targums	Greek	Vulgate
Gen. 18.21	הַבָּאָה	—	הבאה	דעלת	τὴν ἐρχομένην	qui venit
Gen. 21.3	הַנִּלְוֶה	—	הנלוה	דאחיליך	τοῦ γενομένου	—
Gen. 46.27	הַבָּאָה	—	הבאה	דעלא	αἱ εἰσελθούσαι	quae ingressa
Josh. 10.24	הַהֲלִיכָה	—	ההליכה	דאחיליך	τοὺς συμπορευομένους	qui... erant
1 Kgs 11.9	הַנִּרְאָה	—	הנראה	דאחיליך	τοῦ ὀφθέντος	qui apparuerat
Isa. 51.10	הַשְׂמָה	—	השמה	שויחי	ἡ θεία	qui posuisti
Isa. 56.3	הַנְלוֹה	—	הנלוה	דמחוסף	ὁ προσκαίμενος	qui adheret
Ezek. 26.17	הַהֲלִיכָה	—	ההליכה	קשבחקה	ἡ ἐπαινεσθῆ	inclita
Job 2.11	הַבָּאָה	—	הבאה	דאחיליך	τὰ ἐπελθόντα	accidisset
Ruth 1.22	הַשְׂבָּה	—	השבחה	דחבת	ἐπιστρέφουσα	ac reversa est
Ruth 2.6	הַשְׂבָּה	—	השבחה	דחבת	ἡ ἀποστραφεῖσα	quae venit
Ruth 4.3	הַשְׂבָּה	—	השבחה	דחבת	τῆ ἐπιστρεφούσῃ	quae reversa est
Dan. 8.1	הַנִּרְאָה	—	הנראה	—	τὸ ἰδεῖν	quod videram
Ezra 8.25	הַהֲלִיכָה	—	ההליכה	—	ἃ ὕψωσεν	quae obtulerat
Ezra 10.14	הַלְשִׁיב	—	הלשיבה	—	ὃς ἐκάθισεν	qui dixerunt
Ezra 10.17	הַלְשִׁיב	—	הלשיבה	—	οἱ ἐκάθισαν	qui dixerant
1 Chron. 26.28	הַקְדִישׁ	—	הקדישה	דאקדיש	τῶν ἁγίων	haec... sanctificavit
1 Chron. 29.17	הַנְקָצָה	—	הנקצה	דאחבתכו	τὸν εὐρέθεντα	qui... repperit est
2 Chron. 1.4	בְּהִיב	—	בהיבה	כד אחקין	ὅτι ἤτοιμασεν	in locum quem paraverat
2 Chron. 29.36	הַהֲבִיב	—	ההביבה	דאחקין	τὸ ἡτοιμασέναι	quod expletum

* השמה (1QIsa^a 42.25); הנלוה (1QIsa^a 46.13); הנלוה (1Q8 24.18).

The first thing that can be seen is that, despite sporadic cases of non-equivalence—Gen. 21.3 in the Vulgate, Ruth 4.3 in the Peshiṭta—little to no textual doubt attaches to any of the cases. In other words, based on versional evidence, there is no widespread lack of equivalence interpretable as evidence for the frequent late insertion of relativising $\text{-}הַ + qatāl$ in the Masoretic tradition. Rather, in the majority of cases for which there is evidence, it would seem that the copyist or translator had at their disposal a consonantal text similar, if not identical, to the Tiberian consonantal text.

It is not obvious, however, that the relevant $\text{-}הַ + \text{verb}$ syntagm was necessarily interpreted as $\text{-}הַ + qatāl$. In order to attempt to gain some clarity on this, it is useful to compare versional treatment of the $\text{-}הַ + qatāl$ syntagm with treatment of the far more common $\text{-}הַ + \text{participle}$ alternative. In light of the latter syntagm's semantic flexibility, it is unsurprising that renderings are by and large contextual. This is to say, a given version's translation of a specific instance is generally in line with the semantics of the context. It is important to emphasise, however, that the semantic ambiguity that attaches to a number of forms can occasion diversity among the translations. Be that as it may, renderings tend to fall on a continuum ranging from forms that denote the general present semantics of enduring characteristics (25), through those that convey imperfective past semantics for attendant, but not necessarily permanent, circumstances of varying persistence (26)–(27), to those expressing perfective past semantics for transitory unitary events (26).

- (25) ... והלך 4Q2 (DSS: ההלך) וְשֵׁם הַנְּהַר הַשְּׁלִישִׁי חֲדָקִל הוּא הַהַלְךְ קְדַמַּת אֲשׁוּר ...
f1ii.1; SP ההלך *ālak*)

‘...The name of the third river was Tigris—this is **the one that flows** east of Assyria...’ (Gen. 2.14)

...וַיִּשָׂא וַיִּסְמָךְ הַגִּלְגַּל אֶת הַגִּלְגַּל וַיִּשָׂא אֶת הַגִּלְגַּל אֶת הַגִּלְגַּל...
יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמַדְיָנָה וְדָתוֹר

...וְשֵׁם הַנְּהַר תְּלִיתָא דְגִלְתָּ הוּא מְהַלְךְ לְמַדְיָנָה וְדָתוֹר

...καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ **πορευόμενος** κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων.

...*nomen vero fluminis tertii Tigris ipse vadit contra Assyrios*

In the case of the MT’s active participle for a permanent characteristic in (25), all Semitic equivalents are active participles, the Greek is a present participle, and the Latin is a present-tense finite form.

- (26) ... וַיִּכּוּ אֶת-כָּל-שָׂדֵה הָעַמְלָקִי וְגַם אֶת-הָאֲמֹרִי הַיֹּשֵׁב בְּחַצְצָן תְּמָר: (SP
הישב *ayyēšab*)

‘...and they defeated all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites **who dwelt** in Hazazon-tamar.’ (Gen. 14.7)

...וַיִּכּוּ אֶת-כָּל-שָׂדֵה הָעַמְלָקִי וְגַם אֶת-הָאֲמֹרִי הַיֹּשֵׁב בְּחַצְצָן תְּמָר: ...

...וַיִּכּוּ אֶת-כָּל-שָׂדֵה הָעַמְלָקִי וְגַם אֶת-הָאֲמֹרִי הַיֹּשֵׁב בְּחַצְצָן תְּמָר: ...

...καὶ κατέκοψαν πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας Ἀμαληκ καὶ τοὺς Ἀμορραίους **τοὺς κατοικοῦντας** ἐν Ἀσασανθαμαρ.

...*et percusserunt omnem regionem Amalechitarum et Amorreum qui habitabat in Asasonthamar*

Like the MT active participle with enduring past relevance in (26), the SP, Peshitta, and Targum use active participles, the Greek a present participle, and the Vulgate an imperfect past form.

(27) וְגַם־לְלוֹט הָיָה אֶת־אֲבְרָם הָיָה צֹאן־וּבָקָר וְאֹהֳלִים: (SP *ālak* ההלך)
 ‘And Lot, **who went/was travelling** with Abram, also had
 flocks and herds and tents’ (Gen. 13.5)

... וְגַם־לְלוֹט הָיָה אֶת־אֲבְרָם הָיָה צֹאן־וּבָקָר וְאֹהֳלִים: ...
 ... וְגַם־לְלוֹט הָיָה אֶת־אֲבְרָם הָיָה צֹאן־וּבָקָר וְאֹהֳלִים: ...

וְאֵף לְלוֹט דְּאֶזְיִל עִים אֲבְרָם הוּוּ עֵן וְתוֹרִין וּמִשְׁכָּנִין:
 και Λωτ τῶ συμπορευομένῳ μετὰ Αβραμ ἦν πρόβατα και βόες και
 σαχναί.

*sed et Loth qui erat cum Abram fuerunt greges ovium et ar-
 menta et tabernacula*

The MT’s active participle is semantically ambiguous, conceivably referring either to the initial point of Lot’s accompaniment of Abram or to its continuation. The versions diverge: the Syriac suffix conjugation form seems to indicate a perfective past reading, while the Targum’s active participle, the Greek’s present participle, and the Latin’s imperfect appear to reflect imperfective interpretations.

(28) ...וַיִּבֶן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה הַתִּנְרָאָה אֵלָיו: (SP *annirrā'i* הנראה)
 ‘...And he built there an altar to the LORD **who had ap-
 peared** to him.’ (Gen. 12.7)

... וַיִּבֶן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה הַתִּנְרָאָה אֵלָיו: ...

...וַיִּבֶן תָּמֹן מִדְּבָחָא קֳדָם יְיָ דְּאֶתְגַּלִּי לֵיהּ:

...και ὠκοδόμησεν ἐκεῖ Αβραμ θυσιαστήριον κυρίῳ τῶ ὀφθέντι
 αὐτῶ.

...qui aedificavit ibi altare Domino qui apparuerat ei

In (28) the MT’s *nif'al* participle seems to refer to a unitary past event. The versions likewise resort to various forms indicating perfective past tense semantics: the suffix conjugation in Syriac

and Aramaic, an aorist participle in Greek, and the pluperfect in Latin.

Of course, versional treatment of the $\text{-}ה$ + participle syntagm is not without exegetical and stylistic variation. Even so, the foregoing examples may be considered broadly representative of common equivalencies. In the nature of things, the much rarer $\text{-}ה$ + *qaṭal* syntagm that is the focus of this chapter has a far narrower semantic range. The versions, unsurprisingly, then, commonly resort to strategies consistent with past-tense interpretation. This is especially evident in the Peshiṭta, the Targums, and the Vulgate, which overwhelmingly opt for indicative forms with past-tense TAM semantics. Overall, the Greek renderings show a slightly greater degree of variation, mixing in comparatively more in the way of equivalencies arguably consistent with the reading of participles rather than *qaṭal* forms. The problem is that, as already mentioned, the common $\text{-}ה$ + participle syntagm had such a broad semantic range and was given to such a variety of translation strategies, that it is difficult on the basis of translations to reconstruct a *Vorlage*'s specific syntagm.

Even so, it is intriguing that in the translations of clear-cut consonantal *qaṭal* forms in LBH material, there is near-unanimous past-tense translation. By contrast, cases of ostensible divergence between *qaṭal* and participle analysis nearly always involve a consonantly ambiguous form. Thus, the fact that the Tiberian reading tradition's $\text{הַבְּצֵעַקְתָּהּ הֲבִינָאֵה אֵלַי}$ 'whether... as the outcry **that has come** to me' (Gen. 18.21) is paralleled by suffix conjugation forms in the Syriac and Aramaic, but by a Greek present

participle and a Latin indicative present,⁸ may well indicate divergent analyses of consonantal הַבֵּא.⁹

Or not. Consider the apparently unequivocal *qaṭal* form in וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־קְצִינָי אֲנֹשִׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה הִהָלַכְנוּ אִתּוֹ ‘and he said to the chiefs of the men of war **who had gone** with him’ (Josh. 10.24): in this case, TJ renders with a suffix conjugation, but the Peshiṭta has an active participle, the Greek a present participle, and the Vulgate the bland imperfective *erant* ‘were’. The point is that, given both the semantic range of the -הַ + participle syntagm and stylistic freedom of choice on the part of translators, their renderings equivalent to MT -הַ + *qaṭal* cases must be considered rather shaky evidence for the reconstruction of translator analysis of the forms in question.

2.0. Relativising -הַ with *qaṭal* beyond the Tiberian Biblical Tradition

The relativising -הַ + *qaṭal* syntagm is rather peripheral in the Tiberian biblical tradition. It is evidently even rarer outside of

⁸ Assuming that the *e*-vowel in *venit* is short. I take this opportunity to thank my friend and colleague, Ben Kantor, for his help in making sense of the Greek and Latin evidence.

⁹ While the Tiberian reading tradition draws a clear distinction between 3FS *qaṭal* הִלָּךְ and FS participle הֹלֵךְ, this is by no means universal. They are read identically in the Samaritan tradition. Likewise, in Modern Hebrew, penultimate stress is standard in both the 3FS *qaṭal* and the FS participle, except when the latter is used adjectivally, e.g., הַשָּׁנָה הַבֹּאֵה ‘next year’. It may be that some ancient exegetes recognised a single underdifferentiated II-*w/y qal* 3FS *qaṭal*/FS participle form, which they interpreted according to context.

Masoretic BH—though, admittedly, many potential cases are left ambiguous due to the lack of an explicit reading tradition. Even so, the complete absence or rarity of unambiguous consonantal forms has significance.

Codex Kaufmann of the Mishna presents at least one apparently certain case, and possibly an additional instance.

(29) ... דוסְתִי בְרִי יַנַּי אומ' מֵשֶׁם ר' מֵאִיר כָּל הַשְּׂכַח דְּבַר אֶחָד מ־מְשָׁנְתוֹ.
 'R. Dosti son of R. Yannai in the name of R. Meir says,
 "Whoever forgets a single thing from what he has
 learned..." (ʿAvot 3.8)

(30) מִי שֶׁנָּזַר וְהוּא בִּ[[י]] הַקְּבָרוֹת אֶפְּלוּ הוּא שָׁם שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם אֵין עוֹלִין לוֹ מִן
 הַמִּינְיִין וְאִינוּ מְבִיא קוֹרְבָן טוֹמְאָה הִיִּצָּא וְנִכְנַס עוֹלִין לוֹ מִן הַמִּינְיִין וּמְבִיא
 קוֹרְבָן טוֹמְאָה...

'He who vowed to be a Nazirite while in a graveyard, even if he was there for thirty days—they do not count for him toward the number [of days owing under the vow] and he does not bring an offering for his uncleanness [for being in the graveyard]. ~~He who went out~~ and re-entered [the graveyard]—they count for him toward the number [of required days] and he brings an offering for uncleanness.' (Nazir 3.5)

Neither case in the Mishna is entirely unambiguous, since the two apparent *qal* 3MS *qatal* forms could conceivably have been vocalised as such, but intended as *qal* participles.¹⁰ Moreover, the ap-

¹⁰ This is far more likely in the case of שכח than in that of יצא, since in Codex Kaufmann the participle שכח(י) is never written with a *mater waw* (see m. Pe'a 6.11; m. Shabbat 7.1) and the stative-like participle form

parent article in (30) has been crossed out. The resulting subjectless verbal forms in (30), while acceptable in Rabbinic style as a type of conditional, i.e., ‘if he went out and re-entered’, can also be read as a headless relative clause parallel to *מי שֶׁנִּזְוֶה* ‘he who vowed to be a Nazirite while he was...’

3.0. Discussion and Ramifications

3.1. Development

At some point in the history of ancient Hebrew a rather marginal syntagm consisting of relativising *-הַ* + *qatal* arose. JM (§145d, fn. 5) suggests alternative developmental scenarios for such a structure:

This phenomenon may have had its origin in the 3rd pers. sg. of the perfect in cases where the form was similar to that of the participle, e.g. *הִבָּא* and *הִנְמַצָּא*, and then it may have spread to the 3rd pers. pl. (and the 3rd fem. sg....). The evolution may have continued, but our texts do not show it. Alternatively, the phenomenon may have originated in a fairly common structure in which an indeterminate noun is qualified by a participial phrase with the definite article..., as in Jdg 16.27 *וְעַל-הַגֶּגֶז כִּשְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים אִישׁ* *and on the roof there were about three thousand men and women watching Samson’s show.*

While JM raises these scenarios as mutually exclusive alternatives, both could conceivably have factored into the development of relativising *-הַ* + *qatal*. Two further explanations JM (§145d,

שָׁכַח also occurs (see m. *Miqva’ot* 4.1, 1, 1), whereas the MS participle *יוֹצֵא* is consistently (over 200 times) spelled *plene*.

fn. 5)—probably rightly—reject. Andersen (2000, 53), proposed that *qaṭal* with relativising $-ḥ$ represents the preservation of *qaṭal*'s archaic use as a verbal noun (cf. the Akkadian form variously called 'stative', 'verbal adjective', 'permansive'). However, the fact that consonantally unambiguous cases of $-ḥ + qaṭal$ occur with relative frequency only in LBH militates against the approach. Also, the proposed combination of a pre-classical use of *qaṭal* with the decidedly classical definite article seems improbable. Representing a different tack, Lambert (1931, §295 fn. 3) suggested that relativising $-ḥ$ with *qaṭal* is the Hebrew cognate of the Akkadian relativiser *ša*. Cf. the Akkadian-Hebrew *š-h* interchange in the 3rd-person independent pronouns, *šaf^cel* versus *hif^cil*, and locative-directional $-iš$ versus $ḥṣ$.¹¹ The hypothesis does not enjoy wide support.

3.2. Historical Depth, Anachronism, and Preservation

While the mechanism for the emergence of relativising $-ḥ + qaṭal$ may be satisfactorily explained, its chronology remains murky. A compelling accumulation of unequivocal consonantal evidence shows that writers had recourse thereto in the exilic and post-exilic periods. The majority of $-ḥ + qaṭal$ forms in TBH and LBH are consonantally unambiguous. While ambiguous structures in contemporary sources vocalised and/or accented as cases of $-ḥ + qaṭal$ may be analysed as secondary reinterpretations of $-ḥ + par-$

¹¹ More broadly comparable is the analogous development between Proto Indo-European and Greek represented by such Latin-Greek correspondences as *sex* versus *héks* 'six', *sub* versus *hypó* 'below', *super* versus *hypér*, and *salis* versus *hálas* 'salt'.

tiple, there is no proof that the vocalisation deviates from the intended written form in such cases. On the contrary, the fact that the LBH written tradition lines up with the Tiberian vocalisation tradition in many cases in which the vocalisation tradition is at odds with the CBH written tradition points to special affinity between the written and reading traditions of late Masoretic biblical material.

The real question regards the extent of vocalic authenticity versus secondary analysis in CBH texts, where the majority of the apparent cases of relativising $\text{-} \aleph + qat\aleph$ involve ambiguous consonantal spellings. As noted above, a degree of dissonance between CBH consonantal material and the Tiberian reading tradition with which it has been combined is known from analyses of numerous features. In such cases, the vocalisation anachronistically reflects Second Temple standards, often in contravention of the written tradition. This may well be the situation of the majority of the apparent CBH cases of relativising $\text{-} \aleph + qat\aleph$. Indeed, one scholarly approach views *all* relativising $\text{-} \aleph + \text{verb}$ syntagms as cases of $\text{-} \aleph + \text{participle}$, unless the consonantal form unambiguously reflects $\text{-} \aleph + qat\aleph$, no matter what the vowels and accents of the reading tradition indicate (e.g., GKC §138i–k).

It is important to note, however, that while anachronistic from the perspective of CBH norms as indicated by the orthographic tradition, the phenomenon is, by dint of its documentation in the late consonantal and vocalisation traditions, clearly biblical. Indeed, since the phenomenon is not characteristic of QH or RH, nor of Aramaic, it can only with difficulty be regarded as a post-biblical feature retrojected into BH. Rather, it tallies

uniquely with Hebrew literary conventions of the Persian, and perhaps Hellenistic Periods, and not with later Byzantine, much less medieval norms.

But the extent of the potential linguistic anachronism in question must be characterised with appropriate nuance. Beyond the fact that, overall, diachronic dissonances of this type are detectable in only a small minority of instances in BH, it is often the case that classical consonantal material presents authentic forerunners of diagnostically late features eventually to become more standard in later phases of the language, such as those reflected in the LBH written tradition and the Tiberian reading tradition. Again, such may be the case here. One could regard the Tiberian vocalisation of TBH and LBH $\text{-הַ} + q\dot{a}\dot{t}al$ cases as genuine, but doubt the authenticity of the vocalisation in apparent CBH cases.

While most of the apparently early cases of *qaṭal* with relativising -הַ involve consonantally ambiguous forms, הַהֲלֵכְנִי ‘who had gone’ (Josh. 10.24) is the notable exception. The consonantal form, though displaying a non-standard spelling (with final *’alef*) more typical of the DSS, can be read only as a *qaṭal* form. Possibly the only consonantally unequivocal classical case of *qaṭal* with relativising -הַ , it merits brief discussion. In view of parallels in the ancient versions, no real textual doubt attaches to the form. Moreover, neither the immediate nor the surrounding context raises suspicion that the form is a product of late intervention. Finally—and of profound methodological importance—though the syntagm itself is *characteristically* late, one should resist the impulse to prejudge it as *exclusively* so. Other characteristically

late features are found sporadically in classical texts. While there may be various reasons to speculate on the secondary status of some such forms, it bears pointing out that no characteristically late linguistic feature went overnight from non-use to common use. Late currency often began with rare early usage. Logic, then, dictates entertaining the possibility of sporadic classical distribution followed by later characteristic usage. Consider, for example, such characteristically late features as מְלָכוּת ‘kingdom, reign, rule’ (classical attestations in Num. 24.7; 1 Sam. 20.31; 1 Kgs 2.12; Hurvitz 2014, 165–70; cf. Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensävård 2008, II:84–85); words sharing the root שׁל”ט ‘rule’ (classical attestation of שׁלִיט ‘ruler’ in Gen. 42.6; Hurvitz 2014, 228–36; cf. Joosten 2019, 33–35); and נְכָסִים ‘possessions’ (classical attestation in Josh. 22.8; Hurvitz 2013, 330; cf. Schoors 1992–2004, II:257–58).

Similarly, it seems likely that the comparatively late proliferation of *qaṭal* with relativising -הַ was a development with (albeit rare) classical roots. But once this is admitted as a possibility, it carries with it the potential that any number of the consonantly ambiguous forms construed in the reading tradition as *qaṭal* forms are correctly vocalised—not just in late texts, but in early ones, too (in agreement with Holmstedt 2016, 71).

The argument can also be approached from another angle. Along with the apparently early consonantal evidence for relativising -הַ + *qaṭal*, there is evidence of nuance within the vocalisation of those CBH forms amenable to analysis as instances of -הַ + *qaṭal*. In other words, not every case interpretable as -הַ + *qaṭal*

was so read. Consider the contrast between examples (31) and (32), which consist of successive verses:

(31) כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַבָּאָה לְיִעְקֹב מִצְרַיִם יֵצְאֵי יְרֵכּוֹ מִלֶּבֶד נָשִׁי בְנֵי־יִעְקֹב כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ
שְׁשִׁים וָשֵׁשׁ:

‘All the persons belonging to Jacob **who came** into Egypt, who were his own descendants, not including Jacob’s sons’ wives, were sixty-six persons in all.’ (Gen. 46.26)

(32) וּבְנֵי יוֹסֵף אֲשֶׁר־יָלְדָּו לוֹ בְּמִצְרַיִם נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנָיִם כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ לְבֵית־יִעְקֹב הַבָּאָה
מִצְרַיִם שְׁבַע־עָרִים: פ

‘And the sons of Joseph, who were born to him in Egypt, were two. All the persons of the house of Jacob **who came** into Egypt were seventy.’ (Gen. 46.27)

Both instances of הבאה refer semantically to past events, but they are distinguished in the reading tradition: in (31) the form is accented as -הֵ + participle and in (32) it is accented as -הֵ + *qatal*. As each was conceivably given to either understanding, it is clear that the reading tradition cannot be accused of wholesale re-branding of -הֵ + participle as -הֵ + *qatal* wherever possible.

A similar argument can be made regarding the vocalisation of הנראה as -הֵ + participle in examples (33) and (34), but as -הֵ + *qatal* in (35).

(33) ...וַיִּבֶן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה הַנִּרְאָה אֵלָיו:

‘...So he built there an altar to the LORD, **who had appeared** to him.’ (Gen. 12.7)

(34) קום עלה בית־אל ושב־שם ועשה־שם מזבֶּח לאל־הנְרָאָה אֵלֶיךָ בְּבֶרֶחֶךָ
מִפְּנֵי עֲשׂוֹ אֶחָיִךְ:

‘...“Arise, go up to Bethel and dwell there. Make an altar there to the God **who appeared** to you when you fled from your brother Esau.”’ (Gen. 46.27)

(35) וַיִּתְאַבֶּן יְהוָה בְּשִׁלְמָה בִּיַּנְטָה לְבָבוֹ מֵעַם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנְרָאָה אֵלָיו
פְּעַמַּיִם:

‘And the LORD was angry with Solomon, because his heart had turned away from the LORD, the God of Israel, **who had appeared** to him twice’ (1 Kgs 11.9)

While such variation within the Tiberian reading tradition might be chalked up to inconsistency in the application of late norms to early texts, it might just as well reflect some degree of genuine preservation. Even so, the infrequency in CBH material of consonantally unambiguous *qaṭal* forms with relativising -ה־ should be accorded due weight.

There is one further perspective that merits consideration. Though, as mentioned, relativising -ה־ + *qaṭal* apparently fails to persist in any meaningful way in QH or RH, the Samaritan reading tradition exhibits a phenomenon worthy of consideration in this connection. The Samaritan equivalents of Tiberian *qal*, *pi^{ce}l*, and *nif^{al}* all have MS participles identical to the respective 3MS *qaṭal* forms (Ben-Hayyim 2000, §§2.12.2, 6, 9–10). This not infrequently results in cases of relativising -ה־ prefixed to forms identical to the Samaritan suffix conjugation, and this not just in places where the MT has relativising -ה־ with a form pointed as *qaṭal*. Perhaps the most striking come in D-stem, e.g.,

- (36) MT: ... ותקרא שם־יהוה הדבֿר אליה אתה אל ראי...
 SP ... ותקרא שם יהוה הדבֿר (*addabbār*) אליה אתה אל ראה...
 ‘So she called the name of the LORD **who spoke** to her, “You are a God of seeing”...’ (Gen. 46.27)
- (37) MT: ... והאכל מנבלתה יכבס בגדיו וטמא עד־הערב...
 SP ... והאכל (*wākkāl*) מנבלתה יכבס בגדיו וטמא עד הערב...
 ‘**and whoever** eats of its carcass shall wash his clothes and be unclean until the evening...’ (Lev. 11.40)

Similar congruence between participle and *qaṭal* forms is noticeable in the case of, e.g., *qal* השמע (MT Gen. 21.6) || *qal* השמע *aššāma* (SP Gen. 21.6); *nif^cal* הנראה (MT Gen. 12.7) || *nif^cal* הנראה *annirrā’i* (SP Gen. 12.7); *qal* הדבֿר (MT Gen 16.13) || *pi^cel* הדבֿר *addabbār* (SP Gen 16.13).¹² It is not clear whether or how the broader Samaritan tendency to discard the distinction between participial and *qaṭal* forms might be related to the extension in the Tiberian tradition of relativising -ה־ to the *qaṭal* form, but whether these were related or separate processes, the result was similar: late traditions in which relativising -ה־ could be prefixed to forms indistinguishable from *qaṭal*.

4.0. Conclusion

To summarise: the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition in LBH texts and the Tiberian reading tradition wedded to CBH material constitute clear Second Temple evidence of authentic, if peripheral, use of the relativising -ה־ + *qaṭal* syntagm. Most of the

¹² These are cited on the basis of Tal and Florentin 2010 (written tradition) and Ben-Ḥayyim 1977 (reading tradition).

CBH cases of the syntagm are consonantly ambiguous, but the single exception looks to be a genuine forerunner of a feature later to become more widespread. As such, it arguably validates the vocalisation of one or more of the ambiguous CBH and LBH cases pointed as relativising $-ָ + qat\bar{a}l$. Either way, with regard to the feature under discussion, there is no disputing that the vocalisation and accentuation of the Tiberian reading tradition line up with LBH consonantal evidence, thus reflecting a date no later than the Persian or early Hellenistic Period, and potentially preserve evidence of the rare Iron Age usage of the same feature.

If the Tiberian reading tradition departs from the CBH written tradition on this matter, it does so only by retrojecting onto the written tradition a more advanced stage of a process already seen to be underway therein and that is evidenced more explicitly in the combined LBH written and reading tradition. Of course, it is not impossible that the syntagm was as common, or nearly so, in CBH as it was in LBH, and that its preserved documentation is misleading. But, again, the ambiguity of the majority of the CBH cases of relativising $-ָ + qat\bar{a}l$, in conjunction with the comparative frequency with which unequivocal cases are found in the relatively more limited LBH corpus, arouses the suspicion that at least a portion of the CBH instances are secondary.

16. WAYYIQTOL

One of the defining characteristics of Masoretic BH is the *wayyiqtol* verbal form. Especially common in narrative, it typically encodes perfective past semantics. The Tiberian biblical tradition distinguishes it from the consonantly homographic volitive *weyiqtol* by means of gemination of the verbal preformative (or a compensatory vowel shift in the 1CS form).¹ However, converging lines of evidence relevant to the development of *wayyiqtol* have recently led to the hypothesis that Iron Age *waw-yiqtol* was a polysemous syntagm and that its differentiation into mainly preterite *wayyiqtol* and chiefly jussive/purpose *we-yiqtol* was secondary and relatively late. If so, Masoretic *wayyiqtol* may well represent an extremely pervasive instance of dissonance between the consonantal tradition of early biblical material and the recitation tradition embodied in the accompanying vocalisation.

The present chapter deals with *wayyiqtol* in general, especially evidence for (a) the early underdifferentiation of narrative (preterite) and modal *waw-yiqtol*, (b) the late secondary differentiation into geminated *wayyiqtol* and non-geminated *we-yiqtol*, and (c) the historical depth of the semantic distinction between the two. In order to lay the groundwork for reviewing a recent

¹ Notwithstanding the modern convention of transcribing *shewa* as *e/ə*, in the Tiberian pronunciation the chief distinction between *wayyiqtol* and *we-yiqtol* was one of gemination, not vowel quality. This is clear from evidence showing that the default realisation of *shewa* in Tiberian BH was as short *a*, identical to the realisation of *pataḥ* (Kantor 2020, 59, 66–91; Khan 2020, I:305; 2021, 332).

proposal by Khan (2021), the discussion first centres on three strands of evidence on which Khan builds, namely: secondary developments in proto-Masoretic Hebrew, transcriptional evidence for the phonetic realisation of preterite and modal *waw-yiqṭol* forms in antiquity, and non-preterite *wayyiqṭol* semantics.

The subsequent chapter (ch. 17) focuses specifically on 1st-person forms. Striking diachronic patterns involving 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological alternatives—manifest in both the consonantal and vocalisation traditions—not only come as arguable confirmation of the general correctness of (a), (b), and (c) above, but allow for greater precision in the relative periodisation of the Masoretic written and reading traditions with respect to the *way-yiqṭol* form.

1.0. Supporting Evidence

The following subsections summarise research into three lines of evidence fundamental to the view that the Iron Age situation of semantically undifferentiated *waw-yiqṭol* gave way in the Second Temple Period to one in which perfective past *wayyiqṭol* and volitive/purpose *we-yiqṭol* were secondarily differentiated.²

² Limitations of space preclude exhaustiveness in citation of the voluminous bibliography related to *wayyiqṭol*. Smith (1991) remains an oft-cited resource, with more recent references in Bloch (2007); Robar (2013; 2015, 78–112; 2021); Gzella (2018); Kantor (2020); and Khan (2021).

1.1. Semantic Gemination, i.e., Semantic *Dagesh*

‘Semantic *dagesh*’ refers to secondary gemination in one of the ancient Hebrew recitation traditions for purposes of disambiguating perceived homophones, i.e., to divide a word considered polysemous into morphologically distinct lexemes. Khan (2018, 341–47; 2020, I:524–30) collects numerous examples of ‘semantic *dagesh*’ from biblical (Tiberian, Babylonian, Samaritan) and non-biblical (rabbinic) traditions. Examples from Tiberian Hebrew include אָבִיר ‘powerful (divine)’ versus אֲבִיר ‘powerful (human)’, עֲצָבִים ‘toils’ versus עִצְבִּים ‘idols’, and, probably, הִרְעִים ‘make thunder (divine)’ versus הִרְעִים ‘vex, irritate (human)’. “The gemination in these pairs of forms most likely originates in existing variant morphological patterns that have been exploited to avoid homophony” (Khan 2020, I:525). While his 2021 article represents Khan’s first attempt at a comprehensive account of *wayyiqtol*’s development incorporating the notion of semantic gemination, he first raised the possibility in 1991 (Khan 1991, 241; 2013, 43; 2021, 330; Kantor 2020, I:104, fn. 23).

1.2. Transcriptional Evidence

In a detailed survey of Greek and Latin transcriptional evidence relevant to the development of *wayyiqtol*, Kantor adduces compelling evidence of historical evolution in the form’s phonetic realisation. In the late Second Temple Period, writes Kantor (2020, 99–100),

The conjunction *waw* was **usually pronounced identically** before a preterite *yiqtol* and non-preterite *yiqtol* form, namely, with no full vowel or following gemination. Nev-

ertheless, the conjunction *waw* was also **frequently pronounced distinctly** before a preterite *yiqtol* form, being vocalised with a full vowel and (probably) gemination....

Subsequently, in the early Byzantine Period, “The conjunction *waw* was **always pronounced distinctly** before a preterite *yiqtol* form (as opposed to before a non-preterite *yiqtol*), being vocalised with a full vowel and (probably) gemination....” Extrapolating back from the diachronic trajectory, Kantor argues that in Iron Age BH “the conjunction *waw* was **pronounced identically** before a preterite *yiqtol* and non-preterite *yiqtol* form, probably with the original etymological */a/ vowel,” meaning “that up to some point in the Second Temple Period, *yiqtol* in the sequence **w-yiqtol* was a polysemous form, indicating either past or non-past (usually jussive) semantics according to context.”

Significantly, Kantor (2020, 104–5) follows Khan (1991, 241; 2013, 43) in positing secondary semantic disambiguation of previously undifferentiated *waw-yiqtol* into preterite *wayyiqtol* and non-preterite *we-yiqtol* as the most plausible explanation for gemination in Masoretic *wayyiqtol* (see above, §1.1).

Admittedly, one cannot totally exclude the possibility that the Tiberian reading tradition reflects an Iron Age realisation that already distinguished past *waw-yiqtol* (> *wayyiqtol*) from non-past *waw-yiqtol* (> *we-yiqtol*) by gemination. But several lines of argumentation combine to suggest otherwise: (a) the absence of any such distinction in the Samaritan reading tradition,³ (b) the

³ For an alternative means of distinguishing preterite *waw-yiqtol* in the Samaritan reading tradition, i.e., the replacement of *waw-yiqtol* with

partial but increasing use of the distinction in the period of the Greek and Latin transcriptions, (c) a degree of disagreement between the Tiberian and Babylonian vocalisation traditions, and (d) the broad reality in the Masoretic biblical tradition of multiple cases of dissonance involving early consonantal orthography vocalised according to a characteristically later reading tradition. Such considerations are arguable evidence that the disambiguation in question took place after the Samaritan and Jewish traditions had diverged, was in the process of taking hold at the time the transcriptions were made, and had become solidly established before the division of the Masoretic Tiberian, Babylonian, and Palestinian branches.

1.3. Non-preterite *Wayyiqtol*

Robar (2013; 2015, 78–112) builds a multi-pronged argument against *wayyiqtol*'s consensus preterite classification. She sees *wayyiqtol* as a narrative present of unspecified time reference that takes its TAM semantics from the context. While Khan's (2021) theory differs from Robar's at important points, he cites her work favourably and agrees that certain *wayyiqtol* semantic values are incompatible with core preterite semantics. He proposes a broader realis value that allows for greater semantic flexibility, which, crucially, he explains as a result of the form's fused preterite-modal parentage.

waw-qatal in the case of I-y *qal* verbs, see Khan (2021, 331). See also below, ch. 18, esp. §1.3.

2.0. The Development of *Wayyiqtol*

Synthesising the aforementioned studies and additional research, Khan's (2021, 319–40) discussion appears in a paradigm-shifting study that employs Construction Grammar to explain the development of *wayyiqtol* by means of the recognised mechanisms of reanalysis and schematisation. Khan seeks to improve upon existing accounts of *wayyiqtol*'s development in line with its semantic range, pragmatics, and status as the sole standard remnant of archaic preterite short *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtul*).

Khan argues that preterite *yiqtol*'s preservation almost exclusively after *waw* is due to syntactic and semantic similarity to a “discourse dependent” (Khan 2021, 320ff.) modal short *yiqtol* in a (normally) purpose/result *waw-yiqtol* construction, which made preterite *waw-yiqtol* ripe for reanalysis. In this way, the short *yiqtol*'s originally distinct preterite and modal purpose/result semantics became fused in a semantically undifferentiated *waw-yiqtol* construction.⁴ The core semantics of the resulting *waw-yiqtol* had effectively been reduced to a “common denominator” of temporal posteriority relative to preceding context (Khan 2021, 326), which was further schematised to one of broader “topical cognitive relevance” (Khan 2021, 340).

Later, in some Second Temple traditions, the realis (preterite) and irrealis (volitive, often purpose/result) senses of *waw-yiqtol* were disambiguated via gemination of the preformative in

⁴ Khan (2021, 319, fn. 13) explicitly sidesteps the question of whether the ancient Hebrew preterite and volitional short *yiqtol* values are themselves reflexes of a single (Huehnergard 1988) or distinct PS *yaqtul* forms (Hetzron 1969; Rainey 1986).

realis (mostly preterite) *waw-yiqtol*, resulting in a new distinction between realis (mainly preterite) *wayyiqtol* and irrealis (volitional, often purpose/result) *we-yiqtol*. Khan sees the frequent LBH conflation of 1st-person realis and irrealis *waw-yiqtol* strings, i.e., both represented by וַאֲקַטְלֶה/וַאֲקַטְלָה, along with sporadic CBH conflation, as confirmation that the relevant realis–irrealis fusion “had already taken place in CBH” (Khan 2021, 321–22, 327; for detailed discussion of 1st-person forms, see ch. 17, below).

Khan thus conceives of a convergence of the *wayyiqtol* and directive-volitive paradigms earlier and more pervasive than what is usually envisioned. It was not merely due to late analogy with cohortative אֲקַטְלֶה that classical וַאֲקַטְלֶה shifted to וַאֲקַטְלָה; rather, the antecedents of *wayyiqtol* וַאֲקַטְלָה and cohortative אֲקַטְלָה, though originally conveying distinct preterite and modal senses, respectively, fused in pre-Tiberian CBH in a semantically undifferentiated *waw-yiqtol* structure broadly associated with temporal consecution—only to be disambiguated anew via Second Temple gemination of realis (mostly preterite) *waw-yiqtol* > *wayyiqtol*.

Beyond elegantly explaining the nearly exclusive clause-initial preservation of preterite *yiqtol* after *waw*, Khan’s proposed Iron Age preterite-volitive/purpose *waw-yiqtol* fusion helps to illuminate *wayyiqtol*’s semantic range: by acknowledging its mixed preterite-modal parentage, the form is revealed to have genetics consistent with non-past and/or non-perfective semantics, such meanings reflecting the archaic tenseless, aspect-free character of *wayyiqtol*’s volitive/purpose *waw-yiqtol* ancestor. The earlier preterite and volitive semantics, however, gave way in pre-Tiberian BH to a broader sense of temporal consecution and discourse de-

pendency. According to this analysis, the old preterite and non-preterite values did not persist, but had to be inferred from context.

3.0. Pre-Tiberian *Waw-Yiqtol*

There remains the not trivial matter of how the pre-Tiberian BH verb system ‘worked’ given a semantically undifferentiated *waw-yiqtol* form, i.e., whether and how users disambiguated preterite and volitive/purpose senses of a *waw-yiqtol* emptied of all but the barest of semantic values (temporal posteriority > discourse dependency).

The first thing to acknowledge is the “pathway of purpose > result clause > discourse dependent” (Khan 2021, 324). Next, Khan (2021, 326) observes an important correlation: “In the attested corpus of Biblical Hebrew... purpose and result clauses with jussives have future main clauses, whereas past *wayyiqtol* is generally preceded by a past clause.” In other words, preceding context must commonly have sufficed to disambiguate the past versus volitive/purpose/result semantics of *waw-yiqtol* forms. However, Khan (2021, 328) also notes the ambiguity of a *waw-yiqtol* given to result interpretation, e.g.,

- (1) ...למה אמרת אחתי הוא ואקח אתה לי לאשה.
 ‘Why did you say “She is my sister,” so that I took her for my wife?...’ (Gen. 12.19)

Despite following preterite אמרת ‘you (MS) said’, interpretation of ואקח ‘so that I took’ as heading a pseudo-subordinate result clause is contextually defensible. Indeed, the bare semantic value of temporal consecution combined with the universally attested

grammaticalisation pathway of purpose > result arguably make a dependent reading more attractive than one of merely sequential preterites—though both are stops along the same trajectory, i.e., it is a series of straightforward cognitive steps from ‘he went to the store *that he might buy* cereal’ through ‘he went... *with the result that he bought* cereal’ to ‘he went... *and he bought* cereal’. The question then arises as to why in this (or any) cases a bare ויקטל should have been interpreted one way or the other, i.e., as irrealis purpose/result *we-yiqtol* וקטל or as realis preterite *way-yiqtol* וקטל. In this case, the preceding perfective past *qatal* seems to have influenced the realisation of the following *waw-yiqtol* as a realis preterite form notwithstanding the appropriateness in context of a volitive-result reading. It is also possible that the *wayyiqtol* realisation was influenced by the appearance of short (וּקַטַל), rather than lengthened (וּקַטַלָה) 1st-person morphology. In the case of 1st-person forms in the Hebrew of the Masoretic Torah, only four *wayyiqtol* forms have lengthened pseudo-cohortative morphology (Gen. 24.48; Deut. 1.16, 18); likewise, in the same corpus, just two *we-yiqtol* forms eligible for cohortative marking lack the characteristic suffixed *heh* (Exod. 24.7; Deut. 10.2). The mismatch between the Tiberian realis interpretation and the probable volitional-purpose pre-Tiberian sense suggests that the synchronic semantic range of Tiberian *wayyiqtol* must extend beyond that of consecutive perfective past eventualities, though by dint of the regularity of such a semantic value, it can certainly be considered synchronically prototypical.

Notwithstanding the import of the preceding example, it would be misleading to say that the Tiberian realisation of *waw-*

yiqtol forms mechanically follows the TAM of the foregoing verbal form. Consider example (2), in which a future-oriented purpose *we-yiqtol* follows perfective past forms:

- (2) קָרָאתִי לְמַאֲהָבֵי הַמָּה רְמוּנֵי כְּהֵנִי וְזִקְנֵי בְעִיר גְּזֵעוּ כִּי־בִקְשׁוּ אֹכֶל לָמוּ
וַיִּשְׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם: ס

‘I called for my lovers, but they deceived me: my priests and my elders perished in the city, while they sought for themselves food **that they might revive** their souls.’ (Lam. 1.19)

Here, though the broader context shows that וַיִּשְׁיבוּ refers to an unrealised purpose rather than a realised achievement, the immediately preceding verbs all reference perfective past eventualities. Again, given the notional proximity of purpose, result, and simple sequential readings, it is easy to imagine the form וַיִּשְׁיבוּ being realised as *wayyiqtol* וַיִּשְׁיבוּ ‘and they revived’. This, however, would have contradicted the force of the indictment, since the search for revival was unsuccessful. To summarise: a major factor in inferring a pre-Tiberian *waw-yiqtol*’s TAM reference was the narrow context of TAM values in the closely preceding clause(s). Yet, examples like (2) (cf. also Lev. 9.6 (?); Num. 23.9; 1 Sam. 12.3; 1 Kgs 13.33 (?); 2 Kgs 19.25; see JM, §116e; Joosten 2012, 154–55) demonstrate that the tradition was also sensitive to the text’s internal logic.

4.0. *Wayyiqtol*’s Secondary Status and Historical Depth

The lack of a geminated *wayyiqtol* in the Samaritan reading tradition and the only partial evidence for gemination in the Greek

and Latin transcriptional material reflect a Second Temple linguistic milieu in which disambiguation of preterite and modal *waw-yiqtol* via gemination in the former had not yet become entrenched. If so, then Masoretic *wayyiqtol* conceivably represents a secondary and relatively late development in line with the reading tradition's known adoption of certain linguistic features especially characteristic of Second Temple Hebrew.

However, the innovation of 'semantic *dagesh*' also tallies with what Khan (2021, 330–31) describes as “a general Second Temple development in the proto-Masoretic reading tradition involving the introduction of strategies to increase care in pronunciation and clarity of interpretation” (see also Khan 2020, I:73–85). Despite the secondary and late character of the Masoretic differentiation of *wayyiqtol* and *we-yiqtol*, there is in general no reason to doubt the historical depth of the interpretive tradition that the distinction reflects. In other words, while the distinction in phonetic realisation between preterite and modal *waw-yiqtol* forms appears to be a relatively late proto-Masoretic innovation, it bears witness to earlier consciousness of *waw-yiqtol* polysemy as well as, presumably, an incipient interpretive tradition (or traditions) on the basis of which gemination was added to forms construed as realis. While in most cases of preterite and purpose *waw-yiqtol* there would have been no danger of misunderstanding, instances such (1) and (2) above are exceptions where, for purposes of interpretation, morphological disambiguation representative of semantic distinction proves semantically determinative. Whatever the antiquity of the phonological disambiguation, it seems clear that it reflects a gradually increasing discomfort

with the perceived semantic ambiguity between preterite *waw-yiqṭol* and modal *waw-yiqṭol* that eventually developed into the fully crystalised Tiberian tradition of semantic gemination to distinguish *wayyiqṭol* from *we-yiqṭol*. The phonological distinction goes back to the period of the transcriptions, at the latest. The discomfort with underdifferentiation between preterite and modal forms may have begun earlier. Certainly, the early and frequent morphological distinction between 1st-person preterite *wayyiqṭol* forms and cohortative *we-yiqṭol* forms (see below, ch. 17) suggests recognition of a semantic distinction within CBH.

17. 1ST-PERSON *WAYYIQTOL*

The morphology of the 1st-person *wayyiqtol* within the combined Masoretic written-reading tradition is characterised by complex diversity.¹ It also represents an area of dissonance between the tradition's written and reading components. Thankfully, evidence from alternative biblical traditions (the BDSS and the SP) and extra-biblical sources (Iron Age epigraphy, the NBDSS, and BS) sheds light on matters.

Not surprisingly, 1st-person forms comprise a small minority of the total number of occurrences of what is BH's main narrative TAM form, accounting for just under 700 of the more than 15,000 instances, or less than 5 percent. While in the vast majority of cases across all traditions and sources, eligible 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* forms preserve short *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtul*; cf. Akkadian *iprus*) morphology,² the 1st-person *wayyiqtol* presents in all three of the relevant morphological templates, which, for convenience, are referred to throughout the present chapter with both descriptives and prototypical forms:

¹ Among the relevant studies, see S. R. Driver ([1892] 1998, §72); Ungnad (1907, 58 fn. 1); Bergsträsser (1918–1927, II:§5f); Kutscher (1974, 326–27; Rainey (1986, 13–14); Talshir (1986; 1987); Revell (1988, 423); Qimron (1997, 177; 2008, 153–54); Bloch (2007); Hornkohl (2013a, 159–71); Gzella (2018, 29–35); Khan (2021, 319–40); Sjörs (2021).

² For various scholarly approaches to exceptions among 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* forms and further bibliography, see Bloch (2007), Hornkohl (2013a, 171–80), and Gzella (2018).

1. **short** jussive-like וְאָקַם/וְאָעַד/וְאָעַשׂ < PS *yaqtul*;
2. **long** *yiqtol*-like וְאָקַם/וְאָעַד/וְאָעַשׂה < PS *yaqtulu* or *yaqtula*;
3. lengthened **pseudo-cohortative** וְאָקַם(ו)מְה/וְאָעַד(י)דְה/וְאָעַשׂה < PS *yaqtula* or *yaqtulan(na)*.³

Table 1: Short, long, and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Tiberian tradition⁴

	Strong	III-y	<i>hif'il</i>	<i>qal</i> II-w/y
1cs	וְאָשַׁלַח, וְאָשַׁלְחָה	וְאָעַשׂה, וְאָעַשׂ	וְאָעִידָה, וְאָעִיד, וְאָעִידָה	וְאָקַם, וְאָקַמְה
3ms	וְיִשְׁלַח	וְיַעַשׂ	וְיַעֲד	וְיִקַּם
1cpl	וְנִשְׁלַח, וְנִשְׁלַחְה	וְנַעַשׂה, וְנַעַשׂ	וְנַעֲדָה, וְנַעֲד, וְנַעֲדָה*	וְנִקַּם, וְנִקַּמְה

The orthographic distinction between the short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם) and long (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום) templates is possible only with certain *hif'il* and weak verb forms (especially III-y and II-w/y) *qal* forms. The pseudo-cohortative template is possible in all but III-y verbs.⁵ The variation between short and longer forms also ap-

³ The reconstructed forms are based on the analogy of documented forms; see below. For various opinions on the derivation of the pseudo-cohortative morphology see, among others, Rainey (1986, 4, 8–10); JM (§§114a–f, 116a–c); Bloch (2007, 143); Blau (2010, §4.3.3.3.4 and the note there); Dallaire (2014, 108–11); Khan (2021, 322–23); Sjors (2021).

⁴ For the sake of convenient comparison, the table includes both documented and reconstructed forms. Of the latter, some are less contentious than others. For example, 1CPL וְנִקַּם* is based on *qere* וְנָשַׁב בְּלִנְיָ ‘and we all returned’ (Neh. 4.9). For the grounds for other reconstructed forms, e.g., 1cs וְאָקַם* ‘and I arose’, see below, §2.0.

⁵ This is the case in the Masoretic reading tradition. Some scholars hold that this is not necessarily characteristic of other traditions of ancient Hebrew, including, theoretically, the Masoretic written tradition (Bergsträsser 1918, II:§5f; Revell 1988, 423; Bloch 2007, 150, fn. 35, 155). See below, §1.4.2, fn. 11.

plies to other weak verb types, e.g., contextual 3MS וַיִּאָמֶר versus 1CS וָאָמַר (but consistently 1CPL וַיִּאָמַר), contextual 3MS וַיִּלֶּךְ versus 1CS וָלַךְ (but consistently 1CPL וַיִּלְכֶּךְ), where the distinction is one of stress and vocalisation (see below, §2.0).

While the evidence has been variously interpreted (Talshir 1986; 1987; Bloch 2007; Hornkohl 2013a; Gzella 2018), the respective distributions of the short, long, and pseudo-cohortative alternants in ancient Hebrew sources seems to indicate that an early situation characterised by the dominance of short forms in all persons gave way to situations in which short morphology continued to reign in 2nd- and 3rd-person forms, but was commonly replaced by long and/or pseudo-cohortative morphology in the 1st-person.

While short, long, and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms seem to have coexisted throughout the history of ancient Hebrew, specific usage patterns involving the prevalence of one or more forms are especially characteristic of certain compositions and corpora. Surveying the data across the various biblical traditions and extra-biblical sources, a perceptible, if somewhat fuzzy, diachronic pattern emerges. Even so, though historical change proves to be the main factor, diachrony does not explain all. Sporadic outliers to the general typological trends suggest the relevance of additional factors.⁶ Even the significance of certain distribution patterns apparently governed by diachrony merit

⁶ For critical discussion of several phonological, prosodic, and textual explanations see Bloch (2007), Hornkohl (2013a, 174–78), and Gzella (2018, 31–35). See Robar (2013, 36–39; 2015, 178–81) for explanations related to pragmatics and discourse.

scrutiny, as they may be deceptive. Be that as it may, as shown below (§1.0), the general statistical picture is sufficiently clear to warrant starting from a diachronic comparison of distribution between corpora and then moving to a more granular analysis of individual compositions and or forms together with consideration of complementary or contradictory conditioning factors.

1.0. The Masoretic Written (Consonantal) Tradition

1.1. Short III-y (ואעש) and Pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(י)ד, וואק(ו)מה, וואע(י)דה) Forms

The clearest point of departure is a comparison focusing on the respective distributions of short versus long III-y (ואעש versus וואעשה) forms and pseudo-cohortative versus non-pseudo-cohortative forms (ואקטלה, וואעידה, וואקומה versus וואקטל, וואע(י)ד, וואק(ו)ם) in the combined Masoretic written-reading biblical tradition and in relevant non-Masoretic biblical and extra-biblical material. Significantly, in the case of such forms the Tiberian written and reading traditions are in near total harmony (with the exception of a few instances of *ketiv-qere*; see below, §2.2.2). Tables 2 and 3 give the raw numbers and percentages across representative corpora in various biblical traditions and extra-biblical sources.

Table 2: Incidence of short 1st-person III-y *wayyiqtol* (ואעש) forms across representative ancient Hebrew corpora (see §4.0 for citations)

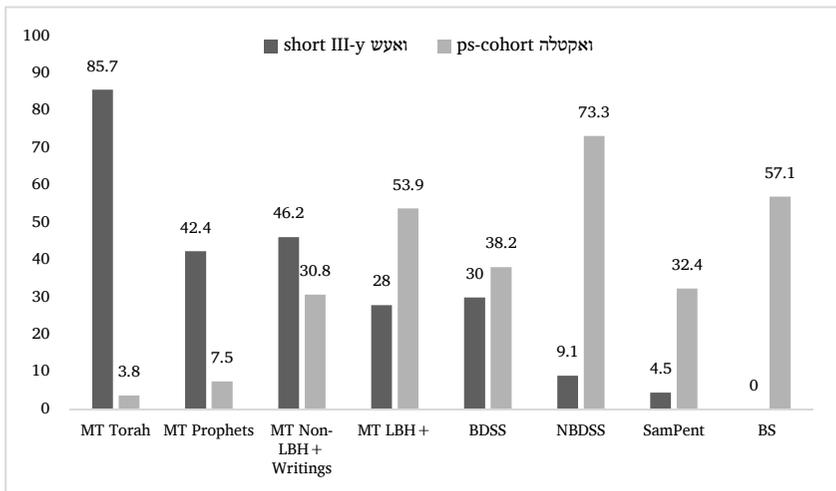
MT				BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH+ Writings	LBH+				
18/21 (85.7%)	28/66 (42.4%)	6/13 (46.2%)	7/25 (28%)	3/10 (30%)	1/11 (9.1%)	1/22 (4.5%)	0/2 (0%)

Table 3: Incidence of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person wayyiqtol (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew corpora (see §4.0 for citations)

MT				BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH+	LBH+				
Writings							
4/105 (3.8%)	19/254 (7.5%)	8/26 (30.8)	69/127 (53.9%)	21/55 (38.2%)	23/31 (73.3%)	34/106 (32.4%)	4/7 (57.1%)

Chart 1 visually displays the incidence of short 1st-person III-y (ואעש) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (ואקטלה, ואעידה, ואקומה) forms in representative ancient Hebrew biblical traditions and extra-biblical sources as percentages of potential cases.

Chart 1: Percentages of short 1st-person III-y (e.g., ואעש) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (ואקטלה, ואעידה, ואקומה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew traditions as percentage of potential cases



Short (ואעש) forms dominate in the Tiberian Torah, where pseudo-cohortative forms are rare. Conversely, in the BDSS, NBDSS, the SP, and BS, short III-y forms are relatively infrequent. In the MT pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה) forms appear to be somewhat more characteristic of poetic than of prose texts outside of

LBH+ (occurring in about a third of the potential cases in non-LBH+ parts of the Writings), but gain ascendancy only in LBH. They are also variously typical of other late corpora, e.g., the BDSS, NBDSS, the SP, and BS, in which, proportionally, they are between eight and eighteen times as common as in the written tradition of the Tiberian Torah. See below, §1.4, for discussion of the situation in Masoretic CBH outside the Torah, i.e., in the Prophets and Writings.

The apparent diachronic significance of the variations in use of the short and pseudo-cohortative patterns discussed above finds support in Iron Age epigraphy. Though the limited corpus of Hebrew inscriptions is devoid of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms, the Mesha^c Stele, written in the related Canaanite dialect of Moab, contains several. Here III-y 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms are consistently short, e.g., *ואעש* ‘and I made’ (lns 3, 9), *וארא* ‘and I saw’ (ln. 7), *ואבן* ‘and I built’ (ln. 9), *ואשב* ‘and I captured’ (ln. 12). At the same time, forms eligible for pseudo-cohortative morphology show no indication thereof, e.g., *ואהרג* ‘and I killed’ (lns 11, 16), *ואהלך* ‘and I went’ (lns 14–15), *ואקח* ‘and I took’ (lns 17, 19–20), *ואסחב* ‘and I dragged’ (ln. 18), *ואמר* ‘and I said’ (ln. 24), *ואשא* ‘and I carried’ (ln. 30), and *וארד* ‘and I descended’ (ln. 31). And to forestall the suggestion that a final *a* might be realised, but not orthographically represented (i.e., spelled defectively), it is critical to note the apparent marking of final *a* in such forms as *בללה* ‘at night’ (ln. 15) and *בנה* ‘he built’ (ln. 18). Such spellings lead one to expect that similar orthography would have been employed in the case of pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqtol* morphology, had it been in use.

To summarise: evidence from several biblical traditions (MT, the BDSS, SP) and extra-biblical sources (the Mesha^c Stele,

the NBDSS, BS) converges to depict two diachronic trends involving 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms, namely, (a) a decline over time in the short III-y pattern in favour of the long pattern, e.g., *ואעש* > *ואעשה*, and (b) increased usage in the later period of the pseudo-cohortative pattern in the case of other *wayyiqtol* forms, e.g., *ואקם* > *ואקמו*, *ואעיד* > *ואעידו*, *ואשלח* > *ואשלחו*.

1.2. Long III-y (ואעשה), *Hif'il* (ואעיד) and *Qal* II-w/y (ואקום) Forms

Because the respective alternants of III-y and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms involve vowel-final versus consonant-final realisations, the distinctions are orthographically transparent, e.g., *ואעש* versus *ואעשה* and *ואשלח* versus *ואשלחו*, *ואעד* versus *ואעדו*, *ואקם* versus *ואקמו*. More complex is the situation of the long alternatives to short forms in a number of weak verbal patterns, especially, *qal* II-w/y *qal*, and in *hif'il*. See Table 4.

Table 4: Short and long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Tiberian tradition

	III-y	<i>hif'il</i>	II-w/y
1CS	וְאָעַשׂ, וְאָעַשָׂה	וְאָעִיד, וְאָעִידוּ	וְאָקָמוּ*, וְאָקָמוּ*
3MS	וְיָעַשׂ	וְיָעִיד	וְיָקָמוּ
1CPL	וְנָעַשׂ, וְנָעַשָׂה	וְנָעִיד*, וְנָעִידוּ*	וְנָקָמוּ*, וְנָקָמוּ*

1.2.1. Short versus Long III-y Morphology: *ואעש* versus *ואעשה*

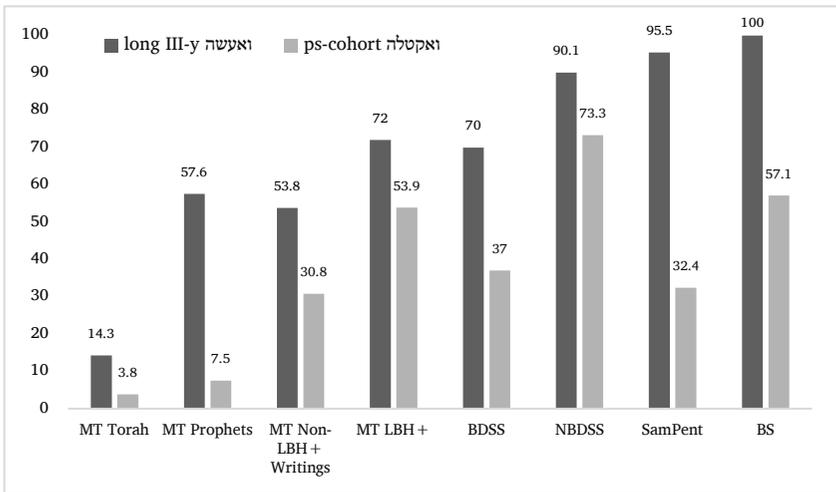
Thanks to their orthographic transparency, the most straight-forward evidence again involves III-y verbs, where long and short forms are distinguished by the presence and absence, respectively, of word-final *mater heh*. Table 5, an inverse of Table 2

above, gives the relevant statistics, while Chart 2 presents a visual comparison of long and pseudo-cohortative forms.

Table 5: Incidence of long 1st-person III-y forms (e.g., וַאֲעִשָׂה) across representative ancient Hebrew traditions

MT				BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH + Writings	LBH +				
3/21 (14.3%)	38/66 (57.6%)	7/13 (53.8%)	18/25 (72%)	7/10 (70%)	10/11 (90.9%)	21/22 (95.5%)	2/2 (100%)

Chart 2: Percentages of long 1st-person III-y (e.g., וַאֲעִשָׂה) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (וַאֲקַטְלָה, וַאֲעִי(דָה, וַאֲקִי(וֹמָה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew traditions as percentage of potential cases



As noted above, short forms (וַאֲעִש) dominate long forms (וַאֲעִשָׂה) in the Tiberian Torah. Conversely, in a phenomenon crucially limited to 1st-person forms, the long III-y pattern (וַאֲעִשָׂה) substantially outnumbers the short pattern (וַאֲעִש) in late material: Tiberian LBH +, the BDSS and NBDSS, the SP, and BS—the same corpora that witness regular usage of pseudo-cohortative וַאֲקַטְלָה morphology. Notably, long forms also occur in the majority of cases in the MT Prophets and the non-LBH + Writings (see below,

§1.4). In the former there is no corresponding high frequency of tokens of the pseudo-cohortative pattern, while in the latter the increase is significant, but less than in LBH + proper; these facts are discussed in detail below, §1.4.

1.2.2. Short versus Long *Hif'il* and *Qal* II-w/y Morphology:

ואעד versus ואעיד and ואקם versus ואקום

Turning to additional verb classes in which a distinction between short and long *wayyiqṭol* forms obtains, namely *hif'il* and II-w/y *qal*, one confronts a degree of orthographic ambiguity. While *plene* spellings such as ואעיד and ואקום likely reflect long morphology, the corresponding spellings ואעד and ואקם are ambiguous. Theoretically, the latter spellings might have been intended to reflect short morphology, but could conceivably be defective representations of long morphology (but see below, §1.3.1). Nor does treatment of such forms in the reading tradition resolve the matter. Many forms written like ואקם and ואעד are realised with long morphology—ואקםֿ and ואעדֿ—but there are significant exceptions (see below, §2.0). One must proceed with caution.

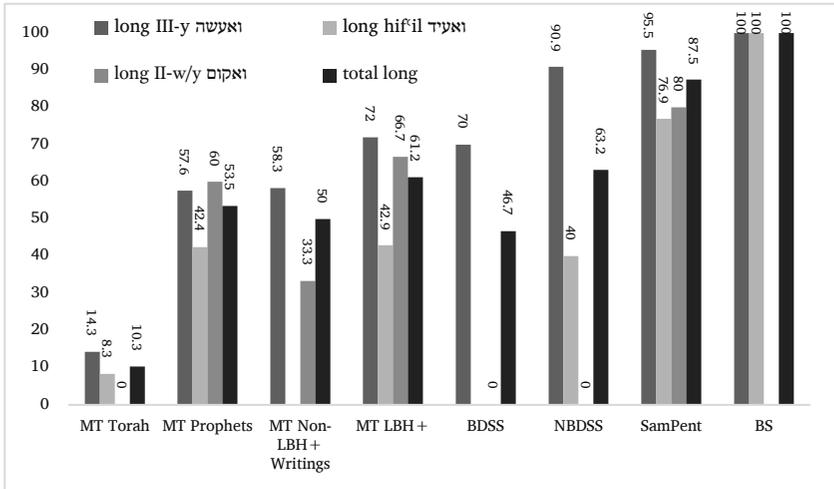
Even so, it is difficult to ignore the striking distribution patterns. Significantly, a trend similar to that witnessed in the case of 1st-person III-y *wayyiqṭol* forms (ואעש versus ואעשה) also obtains in the case of 1st-person *hif'il* (ואעיד versus ואעיד) and II-w/y *qal* (ואקם versus ואקום) *wayyiqṭol* forms. Table 6 lists the relevant data for the written (consonantal) component of the Tiberian biblical tradition and for several other representative ancient Hebrew corpora.

Table 6: Incidence of long 1st-person III-y (ואעשה), *hif'il* (ואעיד), and II-w/y (ואקום) *wayyiqtol* forms: number of long forms out of number of combined short, long, and pseudo-cohortative forms (percentage long; for citations, see §4.0)

	Verb Class	MT				BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
		Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH+ Writings	LBH+				
	III-y	3/21 (14.3%)	38/66 (57.6%)	7/13 (53.8%)	18/25 (72%)	7/10 (70%)	10/11 (90.9%)	21/22 (95.5%)	2/2 (100%)
<i>hif'il</i>	long	1/12 (8.3%)	14/33 (42.4%)	—	9/21 (42.9%)	0/2 (0%)	2/5 (40%)	10/13 (76.9%)	2/2 (100%)
	ps-cohor	0/12 (0%)	3/33 (9.1%)	—	10/21 (47.6%)	2/2 (100%)	3/5 (60%)	3/13 (23.1%)	—
	long + ps-cohor	1/12 (8.3%)	17/33 (51.5%)	—	19/21 (90.4%)	2/2 (100%)	5/5 (100%)	13/13 (100%)	2/2 (100%)
<i>gal</i>	II-w/y long	0/6 (0%)	9/15 (60%)	1/3 (33.3)	14/21 (66.7%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	4/5 (80%)	—
	II-w/y ps-cohor	0/6 (0%)	1/15 (6.7%)	2/3 (66.7%)	7/21 (33.3%)	1/3 (33.3%)	3/3 (100%)	1/5 (20%)	—
	II-w/y long + ps-cohor	0/6 (0%)	10/15 (66.7%)	3/3 (100%)	21/21 (100%)	1/3 (33.3%)	3/3 (100%)	5/5 (100%)	—
TOTALS	long	4/39 (10.3%)	61/114 (53.5%)	8/16 (50%)	41/67 (61.2%)	7/15 (46.7%)	12/19 (63.2%)	35/40 (87.5%)	4/4 (100%)
	long + ps-cohor	4/39 (10.3%)	65/114 (57%)	10/16 (62.5%)	58/67 (86.6%)	10/15 (66.7%)	18/19 (94.7%)	39/40 (97.5%)	4/4 (100%)

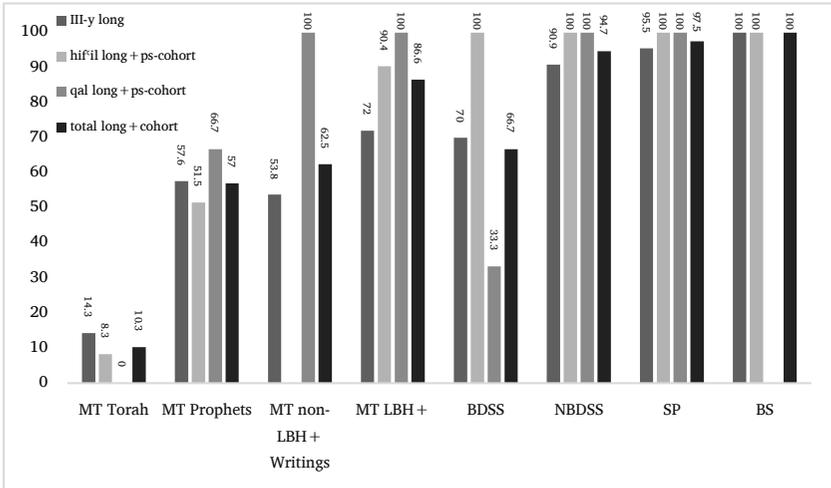
Visual comparisons of the incidence of long and pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqtol* morphology in the representative corpora are presented, respectively, in charts 3 and 4.

Chart 3: Percentages of long 1st-person III-y (ואעשה), *hif'il* (ואעיד), and II-w/y (ואקום) wayyiqtol forms in representative ancient Hebrew corpora



Though limited sample sizes and/or the fragmentary nature of some corpora leave conspicuous gaps in the data, trends in the use of long III-y, *hif'il*, *qal* II-w/y and in long plus pseudo-cohortative 1st-person wayyiqtol forms are broadly discernible. The Tiberian Torah reflects classical infrequency of long and pseudo-cohortative forms and the representative Second Temple corpora exhibit noticeable concentrations of both. Also, it is important to point out that where long morphology does not obtain in Second Temple corpora, more often than not the text resorts to pseudo-cohortative, rather than short morphology. In this way, between them, long and pseudo-cohortative morphology largely crowd out short morphology in late material.

Chart 4: Percentages of long III-y (ואעשה), long + pseudo-cohortative *hif'il* (ואעיד, ואע(י)דה) and *qal* II-w/y (ואקום, ואקומה), and total long + *wayyiqtol* (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואע(י)דה, ואקום, ואקומה) forms in representative ancient Hebrew corpora



Perhaps surprising is the status of the Tiberian Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings, both broadly classified as CBH. Different from the situation of the pseudo-cohortative discussed above, where such forms are conspicuously lacking from the Masoretic Pentateuch, Prophets, and, to a lesser extent, the non-LBH+ Writings, when it comes to long forms, the Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings show concentrations similar to those of acknowledged Second Temple material. This matter is discussed in detail below, §1.4.

1.3. Anticipating Potential Objections

Before proceeding, however, it is worth considering some potential objections.

1.3.1. Spelling Variation versus Linguistic Variation

First, focusing on *hif'il* and II-*w/y qal* 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology, and excluding III-*y* forms, it is reasonable to question the linguistic significance of the distinction between apparently short and long spellings. This doubt applies to all representative ancient Hebrew traditions. Beginning with the MT, do the Torah's typical short spellings, like וַאֲקֹם, and long spellings, like וַאֲקֹמֶה, elsewhere in the Bible reflect a genuine morphological difference, or are they merely divergent orthographic representations of the same form? After all, though a spelling like וַאֲקֹמֶה with *mater waw* almost certainly represents a form along the lines of the Tiberian long-pattern $w\bar{a}\text{-}\bar{a}q\bar{u}m$, the Masoretic Torah's spelling without *waw*, וַאֲקֹם, is ambiguous: conceivably defective for the same long $w\bar{a}\text{-}\bar{a}q\bar{u}m$ realisation or representing something more akin to $*w\bar{a}\text{-}\bar{a}q\bar{a}m$, as in the corresponding Tiberian 3MS, 3FS, and 2MS forms. Given the notoriously variable character of spelling in the Tiberian written tradition (Barr 1989; cf. Andersen and Forbes 2013), is it reasonable to interpret this spelling discrepancy in linguistic terms?

The view espoused here is that 1st-person *wayyiqtol* spelling practices that distinguish the Tiberian Torah from the rest of the Bible have linguistic, not just orthographic, import. Three lines of argumentation may be cited in support of this view. First, *plene wayyiqtol* spelling in the consonantal components of the Tiberian tradition outside the Torah and in the SP is limited to 1st-person forms, while the relevant 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* forms preserve short orthography.

Second, the dominant *plene* spelling of relevant standard *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtulu/a*) forms in all persons—אקום, תקום, יקום—throughout the Tiberian and Samaritan written traditions makes it clear that long orthography was an option. If the prominent distinction in spelling between 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Torah (ואקם) and in the rest of the Bible (ואקום) were merely a function of divergent orthographic policies, one might reasonably expect the regular incidence of defective standard *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtulu/a*) forms in the Torah and/or long 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* spellings beyond the Torah. The fact that 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Torah pattern orthographically like their 2nd- and 3rd-person counterparts and not like 1st-, 2nd-, and 3rd-person *yiqtol* forms, while in the rest of the Bible 1st-person forms depart from the short morphology typical of 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* forms in favour of the *plene* spelling characteristic of standard *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtulu/a*) forms suggests a morphological change in 1st-person forms, specifically a shift from the short template (ואעד, ואקם) in the Torah to the standard long template (ואעיד, ואקום) in the rest of the Bible.

Finally, the distribution of short and long III-y forms in the Torah—predominantly short (ואעש)—and beyond—mixed, but predominantly long (ואעשה)—supports the linguistic significance of analogous distribution patterns in the case of *hif'il* and II-w/y *qal* forms.

The foregoing arguments apply to 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology outside the MT as well. In the BDSS, the NBDSS, the SP, and BS there is a marked spelling difference between III-y, *hif'il*, and *qal* II-w/y *wayyiqtol* forms in the 1st person (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום), on the one hand, and 2nd and 3rd person (ועד, ועש,

ויקם), on the other. At the same time, there is striking orthographic similarity between 1st-person III-y, *hif^cil*, and II-w/y *qal wayyiqṭol* (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום) and *yiqṭol* III-y, *hif^cil*, and II-w/y *qal* forms in all relevant persons (יעשה, יעיד, יקום) (see further Hornkohl 2013a, 171–80).

To summarise: in all the cited representative sources and traditions of ancient Hebrew, there is compelling evidence that the once-strong association unifying 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology with 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology shifted in the Second Temple Period to one linking 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology and standard, i.e., long, *yiqṭol* (< PS *yaqtulu/a*) morphology (or cohortative morphology; see below, §1.4). This new association is regularly manifest in the long spelling of *hif^cil* and II-w/y *qal wayyiqṭol* morphology unique to 1st-person forms.

1.3.2. Group versus Individual Distribution Patterns

In the interests of clarity and convenience, the presentation of data to this point has been according to corpus, rather than individual composition. Yet, it is fair to ask whether the corporate statistical profiles are representative of the individual constituent works.

MT Torah

All books in the Masoretic Torah show strong preferences for short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, to the near total exclusion of long and pseudo-cohortative morphology, which justifies their combined treatment in this study. See Table 7.

Table 7: Long (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה) 1st-person wayyiqṭol forms in the Tiberian Torah

	long III- y	long hif'il	long qal II- w/y	total long	pseudo-cohorta- tive
Genesis	1/4	0/3	0/2	1/9	3/42
Exodus	0/2	0/1	—	0/3	0/8
Leviticus	—	0/2	0/1	0/3	0/8
Numbers	0/2	1/2	—	1/4	1/6
Deut.	2/13	0/4	0/2	2/19	0/41
Torah	3/21	1/12	0/5	4/38	4/105

MT Prophets

It was noted above that the books of the Former and Latter Prophets resemble those of the Pentateuch in terms of relatively low incidence of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms, but show comparatively high incidence of long (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום) forms. There is, however, variation within the distribution. Samuel and Judges are outliers of a sort. Though pseudo-cohortative forms represent minorities in the two books, between them they account for a disproportionately high number of the cases in the Prophets as a whole (12 of 13).

When it comes to long forms, Kings favours long III-y (ואעשה) forms, but not long *hif'il* (ואעיד) and II-*w/y qal* (ואקום) forms, whereas Samuel shows strong preference for *ואעשה*, *ואעיד*, and *ואקום* forms. Indeed, the counts of long morphology in Samuel alone are largely responsible for the difference in incidence of long forms between the Former and Latter Prophets. Excluding the outlier Samuel, the books of the Prophets, Former and Latter alike, are broadly similar in terms of incidence of long forms, making up from about one-third to one-half of the potential cases—far higher than in the books of the Masoretic Torah, sim-

ilar to the non-LBH+ Writings, but lower than in LBH+. See Table 8.

Table 8: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(י)דה) 1st-person wayyiqtol forms in the Tiberian Prophets

	long III- y	long hif'il	long qal II- w/y	total long	pseudo-cohorta- tive
Joshua	2/3	1/4	—	3/7	1/20
Judges	1/2	2/3	—	3/5	5/14
Samuel	8/8	3/3	2/2	13/13	7/25
Kings	2/2	0/2	0/3	2/7	0/17
Isaiah ⁷	1/2	1/1	1/1	3/4	0/13
Jeremiah	6/11	2/6	0/1	8/18	2/53
Ezekiel	11/22	2/6	4/4	17/32	3/68
The XII	6/14	3/5	2/3	11/22	1/44
F. Proph.	13/15	6/12	2/5	21/32	13/76
L. Proph.	24/49	8/18	7/9	39/76	6/178
Prophets	37/64	14/30	9/14	60/108	19/254

MT Writings

Because the Writings include LBH material together with compositions of likely classical or unknown provenance, it seems judicious to segregate LBH+ and non-LBH+ material. And, indeed, when one filters out the LBH+ figures from those of the rest of the Writings, two distinctive patterns emerge. In terms of long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) forms, the non-LBH+ material shows an incidence broadly comparable to that of the Former and Latter

⁷ Given the relatively small numbers of relevant forms in Isaiah, it is perhaps not surprising that no component of the book presents a distinctive concentration of long or pseudo-cohortative forms. Long forms come in 1/1 and 2/2 potential cases in Isa. 1–39 and 40–55, respectively, but not in Isa. 56–66 (in one potential case). MT Isaiah contains no pseudo-cohortative forms.

Prophets. The relatively high incidence of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms in the non-LBH+ Writings, mainly Psalms (6/14 cases outside of Ps. 119), but also Job's poetry (2/11 cases), is possibly genre-driven, as poetic style may have favoured the relatively early use of forms not (yet) characteristic of contemporary non-poetic style. See Table 9.

Table 9: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Tiberian Writings

	long III- y	long hif'ul	long qal II- w/y	total long	pseudo-cohorta- tive
Psalms	3/7	—	—	3/7	12/21
(Ps 119)	—	—	—	—	6/7)
Job	1/2	—	1/1	2/3	6/15
(Job narra- tive)	—	—	—	—	4/4)
Proverbs	3/4	—	—	3/4	—
Qohelet	2/2	—	—	2/2	1/1
Ruth	—	—	—	—	—
Esther	—	—	—	—	—
Daniel	6/7	—	1/1	7/8	10/18
Ezra	1/1	0/1	1/1	2/3	17/22
Nehemiah	5/11	8/8	10/10	23/29	31/69
Chronicles	3/3	1/2	2/2	6/7	0/7
Writings	24/37	9/11	15/15	48/63	77/153
Non-LBH+	7/13	—	1/1	8/14	8/25
LBH+	17/24	9/11	14/14	40/49	69/128

For their part, the LBH+ works present 1st-person *wayyiqtol* usage profiles unlike those of any other books or corpora in the MT. They consistently display clear preferences for long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) morphology and in all but one case have marked accumulations of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) morphology. Long forms comprise the majority in every LBH+ composition—Qohelet (2/2), Daniel (7/8), Ezra (2/3), Nehemiah (23/29), and Chronicles (6/7). Pseudo-cohortative forms

make up sizeable proportions of the relevant cases in Ps. 119 (6/7), Job 1–2 and 42.7–17 (4/4), Qohelet (1/1), Daniel (10/18), Ezra (17/22), and Nehemiah (31/69). Chronicles is an outlier when it comes to pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology, completely eschewing forms of this type (in seven potential cases).⁸ While long forms are common in both the Prophets and the Writings, pseudo-cohortative forms dominate only in LBH+ material.

In summary: the non-LBH+ Writings join the books of the Prophets in rather common use of long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology, but show a stronger inclination to pseudo-cohortative morphology, possibly due to poetic style. The LBH+ material shows strong preference for long morphology throughout and, excluding Chronicles, far higher incidence of pseudo-cohortative forms than any non-LBH+ Masoretic book except for Psalms. Chronicles resembles LBH+ material in its preference for long

⁸ This may be a result of Chronicles' preference for long morphology, which is similar to that of MT Samuel, but perhaps more self-consciously systematic. Despite one clear-cut short form—ואגד 'and I have said' (MT 1 Chron. 17.10) || והגיד 'and (the Lord) says' (MT 2 Sam. 7.11)—the Chronicler's predilection for long morphology is such that he leaves unchanged long forms in his sources—ואהיה 'and I was' (MT 1 Chron. 17.5 = MT 2 Sam. 7.6; MT 1 Chron. 17.8 = MT 2 Sam. 7.9); ואבנה 'and I built' (MT 2 Chron. 6.10 = MT 1 Kgs 8.20)—but, in the interest of consistency, levels divergent morphology, whether pseudo-cohortative, ואכרית 'and I cut off' (MT 1 Chron. 17.8) || ואכרתה (MT 2 Sam. 7.9), or short, ואקום 'and I arose' (MT 2 Chron. 6.10) || ואקם (MT 1 Kgs 8.20); ואשים 'and I placed' (MT 2 Chron. 6.11) || ואשמ (MT 1 Kgs 8.21).

forms, but, perhaps due to this preference, includes no pseudo-cohortative forms.

The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Several upshots of the fragmentary character of the BDSS mean that care must be taken in interpreting the distribution of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* variants. Considerations include the infrequency or total non-preservation of certain forms, the potential skewing of the broader picture due to the idiosyncrasies of better-preserved manuscripts, and the arbitrary nature of the specific forms preserved. Thus, while pseudo-cohortative morphology is fairly well represented in the BDSS, relatively few cases that might showcase a distinction between short and long morphology are extant, especially with regard to *hif'il* and II-*w/y qal* forms. See Table 10.

Table 10: Long (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום, ואקום) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* in the BDSS: Select scrolls and totals

	long III- <i>y</i>	long <i>hif'il</i>	long <i>qal</i> II- <i>w/y</i>	total long	pseudo-cohorta- tive
1QIsa ^a	—	1/1	—	1/1	6/12
1Q8	—	—	—	—	0/2
4Q51	1/1	—	—	1/1	3/3
4Q70	1/1	—	0/1	1/2	0/2
4Q80	1/1	—	—	1/1	2/2
11Q5	—	—	—	—	5/5
BDSS	7/10	—	0/2	7/12	21/55

Beginning with pseudo-cohortative forms, it must be asked whether their apparently high incidence is due largely to the fact that they are especially frequent in the largest scroll, 1QIsa^a, which accounts for over 25 percent of BDSS material (Abegg

2010, 25), but whose linguistic profile is rather exceptional within the broader corpus (Tov 2012, 100–10; Young 2013; Raymond 2014, 11; Rezetko and Young 2014, 138–39; Hornkohl 2016a, 1020). Likewise, the prevalence of pseudo-cohortative forms in the biblical component of 11QPsalms^a (11Q5) is at least partially due to the chance preservation there of relevant sections of Ps. 119, which also in the MT exhibits an accumulation of pseudo-cohortative forms. Similarly, two of the three pseudo-cohortative forms (as well as the single long III-y form) in 4QSamuel^a (4Q51) are also found in MT Samuel. In light of these considerations, it is worth entertaining the possibility that the concentration of pseudo-cohortative forms in the BDSS, rather than being broadly representative, is to some extent an accident born of their fragmentary state and the capricious nature of their preservation.

Even so, a strong argument that long and pseudo-cohortative forms are more characteristic of the BDSS than of the Tiberian written tradition can be sustained if, upon examination of parallel cases, one perceives a consistent pattern of difference. As things stand, in most instances (49 out of some 67 unambiguous cases), the MT and the BDSS textual versions agree on form. The remaining 18 may be sorted as in Table 11.

Table 11: Instances of variation in 1st-person *wayyiqtol*: MT versus BDSS

	Total	Total excluding 1QIsa ^a
MT short BDSS long	2	1
MT long BDSS short	1	0
MT non-ps-cohort. BDSS ps-cohort.	13	7
MT ps.-cohort. BDSS non-ps-cohort.	2	2

When the MT and the BDSS differ with regard to 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology, it is more common for the MT to exhibit short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם) or non-pseudo-cohortative (ואעי(י)ד, ואקט(ל)ה, ואק(ו)י) morphology than for the BDSS to do so. The relative incidence of BDSS pseudo-cohortative (ואקט(ל)ה, ואעי(י)ד, ואק(ו)י) morphology is especially striking. And, crucially, this remains true even if one corrects for such skewing factors as 1QIsa^a's disproportionate size and atypical linguistic profile and if one excludes LBH+ 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms (which are pseudo-cohortative in both the MT and the BDSS). Though the vagaries of fragmentation preclude certainty, the comparative accumulation of pseudo-cohortative forms in the BDSS is arguable evidence of a direction of change from the shorter forms preserved in the MT to longer forms in the BDSS. This is consistent with BDSS treatment of other linguistic features, which more closely conforms to Second Temple conventions than does the MT (Hornkohl 2016a).

The Non-Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Large gaps in the evidence rule out a complete picture. However, among the extant cases of the 1st-person *wayyiqtol*, short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם) forms are extremely rare and long (ואעש(ה), ואעיד, ואקום) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקט(ל)ה, ואעי(י)ד, ואק(ו)י) forms are far more common, though not necessarily in the same texts. See Table 12. The Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH^a), which offers the greatest number of examples by far, uses pseudo-cohortative forms wherever possible and long morphology in III-y forms. The Apocryphon of Jeremiah C^a (4Q385a) and C^d (4Q389) also exhibit concentrations of pseudo-cohortative morphology, but are too

broken to sustain more extensive conclusions. The highly fragmentary 4QReworked Pentateuch^b (4Q364) appears to prefer long forms—two of three candidates, all short in the MT⁹—but shows low incidence of pseudo-cohortative forms (just one of six). A similar pattern of long, but not pseudo-cohortative, morphology might also characterise 4QPseudo-Ezekiel^c (4Q391), but cases are too few to draw firm conclusions, a situation typical of other scrolls as well. In sum, though severely obscured by fragmentation, the apparently high incidence of long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology in the NBDSS is consistent with broader Second Temple trends.

Table 12: Long (ואעיד, ואקום, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואק(י)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* in the NBDSS: Select scrolls and totals

	long III- y	long hif'il	long qal II- w/y	total long	pseudo-cohorta- tive
1QH ^a	7/7	—	—	7/7	6/6
4Q364	1/2	1/1	—	1/2	1/6
4Q385a	—	—	—	—	4/4
4Q389	—	1/1	—	1/1	3/4
4Q391	2/2	—	—	2/2	0/1
NBDSS	10/11	2/6	0/3	12/20	23/31

Samaritan Pentateuch

The Samaritan written tradition displays strong proclivity for long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology. In contrast to the rarity of forms such as *ואעשה*, *ואעיד*, and *ואקום* in the MT (3/21 III-y, 1/12 *hif'il*,

⁹ ונעלה 'and we ascended' (4Q364 f24a–c.15) || וַנַּעַל (MT Deut. 3.1); ואשליך 'and I cast' (4Q364 f26fbii + e.1) || וְאֶשְׁלֵךְ (MT Deut. 9.21); but ואֶרְאֶה 'and I saw' (4Q364 f26bi.6) = וַאֲרָא (MT Deut. 9.16).

0/5 II-w/y *qal*, 4/38 total), they are the rule in the SP (21/22 III-y, 10/10 *hif'il*, 4/5 II-w/y *qal*, 35/37 total). See Table 13.

Table 13: Long (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום, ואקטלה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה, ואק(ו)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* in the SP (figures of long out of total short and long forms; figures in brackets represent the total of long and pseudo-cohortative forms out of total short, long, and pseudo-cohortative forms)

	long III-y	long <i>hif'il</i>	long <i>qal</i> II-w/y	total long	pseudo- cohortative
SP Gen.	4/4	3/3	2/2	9/9	1/42
SP Exod.	3/3	1/1	—	4/4	3/8
SP Lev.	—	3/3	0/1	3/4	1/8
SP Num.	1/2	2/2	—	3/4	1/6
SP Deut.	13/13	1/1 (4/4)	2/2 (3/3)	16/16 (20/20)	28/42
SP	21/22	10/10 (13/13)	4/5 (5/6)	35/37 (39/41)	34/106

When it comes to pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה, ואק(ו)דה) morphology, however, the Samaritan situation is more complex. Overall, the proportion of 34 of 106 cases is far higher than MT Torah's of 4 of 105. However, in the books of the Tetrateuch (Genesis–Numbers) the totals in the two traditions are comparable—Samaritan 6 of 64 versus Tiberian 4 of 64—with little in the way of disharmony between the two.¹⁰ In Deuteronomy, conversely, the SP has pseudo-cohortative forms in 28/42 cases, against a total absence of pseudo-cohortative forms in the 41 MT cases. The uniqueness of SP Deuteronomy

¹⁰ SP pseudo-cohortative || MT non-pseudo-cohortative: Exod. 3.8, 17; 6.5; Lev. 26.13. SP non-pseudo-cohortative || MT pseudo-cohortative: Gen. 41.11; 43.21.

is particularly striking when its 1st-person *way-yiqtol* profile is compared to that of SP Genesis, which has a comparable number 1st-person *wayyiqtol* cases, but a far lower incidence of pseudo-cohortative morphology (1/42).

While it may be tempting to hypothesise sweeping linguistic, compositional, and/or text-critical explanations for the inner-Samaritan diversity between the SP Tetrateuch and SP Deuteronomy, their differential treatment of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms turns out to be casual. When the specific verbs that obtain as non-pseudo-cohortative and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms are analysed, there emerges striking consistency in treatment throughout the SP. With just two exceptions, individual verbs take one pattern or the other, not both. See Table 14 (p. 420).

Table 14 lists the 49 verbs that account for the 106 potential cases of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology in the SP. The 72 tokens of non-pseudo-cohortative morphology (ואקטל, ואע(י)ד, ואק(ו)ם) in the SP represent 32 different verbs, while the 34 tokens of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) morphology represent 19 different verbs. Crucially, only two verbs present both non-pseudo-cohortative and pseudo-cohortative alternants—אמר (18 non-pseudo-cohortative cases in Genesis [11], Exodus [2], Leviticus [2], and Deuteronomy [3]; two pseudo-cohortative cases, in Exodus and Deuteronomy) and שׂי (one non-pseudo-cohortative case in Genesis, one pseudo-cohortative case in Deuteronomy). Thus, despite the surface-level statistical profiles, there is virtually no basis for claiming a distinction in 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology between SP Deuter-

onomy and the rest of the SP. SP Deuteronomy's apparently exceptional character vis-à-vis the SP Tetrateuch results merely from Deuteronomy's use of a number of verbs unused elsewhere in the Torah. Those that appear in Deuteronomy and elsewhere either share the preservation of non-pseudo-cohortative morphology or, more rarely, present with pseudo-cohortative morphology in both the Samaritan Tetrateuch and Deuteronomy. Only among verbs exclusive to Deuteronomy is there a noticeable concentration of pseudo-cohortative morphology. Presumably, were these to appear in SP Genesis–Numbers, an analogous percentage would also have pseudo-cohortative morphology. See Table 14 (following page).

Sjörs (2021a, 20–25) notes that pseudo-cohortative lengthening in the SP is used with a limited number of semantic classes of verbal lexemes, including motion verbs and verbs of appropriation. Crucially, Sjörs (2021b) observes no such semantic correlation in LBH, where the extent of lengthened 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology demands a more comprehensive explanation.

Stepping back for a broader perspective on Samaritan 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in comparison with other sources and traditions, the SP joins LBH+ and the DSS in displaying an overwhelming preference for long (ואעיד, ואעום, ואעשה) forms and shows incidence of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms between that characteristic of Tiberian CBH (Torah, Prophets, non-LBH+ Writings) and what obtains in Tiberian LBH+ and the NBDSS. The diachronically advanced stage of Samaritan 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology relative to that

in the Tiberian Torah is consistent with the broad linguistic profiles of the two traditions (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 3–4).

Table 14: Alphabetical list of non-pseudo-cohortative and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* verbs in the SP

non-pseudo-cohortative			pseudo-cohortative			non-pseudo-cohortative			pseudo-cohortative		
#	1CS	1CPL	#	1CS	1CP	#	1CS	1CPL	#	1CS	1CP
1	אחר					18	ירא				
2	אכל								10	ירד	
3	אמר	אמר	1	אמר		19	ישב	ישב			
4		בוא				20	לקח	לקח	11	כתת	
5	ברך		2	דבר		21	נשא		12		נסע
6	הבדיל					22	נתן				
7	הביא					23		סבב/סוב			
8		הגיד				24		ספר			
9	הוליד		3		החרים				13		עבר
			4		הלך				14	פסל	
10	הפקיד					25		פתח			
11		הקריב				26		צעק			
12		השיב				27	קדד				
			5	השליך		28	קלל				
13		השם/ השה				29	קרא				
			6	התחנן					15	קרב	
			7	התנפל		30	שאל				
			8	התפלל		31	שים		16	שים	
			9	זכר		32	שחט				
14	חבא								17	שלח	
15		חלם							18	שרץ	
16	חשך								19	תפש	
17	קוץ/יקץ										

Ben Sira

Of the relatively few relevant forms preserved in manuscripts of BS, all potentially long cases are long (ואביט, וארים, ואצפה, ואפנה), while four of seven potentially pseudo-cohortative cases are

pseudo-cohortative (ואהללה, ואברכה, ואשחקה). Two of the three non-pseudo-cohortative are long (ואביט, וארים). Only one strong form is left unlengthened (ואתפלל). Thus, the extant BS 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms pattern like those of other Second Temple sources, with strong inclination for long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person morphology. See Table 15.

Table 15: Long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* in Ben Sira

MS	long III-y	long hif'il	long II- w/y qal	total long	pseudo- cohortative
SirB	2/2	2/2	—	4/4	3/6
11Q5	—	—	—	—	1/1
TOTALS	2/2	2/2	—	4/4	4/7

Conclusion

Drilling down beneath the surface-level statistical profiles of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology across ancient Hebrew sources and traditions, one finds broad support for the hypotheses suggested by the corporate surveys in §§1.1–2 above. Indeed, far from contradicting the postulated diachronic contours, the details of a granular analysis of individual compositions validates distinguishing among the CBH of the Torah, the CBH of the Prophets and non-LBH + Writings, and the late chronolects reflected in MT LBH + , the BDSS and NBDSS, SH, and BS.

1.4. 1st-person *Wayyiqtol* Morphology and Historical Depth in the Masoretic Written Tradition

1.4.1. Short III-y (ואעש) and Pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) Forms

The Mesha^c Stele's exclusive use of short III-y 1st-person *wayyiqtol* (ואעש) forms and lack of pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqtol* (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms (see above, §1.1) tally with the Masoretic Torah's preference for short 1st-person morphology. Likewise, the striking affinity for long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms among late non-Tiberian biblical traditions—the BDSS, the SP—and extra-biblical sources—the NBDSS, BS—is strong evidence of the historical authenticity of the Masoretic LBH+ preference for long and pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqtol* morphology.

Since the morphological shifts away from short forms seen thus far are not confined to the Tiberian reading and/or written tradition, but—even after probing beneath the surface-level statistical profiles—prove to be characteristic of late biblical and extra-biblical corpora more generally, there are no grounds for attributing the expanded use of long and pseudo-cohortative morphology to medieval or even Byzantine scribal intervention, much less to anachronistic medieval vocalisation (but see below, §2.0). Despite the Tiberian consonantal tradition's status as a product of scribal transmission, necessarily entailing the possibility of textual fluidity, the shift from short 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Tiberian Torah to long and pseudo-cohortative alternatives in Masoretic LBH+ is broadly consistent with patterns

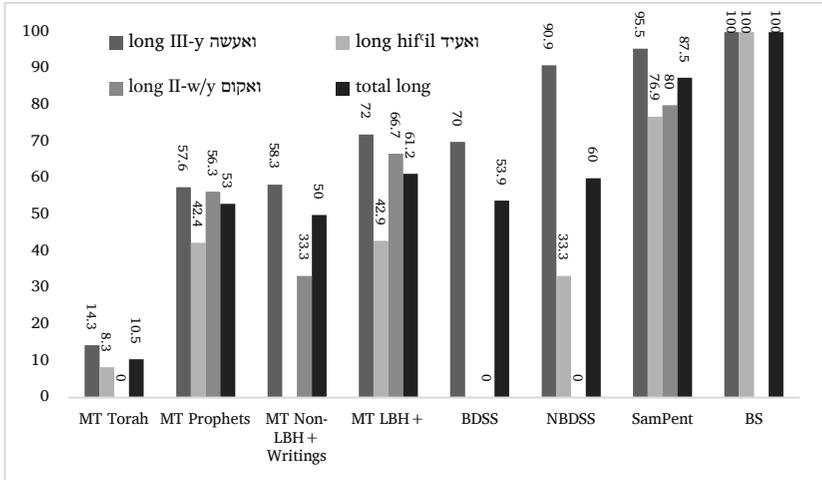
seen in early and late non-Masoretic sources. The crystallisation of Masoretic 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology plausibly dates to Second Temple times, though, relative to contemporary sources, it must be considered conservative by dint of its comparative preservation of short morphology.

1.4.2. Long III-y (ואעשה), *Hif'il* (ואעיד) and *Qal* II-w/y (ואקום) Forms

The argument advanced to this point is consistent with, but does not exhaust the evidence. The data sustain more far-reaching conclusions. Not only are long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms—ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום—the norm in Tiberian LBH+ and other late written traditions; they are also common in what is generally considered CBH material outside the Pentateuch, e.g., the MT Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings, where their incidence is closer to that seen in MT LBH+ than to that in the MT Torah. For the sake of convenience, Chart 3 is reproduced below as Chart 5.

Against the background of the associations already established—i.e., classical short, on the one hand, and late long and pseudo-cohortative, on the other—how are the specific profiles of the MT Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings—involving the apparently early distribution of long, but not pseudo-cohortative forms—to be explained?

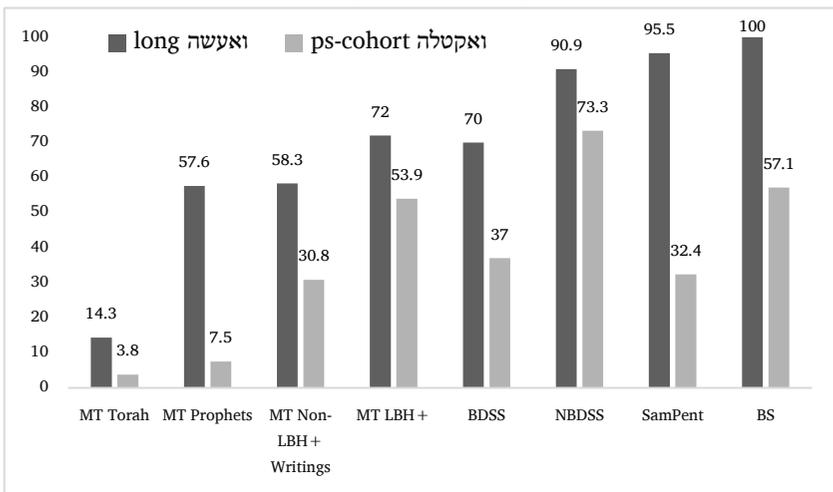
Chart 5: Percentages of long 1st-person III-y (ואעשה), *hif'il* (ואעיד), and II-w/y (ואקום) *wayyiqtol* forms in representative ancient Hebrew corpora



Since long orthographic forms (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום) are absent from the Torah's written tradition, but common in the rest of the MT—again, not just in LBH +, but outside the Pentateuch more generally—one might venture the hypothesis that long forms were not originally characteristic of *any* CBH material and pin responsibility for the difference between the CBH of the Torah (where short forms dominate) and CBH outside the Torah (where long forms are quite standard) on late scribes. These copyists—it seems reasonable to conjecture—might have preserved the ancient orthographic integrity of the venerated Torah more strictly than that of the rest of CBH, which was allowed to 'drift' in the direction of LBH +. In this way, 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the MT Torah could have been kept pristinely short, while elsewhere in CBH they were updated under the influence of later morphological trends. The theory, while attractive, is contradicted by the data.

Key in this connection is the unambiguous orthographic evidence of long 1st-person III-y (ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms, the incidence of which is compared in Chart 6.

Chart 6: Incidence of long 1st-person III-y (ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew traditions as percentage of potential cases



Generally speaking, frequency of long (ואעשה) forms positively correlates with frequency of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms. Thus, both largely lack in the MT Torah, but are common in MT LBH+ and in other late corpora, biblical and extra-biblical alike. The glaring exception is the MT Prophets, where long forms are frequent (57.6 percent), whereas pseudo-cohortative forms are rare (7.5 percent). Returning to the speculative hypothesis proffered above, i.e., that 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms may have been more or less uniformly short throughout CBH and that only outside the Torah underwent contemporisation in line with late linguistic customs—on this assumption, it

would be reasonable to expect a marked increase in *both* long III-y forms *and* pseudo-cohortative forms in CBH outside the Torah. For if late scribes felt free to append final *heh* to originally short 1st-person III-y *wayyiqtol* forms according to Second Temple convention, i.e., changing *וַאֲעַשׂ* to *וַאֲעַשָּׂה*, then it is reasonable to expect that they would also have felt free to do the same where necessary to expand the use of pseudo-cohortative forms, changing *וַאֲקַטֵּל* to *וַאֲקַטִּילָהּ*, etc., since these were no less characteristic of Second Temple Hebrew.

Crucially, this state of affairs does not obtain. Against the norm in the MT Torah, and similar to MT LBH+ and other late corpora, the MT Prophets show an affinity for long 1st-person III-y *wayyiqtol* (*וַאֲעַשָּׂה*) forms. Yet, similar to the MT Torah and against convention in MT LBH+ and other late texts, pseudo-cohortative (*וַאֲקַטִּילָהּ*, *וַאֲעַלֵּי(י)דָהּ*, *וַאֲקַטֵּל(וּ)מָה*) forms are largely absent from the CBH of the Prophets. From the admittedly narrow perspective of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms, then, the written tradition of the MT Prophets is that of *neither* the MT Torah *nor* MT LBH+, but reflects some sort of typologically transitional phase between Pentateuchal CBH and LBH+. This leaves us with a tantalising prospect, namely, that of a tri-valent 1st-person *wayyiqtol* historical typology:

1. nearly uniformly short (*וַאֲעַשׂ*, *וַאֲעַד*, *וַאֲקַטֵּל*, *וַאֲקַטֵּל*) morphology in the CBH of the Torah;
2. commonly long (*וַאֲעַשָּׂה*, *וַאֲעַיֵּד*, *וַאֲקַטִּילָהּ*, *וַאֲקַטִּילָהּ*) but rarely pseudo-cohortative morphology in the CBH of the Prophets;

3. commonly long (ואעיד, ואקום, ואעשה) and commonly pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) morphology in LBH+.¹¹

A note on the MT non-LBH+ Writings: their incidence of long (ואעיד, ואקום, ואעשה) forms is similar to that of the MT Prophets, but Psalms especially shows a comparatively high incidence of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms. Given the uncertainty inherent in the linguistic periodisation of poetry, it is difficult to determine whether this relative frequency of pseudo-cohortative forms is a function of chronolect, poetic genre, another factor or factors, or some combination thereof.

It bears explicit acknowledgment at this point that the proposed chronological interpretation of the typology is at odds with certain views current in biblical studies, not least those that see the Torah and other CBH biblical material as products of the post-exilic period and/or that reject language as reliable diachronic indicators. The position advocated here is not that alternative evidence should be deprivileged in favour of orthographic and linguistic evidence, but that the latter should receive due attention and be integrated with evidence gleaned from other approaches.

¹¹ The specific distribution patterns seem to militate against the theory (mentioned above, fn. 5) that III-y forms could take pseudo-cohortative morphology in CBH. The general lack of pseudo-cohortative morphology in the reading tradition of the Masoretic Torah and the Prophets suggests that the final ה on III-y forms in those corpora reflects long rather than pseudo-cohortative morphology. This does not apply to LBH+, where pseudo-cohortative forms are plentiful.

To summarise provisionally, whatever the chronological significance of the typological divisions proposed above, the Tiberian consonantal text reflects a linguistic tradition of considerable historical depth. This is true in terms of both antiquity (i.e., the extent of its reach into the past) and stratification (i.e., the number of linguistic phases to which it bears witness).

1.4.3. 1st-person *Wayyiqtol* Morphology and the Linguistic Periodisation of Ancient Hebrew

Most discussions of ancient Hebrew diachrony distinguish LBH from CBH (Hornkohl 2013b; Hurvitz 2013). Pre-classical poetic ABH (Mandell 2013) and an intermediate category between CBH and LBH termed TBH also have proponents (Hornkohl 2013a; 2016b). Certain aspects of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphological diversity are consistent with such a paradigm, especially, the high frequency of short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם) morphology in the written tradition of the Tiberian Torah and the Mesha^c Stele, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rarity of short morphology and concomitant accumulation of pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) morphology in Tiberian LBH+ and other traditions and sources that reflect Second Temple Hebrew.

Yet the proposed typology also challenges at least one component of the regnant diachronic linguistic paradigm. In the distributions of the 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphological variants in the Tiberian written tradition one confronts a situation that calls for greater nuance than that which typically characterises diachronic discussions. This is because, as noted above (§1.4.2), the three-stage diachronic division of material based on distribution

of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology is on the surface consistent with neither the ABH-CBH-LBH paradigm nor the CBH-TBH-LBH arrangement, but calls for finer shading within what is conventionally termed CBH.

Preliminarily, two explanations suggest themselves. One option is that the Torah's written linguistic tradition is typologically older than that of the rest of CBH, in which case there may be some justification to distinguishing between CBH¹ and CBH², both typologically prior to LBH (see Elitzur 2015; 2018a; 2018b; 2019; 2022). Alternatively, it is possible to envision a scenario in which original CBH short 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphological dominance gave way to secondary diversity when material outside the Torah was contemporised—not according to LBH, but in line with norms typologically transitional between those of the MT Torah and LBH proper, that is, of a period when long (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום, ואקום) forms were in wide use, but pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואע(ו)מה) were not. In this case, what appears to be CBH² would be a result of the updating of CBH in line with TBH conventions. It bears repeating that the similarity between the CBH of the MT Prophets and MT LBH+ involving the incidence of long III-y morphology (ואעשה) combined with their difference in regard to pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואע(ו)מה) forms militates against the view that the potentially secondary status of long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology in the CBH of the MT Prophets is due to levelling in line with LBH+ standards, since one should reasonably expect this to have resulted in relatively high incidence of both long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology.

Pending the examination of more data with these scenarios in mind, they remain conjectural. And, of course, they are not mutually exclusive. Either way, from the perspective of the MT distribution of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms, it seems necessary to reckon with the reality of some sort of multivalent division of CBH, whether it involves an organic distinction between CBH¹ and CBH² or the artificial creation of CBH² due the secondary drift of some authentic CBH material in the direction of TBH.

Rounding out this examination of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* diachrony in the Tiberian written tradition, it is opportune to discuss a few sundry matters.

Non-characteristic Diachronic Usages

First, though short and pseudo-cohortative forms are characteristic, respectively, of classical and post-classical forms of ancient Hebrew, there is no reason to expect that they should be exclusively restricted to the corpora they characterise. According to more nuanced renditions of the dominant diachronic paradigm, many classical features remained available to late writers and copyists, even if the latter may often have opted for contemporary alternatives. By the same token, exceptional pseudo-cohortative forms in apparently classical texts do not necessarily indicate late composition or textual drift, since there is no logical impediment to the early development of a feature whose later expansion makes it characteristically post-classical. The plausibility of diachronically distinct concentrations of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology does not preclude the sporadic use of atypical forms at any given stage.

The Problem of Archaic Heterogeneity

From the perspective of Hetzron's (1976) principle of *archaic heterogeneity* the situation is somewhat complex. At first glance, the claim of early short morphological unity among 1st-, 2nd-, and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* forms may appear to contravene expectations. Would it not be more appropriate to posit early *wayyiqtol* heterogeneity, e.g., a paradigm consisting of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person forms and short 2nd- and 3rd-person forms, which was later levelled via analogical processes to a uniformly short paradigm, with a few pseudo-cohortative leftovers?

While such an approach may seem logical from the narrow perspective of *wayyiqtol* morphology, it is neither borne out in the data nor more theoretically attractive than an alternative view. The diachronic pattern of change for the *wayyiqtol* paradigm cannot be described as homogenising, since the morphological distinction between 1st-person forms and 2nd- and 3rd-person forms gradually increases, rather than decreases, with time. Moreover, methodologically, early *wayyiqtol* paradigmatic heterogeneity is *a priori* no more compelling a possibility than early heterogeneity viewed from a broader perspective, namely one that includes both the *wayyiqtol* paradigm and that of the directive-volitive forms, i.e., the cohortative (אקומה), imperative (קום), and jussive (יקם). Indeed, bringing into consideration this latter paradigm, especially the presumed link between the cohortative (אקומה) and the 1st-person *wayyiqtol* (ואקם > ואקומה) (see Hornkohl 2013a, 165–70; Khan 2021, 321–27; see below), it is reasonable to argue that the archaic heterogeneity eventually homogenised was that between the 1st-person *wayyiqtol* and cohortative forms.

tative forms. But from the perspective of the narrow confines of the *wayyiqtol* paradigm, this merging of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* and cohortative morphology had the effect of increasing, rather than decreasing, heterogeneity.

The Relevance of a Recent Proposal

Ch. 16, above, focused mainly on Khan's (2021, 319–40) recently propounded theory of the genesis of ancient Hebrew *wayyiqtol* (see especially §§1.0–3.0). It is now opportune to assess his approach in light of what has been said here about the distribution of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in ancient Hebrew sources. Crucially for the present discussion, Khan speculates on the timing of the reanalysis he proposes.

Some scholars have, indeed, already expressed the view that there was a convergence between the *wayyiqtol* form and the modal system during the period of Late Biblical Hebrew [e.g., Bergsträsser 1918–1929, II:§5d; Talshir 1986]. I would like to argue that this had taken place already in Classical Biblical Hebrew....

The most obvious structural manifestation [of the reanalysis of the narrative *yiqtol* as a schematised extension of a jussive] is the occurrence of the cohortative jussive form of first person in *wayyiqtol* forms. These become particularly frequent in Late Biblical Hebrew (Cohen 2013, 121–13), but are found sporadically already in the Pentateuch in Classical Biblical Hebrew. (Khan 2021, 321–22, 327)

A few brief observations are in order. First, Khan's proposal arguably conceives of a more profound and pervasive convergence of the *wayyiqtol* and directive-volitive paradigms than is usually envisioned. According to Khan, it was not merely by late

analogy with cohortative אקטלה that classical ואקטל shifted to ואקטלה . Rather, the antecedents of *wayyiqtol* ואַקְטֹלְה and cohortative (purpose/result) ואַקְטֹלְה had already fused in Iron Age Hebrew. Originally conveying distinct preterite and modal senses, they had merged into a semantically underdifferentiated *w-yiqtol* structure broadly associated with temporal consecution. Only later were they re-differentiated via gemination of realis (mostly preterite) *waw-yiqtol* > *wayyiqtol* in the Second Temple Period.

Second, while it is clear that the frequent use of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology is distinctive of LBH+ and other late corpora, Khan's theory is consistent with a distribution that is not exclusively late. In other words, at the very least, it allows for the early 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphological variety acknowledged above. The dominance of short 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology especially characteristic of the MT Torah written tradition can be interpreted as a stage in the convergence of preterite *waw-yiqtol* and dependent volitional *waw-yiqtol* where a morphological distinction between the two *yiqtol* forms was still largely preserved in the 1st person. Even so, there is no reason to deny the authenticity of sporadic pseudo-cohortative morphology in the Torah and the Former Prophets.¹²

Khan (2021, 327, 337–38) notes the LBH proliferation of long and pseudo-cohortative forms, providing a theoretical

¹² Qimron (2018, 169) also sees the CBH pseudo-cohortative forms as authentically ancient, but claims that their apparent early infrequency is the product of “an illusion created by the defective spelling of the early Biblical books,” i.e., that verbs could be realised with final *-a* without final *mater heh*.

mechanism for well-rehearsed hypotheses concerning late influence of the cohortative on the 1st-person *wayyiqtol* and the late partial merger of long and cohortative morphology in *wayyiqtol* and *yiqtol* more generally. Attempting to flesh out Khan’s argument: on the assumption of early contrast between a uniformly short preterite paradigm (ויקם, ותקם, ואקם) and a mixed modal paradigm (cohortative ואקומה, imperative וקום, and jussive ויקם), the similarity and narrative frequency of 3rd-person forms (both short) would make them the logical starting point for reanalysis. Convergence of the respective 1st- and 2nd-person forms, which were dissimilar and far less frequent, might be expected to lag. And, at least in the case of the 1st-person, this is exactly what one encounters. Not until the Persian Period does the convergence apparently begun in CBH become common in 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms.¹³

When it comes to the distribution of long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום) morphology, Khan (2021, 337–38) notes the differences between the CBH of the Torah and Former Prophets and between the written and reading traditions of CBH material (on the latter, see below, §2.0). He describes the shift as gradual, attributing it to the “merging in function of the cohorta-

¹³ The matter of 2nd-person forms lies beyond the scope of this chapter. The BH equivalent of the 3rd-person dependent jussive (purpose/result) ויקם is the imperative, e.g., וקום (JM, §116f). Narrative 2nd-person וקום never arose in Hebrew (unless this is behind the late penchant for the infinitive absolute replacing a finite verb (?)). It is not clear whether the expected alternative, 2nd-person dependent jussive (purpose/result) ותקם, ever developed. Perhaps the infrequency of 2nd-person narrative forms hindered the expected effects of convergence.

tive with the long [i.e., long] *yiqtol* form” (Khan 2021, 337). This seems consistent with the position elaborated in Hornkohl (2013a, 165–70), where it is hypothesised that, in addition to late cohortative influence on *wayyiqtol*, both the preterite and volitive short *yiqtol* forms were subject to constant analogical pressure exerted by the standard *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtulu*), the semantics of which also included both past (mainly habitual) and modal shades. Whatever the case may be, any proposal for explaining the expanded use of long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology must successfully account for the disparities in their respective CBH frequencies. In the Tiberian written tradition of the Pentateuch, pointedly, long III-y morphology (3 of 21 cases) is comparatively more common than pseudo-cohortative morphology (4 of 105 cases). What is more, long III-y morphology is commonplace in CBH outside the Torah, while it is not until post-exilic Hebrew that pseudo-cohortative morphology becomes frequent. From a perspective of historical depth, Khan’s theory of *wayyiqtol* development substantially preposes the starting point for convergence of the three *yiqtol* templates employed in *wayyiqtol* morphology.

2.0. The Masoretic Reading Tradition

We are now in position to investigate the matter of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition as it manifests in 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms and to evaluate its historical significance.

2.1. Dissonance and Secondary Character

At issue is whether spelling and vocalisation are in harmony as regards short and long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology in the case of 1cs and 1cpl *hif'il* and II-*w/y qal* forms. Table 16 compares the Tiberian written (consonantal) and reading (vocalic) traditions in terms of short 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology.

Table 16: Short 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology according to written (orthographic) and reading (vocalisation) traditions: number of short forms out of total short and long (percentage) (for citations, see §4.0)

	Torah		Prophets		Non-LBH + Writings		LBH +	
	Orth.	Voc.	Orth.	Voc.	Orth.	Voc.	Orth.	Voc.
	<i>hif'il</i>	11/12 (91.7%)	8/12 (66.7%)	18/31 (58.1%)	4/31 (12.9%)	—	—	2/11 (18.2%)
<i>qal II-w/y</i>	6/6 (100%)	1/4 (25%)	5/14 (35.7%)	0/10 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	0/14 (66.7%)	1/9 (1.1%)
<i>hif'il</i> +	17/18 (94.4%)	9/16 (56.3%)	23/45 (51.1%)	4/41 (9.8%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	2/25 (8.0%)	2/20 (10.0%)

Of the 78 cases of *hif'il* and *qal II-w/y* 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms throughout the MT, in just 15 is the vocalisation consistent with short morphology (9 in the Torah, 4 in the Prophets, 2 in LBH +). In the MT Torah the orthography nearly always reflects short morphology—16 of 17 cases, the sole exception the questionably relevant וַיִּשֶׁם (Num. 21.30). According to the Pentateuch's vocalisation, by contrast, short morphology comes in just 8 of 15 cases.¹⁴ In the Prophets, too, one encounters dissonance: according to the spelling tradition, just over half of the instances (23 of

¹⁴ Here and throughout forms with invariable *wayyiqtol* vocalic realisation regardless of their orthography, such as *qal* בּוֹא, are excluded from the counts.

45) reflect short morphology, but that proportion drops to under ten percent (4 of 41) according to the reading tradition. The non-LBH+ Writings present just one relevant example, both traditions exhibiting long morphology. Only in LBH+ does one encounter relative harmony between the orthography and vocalisation when it comes to 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology: short forms are rare according to both traditions.

Two related observations are in order.

2.1.1. The Diachronic Significance of Dissonance in Classical Biblical Hebrew Material

First, the most plausible explanation for the frequent mismatch between long vocalisation and short orthography in 1st-person *wayyiqtol* (וַיִּשְׁמַעְךָ, וַיִּשְׁמַעְךָ) forms throughout CBH texts is that a comparatively late reading tradition characterised by long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology was secondarily imposed upon a written tradition in which the spelling of many such forms reflected earlier short morphology. Since the Tiberian reading tradition coincides at salient points with post-exilic written tradition, it is reasonable to see the vocalisation as a product of Second Temple times. This means that the Tiberian reading tradition presents a stage in the development of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms more historically advanced than that discernible in the written tradition to which it has been textually wedded.

2.1.2. The Diachronic Significance of Harmony in Late Biblical Hebrew + Material

Second, the regular written-reading agreement found in LBH + material is no accident, but rather results from historical proximity. In other words, the fact that the 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology applied by the reading tradition throughout the MT corresponds so closely to the LBH + written tradition (e.g., וַאֲנִי, וַאֲקִי) is because, though semi-independent, they are related products of the same period.

2.2. A Need for Nuance

But while the foregoing narrative is true as far as it goes, there is more to the story. Indeed, such a broad-strokes account is something of a distortion. Nuance is required.

2.2.1. The Antiquity of Long 1st-person *Wayyiqtol* Morphology

First, while the *extent* of the use of long (וַאֲנִי, וַאֲקִי) forms in the reading tradition is more in line with the LBH + written tradition than with the CBH written tradition, as has already been noted regarding the written tradition, the *phenomenon itself*—namely, the likely orthographic representation of long (וַאֲנִי, וַאֲקִי) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology—predates LBH +. This is clear from the particular constellation of long III-y (וַאֲנִי) and pseudo-cohortative (וַאֲקִי) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology in Tiberian CBH outside the Torah, where—like LBH +, but unlike the Torah—long forms diffused, but—like the Torah, but unlike LBH +—pseudo-cohortative forms did not.

A similar situation emerges from an examination of the morphological variety of *hif^cil* and II-*w/y qal wayyiqtol* forms tabulated above in Table 16 (above, p. 428). Note that though long morphology's eclipsing of short morphology in both the LBH+ written and reading traditions is especially striking (2 of 25 and 2 or 20 cases, respectively), the shift was by no means unprecedented. The extensive replacement of short with long morphology in the vocalisation of the Prophets (just 4 of 41 short) is merely the continuation of a trend already well established in the written tradition of the same material (23 of 45 short). The consistency of long vocalisation in the Prophets is probably partially secondary and anachronistic, but it is merely an extrapolation of a trend already begun, just less advanced, in the corpus's orthography.

It is in the Torah, with orthography predominantly indicative of short 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology, that the partial deviation in favour of long morphology appears especially anachronistic (the reader is once again reminded that the linguistic significance of the long *hif^cil* and *wayyiqtol* spellings has been demonstrated above, in §1.3.1).¹⁵ In sum, the incidence of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphological dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition increases as

¹⁵ Cf. Khan (2021), who presents different explanations for long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology in the Masoretic written and reading traditions. In the case of the former he seems to envision a gradual process of organic convergence (337), while he attributes the latter to 'top-down' imposition unlikely rooted in vernacular usage (339).

one moves back in time from LBH+ through the Prophets to the Torah.

2.2.2. Dissonance and Diversity within the Tiberian Reading Tradition

This leads to a second important observation. Considering the hypothesis that the Tiberian reading tradition is a Second Temple oral realisation that was applied to contemporary texts and retrojected onto earlier material, it would be reasonable to suppose that it might exhibit greater uniformity, or, at the very least, that it would deviate toward late conventions wherever the written tradition was amenable thereto. Reality, however, proves more complex. Despite its clear Second Temple affinities at certain striking points, the Tiberian pronunciation tradition, like the consonantal tradition, is multifarious, routinely preserving features especially characteristic of early material in the face of the influence of later linguistic convention. Focusing on 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology, this is manifest in linguistic diversity *within* the Tiberian reading tradition.

1CS versus 1CPL Forms

Consider the differential treatment of singular and plural 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Torah (see Khan 2021, 338–39). See Table 17. Whereas 1CS forms often—in 6 of 8 potential cases—combine short spelling with long phonology, in the 1CPL, spelling consistently matches phonology, so that the classical template is preserved except where long spelling obtains.

Table 17: 1st-person short and long *hif'il* and *qal* II-w/y *wayyiqtol* morphology in the Masoretic reading tradition of the Torah

	Singular	Plural
Short	וְאֹלֶךְ (Lev 26.13; Deut. 29.4)	וְנִגְדִי-לִי (Gen. 43.7; Gen. 44.24) וְנִשְׁבַּב (Gen. 43.21) וְנִקְרָאֵב (Num. 31.50) וְנִסְבַּב (Deut. 2.1) וְנִחְרַם (Deut. 2.34; 3.6)
Long	וְאִשְׁמַם (Gen. 24.47; Deut. 10.5) וְאִשְׁבַּב (Exod 19.4) וְאִשְׁקַץ (Lev. 20.23) וְאִשְׁדָּל (Lev 20.26) וְאִשְׁלַךְ (Deut 9.21)	וְנִשְׁמַם (Num. 21.30)
Invariable	וְאִשְׁבַּב (Gen. 24.42)	וְנִשְׁבַּב (Deut. 1.19)

The Sporadic Preservation of Short 1CS Forms

But even in the case of 1CS *wayyiqtol* forms: though *hif'il* and II-w/y *qal* forms are routinely pointed long where written (and presumably intended) short, in a minority of cases, typologically early short vocalisation is preserved. Several of these might be conditioned, but it is intriguing that all occur in the reading tradition of CBH texts.¹⁶ Conversely, the LBH+ reading tradition is very much in sync with the parallel written tradition, strongly preferring long and pseudo-cohortative forms at the expense of short ones. In LBH+, the spelling of 1CS forms nearly always reflects long or pseudo-cohortative morphology (in 38 of 39 cases of *hif'il*

¹⁶ Four such cases involve the specific verb וְאֹלֶךְ, behind whose short form there may well stand phonological factors—perhaps an original diphthong in the first syllable favoured preservation of short morphology in the second (cf. וְאֹלֶיךָ in the SP). The preservation of another short form may be attributed to euphony in וְאִשְׁמַם עֲדִים (Jer. 32.10); cf. וְאִשְׁמַם (Neh. 13.15). That leaves only וְאִשְׁבַּב אֶת־וְדָבָר (Josh. 14.7), which contrasts with LBH וְאִשְׁבַּב אֶת־וְדָבָר (Neh. 2.20).

and II-*w/y qal* combined), the sole exception being וְאָנֹכִי (1 Chron. 17.10). When it comes to the mere three relevant 1CPL cases, the two traditions once agree on short morphology (וַיִּשָּׁב Ezra 10.2), once agree on long morphology (וַיִּנְטַעְמִיד Neh. 4.3), and once clash (וַיִּשָּׁב *ketiv* וַיִּנְטַעְמִיד *qere* Neh. 4.9). These exceptional instances of mismatch between orthography and vocalisation in Tiberian LBH+ are doubly important, evincing both the continued independence of the written and reading traditions as well as their close congruence. Indeed, their potential divergence makes their consistent agreement all the more striking.

Ketiv-Qere Mismatches

A final note on the six relevant instances of *ketiv-qere* dissonance: these are cases where the disparity occasioned by merging divergent written and reading traditions could not be resolved except by explicit emendation of the written form. See Table 18.

Table 18: *Ketiv-qere* cases involving 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in Codex Leningrad

<i>ketiv</i>	<i>qere</i>	Reference	Description: <i>ketiv</i> <i>qere</i>
וַאֲרָאָה	וַאֲרָאָה	Josh. 7.21	long short
וַאֲרָבָה	וַאֲרָבָה	Josh. 24.3	short long
וַאֲבָאָה	וַאֲבָאָה	Josh. 24.8	pseudo-cohort. long
וַאֲוֹצָאָה	וַאֲוֹצָאָה	Ezra 8.17	pseudo-cohort. long
וַאֲשַׁקֹּלָהּ	וַאֲשַׁקֹּלָהּ	Ezra 8.25	pseudo-cohort. pseudo-cohortative
וַיִּנְטַעְמִיד	וַיִּנְטַעְמִיד	Neh. 4.9	long short

Beyond confirming the independence of two related traditions, these do not materially alter the picture drawn to this point. Intriguingly—and contrary to what might be expected, but consistent with what was said above—there is no unambiguous correlation between the *ketiv* and classical short morphology or

between the *qere* and later long or pseudo-cohortative morphology. This is a further indication that, despite crystallising in the Second Temple Period, the Tiberian reading tradition—including, but not limited to, explicit *qere* instances—manifests profound historical depth and intricacy, even preserving individual Iron Age phenomena in the face of the standardisation of others.

3.0. Conclusion

A detailed study of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Tiberian written and reading traditions yields typologically rich results. Having established that orthographic variation in the written tradition is as at least partially indicative of typological shifts in morphology, it can be plausibly maintained that the Tiberian written tradition testifies to three typological strata of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* development in chronologically suggestive concentrations.

Dissonance between the Tiberian CBH written and reading traditions shows that the reading tradition is typologically later, akin to other Second Temple traditions, including the LBH+ written tradition. However, the Tiberian reading tradition is itself typologically diverse: the relevant vocalisation in CBH is not identical to that in LBH+; 1CS and 1CPL forms receive different treatment in CBH; and there is no clear pattern to *ktiv-qere* divergence.

The extent of long morphology in the reading tradition of CBH material seems more characteristic of the Tiberian written tradition of LBH+ and other late material than of the written tradition of CBH texts. Yet the frequency of long forms in the

written CBH tradition outside the Torah shows that, in this respect, the reading tradition merely extended and standardised a feature that had diffused prior to LBH+ times. The *regularity* of the reading tradition's use of long morphology appears to be anachronistic for the earliest parts of the Bible, but evidence of its *initial appearance* points to the Iron Age. Common usage of long and pseudo-cohortative morphology can be dated no earlier or later than the LBH+ compositions, and, given the incidence of long morphology in the CBH of the Prophets, its diffusion may well have begun centuries earlier. Long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology joins many other features of the Tiberian reading tradition that deviate from the reading tradition reflected in the consonantal in their early minority incidence followed by later standardisation.

4.0. Citations

Table 2

MT Torah—short: Gen. 24.46; 31.10; 41.22; Exod. 6.3; 9.15; Num. 13.33; 23.4; Deut. 2.1, 8, 33; 3.1, 1, 18; 9.15, 16; 10.3, 3, 5; **long:** Gen. 24.48; Deut. 1.16, 18; **MT Prophets—short:** Josh. 7.21 (*qere*); 24.3 (*ktiv*); Judg. 18.4; Isa. 64.5; Jer. 3.8; 11.5; 15.6; 20.7; 35.10; Ezek. 1.4, 15, 27; 11.16; 12.7; 20.9, 22; 23.13; 24.18; 43.8; 44.4; Hos. 13.7; Zech. 2.1, 5; 4.4, 11, 12; 5.9; 6.4; **long:** Josh. 7.21 (*ktiv*); 9.24; 24.3 (*qere*); Judg. 12.3; 1 Sam. 10.14; 13.12; 26.21; 2 Sam. 7.6, 9; 11.23; 12.22; 22.24; 1 Kgs 8.20; 11.39; Isa. 6.1; Jer. 13.2; 25.17; 31.26; 32.9, 13; 44.17; Ezek. 1.1, 28; 2.9; 8.2, 7, 10; 10.1, 9; 11.1; 16.8; 20.14; Hos. 11.4; Amos 4.10; Zech. 5.1; 6.1; 11.7, 7; **Non-LBH+—short:** Ps. 18.24; 38.15; 69.12; 73.14; Job 30.9; Prov. 7.7; **long:** Ps. 69.11, 21; 102.8; Job 7.20; Prov. 8.30, 30; 24.32; **MT LBH+—short:** Dan. 10.5; Neh. 1.4; 2.11, 13, 15, 15; 4.8; **long:** Qoh. 4.1, 7; Dan. 8.2, 2, 3, 27; 9.4; 10.8; Ezra 8.15, 17 (*qere*); Neh. 1.4; 3.38; 7.2; 12.31; 13.25; 1 Chron. 17.5, 8; 2 Chron. 6.10; **BDSS—short:** 4Q31 2.4 (|| Deut. 3.18); Mur2 f1i.3 (|| Deut. 10.3a); 5/6Hev1b f6–7.10 (|| Ps. 18.24); **long:** 1QIsa^a 51.19 (|| Isa. 64.5 short); 4Q51 f42a.1 (|| 1 Sam. 26.21); 4Q70 f21–22i.3 (|| Jer. 13.2); 4Q73 f2.10 (|| Ezek. 11.1); 4Q80 f14–15.2 (|| Zech. 5.9 short);

4Q112 f14.12 (|| Dan. 8.2); 4Q114 1.7 (|| Dan. 10.8); **NBDSS—short:** 4Q364 f26bi.6 (|| MT Deut. 9.16); **long:** 1QH^a 10.10, 12, 16, 17; 11.8; 14.27; 16.28; 4Q364 f24a–c.15 (|| MT Deut. 3.1 short); 4Q391 f9.3 (?); f65.4 (?);¹⁷ **SP—short:** Num. 13.33 (|| MT short); **long:** Gen. 24.46, 48 (|| MT long); 31.10; 41.22; Exod. 6.3; 9.15, 19+ (|| MT Exod. 9.15 short); Num. 23.4; Deut. 1.16 (|| MT long), 18 (|| MT long); 2.1, 8, 33; 3.1, 1, 18; 9.15, 16; 10.3, 3, 5;¹⁸ **BS—long:** SirB 20v.2 (|| Sir. 51.7), 2 (|| Sir. 51.7).

Table 3

MT Torah—pseudo-cohortative: Gen. 32.4; 41.11; 43.21; Num. 8.19; **MT Prophets—pseudo-cohortative:** Josh. 24.8 (*ketiv*); Judg. 6.9, 10; 10.12; 12.3, 3; 1 Sam. 2.28; 28.15; 2 Sam. 4.10; 7.9; 12.8, 8; 22.24; Jer. 11.18; 32.9; Ezek. 3.3; 9.8; 16.11; Zech. 11.13; **MT non-LBH + Writings—pseudo-cohortative:** Ps. 3.6; 7.5; 69.12, 21; 73.16; 90.10; Job 19.20; 29.17; **MT LBH + —pseudo-cohortative:** Ps. 119.55, 59, 106, 131, 147, 158; Job 1.15, 16, 17, 19; Qoh. 1.17; Dan. 8.13, 15, 17; 9.3, 4, 4; 10.16, 16, 19; 12.8; Ezra 7.28; 8.15, 16, 17 (*ketiv*), 17, 23, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31; 9.3, 3, 5, 5, 6; Neh. 1.4; 2.1, 6, 9, 13; 5.7, 7, 8, 13; 6.3, 8, 11, 12; 7.5; 12.31; 13.7, 8, 9, 9, 10, 11, 11, 13, 17, 17, 19, 19, 21, 21, 22, 30;¹⁹ **BDSS pseudo-cohortative:** 1QIsa^a 6.2 (|| Isa. 6.8 unlengthened), 5 (|| Isa. 6.11 unlengthened); 34.12 (|| Isa. 41.9 unlengthened); 40.10 (|| Isa. 48.5 long); 42.8 (|| Isa. 50.7 unlengthened); 51.20 (|| Isa. 64.5 short); 4Q13 f3ii + 5–6i.8 (|| Exod. 3.17 unlengthened); 4Q51 3a–e.25 (|| 1 Sam. 2.28 pseudo-cohortative), 9e–i.16 (|| 1 Sam. 10.14 long), f61ii + 63–64a–b + 65–67.3 (|| 2 Sam. 4.10 pseudo-cohortative); 4Q80 f8–13.19 (|| Zech. 4.4 unlengthened), f14–15.2 (erasure || Zech. 5.9), 2 (|| Zech. 5.9), 4 (|| Zech. 5.10 unlengthened); 4Q83 f19ii–20.31 (|| Ps. 69.12 pseudo-cohortative); 4Q113 f16–18i + 19.5 (|| Dan. 8.3 unlengthened); 11Q5 9.1 (|| Ps. 119.59 pseudo-cohortative); 11.2 (|| Ps. 119.106 pseudo-cohortative); 12.4 (|| Ps. 119.131 pseudo-cohortative); 13.9 (|| Ps. 119.158 pseudo-cohortative); 20.2 (|| 139.11 unlengthened); **NBDSS pseudo-cohortative:** 1QH^a 12.37; 14.9, 10; 15.23; 17.9, 10; 1Q49 f1.1; 4Q364 f26bi.8; 4Q385 f2.9; 4Q385a f1a–bii.1, 6, 7, f15i.5;

¹⁷ The two final ambiguous citations were excluded from the totals in Hornkohl (2013a, 160).

¹⁸ The slight difference between the totals here and in Hornkohl (2013a, 160) is due to the inclusion here of SP Exod. 9.19+ (|| MT Exod. 9.15), which was excluded there.

¹⁹ Hornkohl (2013a, 162) mentions the cases in Ps. 119 and Job 1, but does not count them in the relevant table's LBH totals.

4Q387 f1.7; 4Q389 f2.4, 5, f6.1; 4Q390 f1.6, 6; 4Q437 f2ii.13; 4Q504 f1–2rv.17; 11Q5 28.5; 11Q19 65.8;²⁰ **SP pseudo-cohortative**: Gen. 32.6; Exod. 3.8, 17; 6.5; Lev. 26.13; Num. 8.19 (= MT); Deut. 1.19, 19, 43; 2.1, 7+ (MT —), 8, 8, 13, 26, 34, 34; 3.4, 6, 23; 9.15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 21, 21, 25, 26, 26; 10.3, 5, 5; 22.14;²¹ **BS—pseudo-cohortative**: SirB 20v.3 (|| Sir. 51.8), 20v.11 (|| Sir. 51.12), 11 (|| Sir. 51.12); 11Q5 21.15 (|| Sir. 51.18) (?); unlengthened: SirB 20v.5 (|| Sir. 51.9); 21r.12 (|| Sir. 51.14) (?); 21r.17 (Sir. 51.19) (?).²²

Table 6

III-y—short and long: see Table 2, above; **hif'il: MT Torah—short**: Gen. 43.7, 21; 44.24; Exod. 19.4; Lev. 20.26; 26.13; Num. 31.5; Deut. 2.34; 3.6; 9.21; 29.4; **long**: Num. 21.30 (?);²³ **MT Prophets—short**: Josh. 14.7; 24.3, 10; Judg. 6.9; 1 Kgs 2.42; 18.13; Jer. 5.7; 32.10; 35.4; 42.21; Ezek. 28.18; 31.15; 39.23, 24; Amos 2.10; Zech. 11.8; **long**: Josh. 24.6; Judg. 2.1; 6.8; 1 Sam. 10.18; 12.1; 15.20; Isa. 48.5; Jer. 2.7; 11.8; Ezek. 16.50; 36.19; Amos 2.9, 11; Zech. 11.13; **pseudo-cohortative**: Josh. 24.8; Judg. 10.12; 2 Sam. 7.9; **MT LBH + —short**: Ezra 10.2; 1 Chron. 17.10; **long**: Neh. 2.18, 20; 4.3, 7, 7; 6.4; 7.1; 13.15; 1 Chron. 17.8; **pseudo-cohortative**: Ps. 119.59; Ezra 8.17, 24; Neh. 6.12; 12.31; 13.8, 9, 13, 21, 30; **BDSS—pseudo-cohortative**: 1QIsa^a 40.10 (|| long MT Isa. 48.5); 11Q5 9.1 (|| MT Ps. 119.59); **NBDSS—long**: 4Q364 f26bii + e.1 (|| short MT Deut. 9.21); 4Q389 f2.2; **pseudo-cohortative**: 1QH^a 17.9; 4Q387 f1.7; 4Q389 f6.1; **SP—long**: Gen. 43.7, 21; 44.24; Exod. 19.4; Lev. 18.25 (|| *qal* MT);

²⁰ The slight difference between the totals here and in Hornkohl (2013a, 162) is due to the inclusion here of the (admittedly ambiguous) case in 11Q5 28.5.

²¹ Since the present citation list is identical to that in Hornkohl (2013a, 162), the difference between the respective tallies is apparently due to an arithmetic error in the latter.

²² The apparent pseudo-cohortative case in 11Q5 21.15 (|| Sir. 51.18) and the apparent unlengthened cases in SirB 21r.12 (|| Sir. 51.14) and 17 (Sir. 51.19) are ambiguous, e.g., is *waw-yiqtol* better analysed as *way-yiqtol* or *we-yiqtol* or should apparently pseudo-cohortative 1cs וַאֲקֻלָּהּ be interpreted as standard *wayyiqtol* with a FS object suffix?

²³ On the problematic וַאֲקֻלָּהּ (Num. 21.30) see Bloch (2007, 149–50); Hornkohl (2013a, 160–61, fn. 5).

Lev. 20.26; 26.13; Num. 21.30 (|| long MT; ?); 31.50; Deut. 29.4;²⁴ **pseudo-cohortative**: Deut. 2.34; 3.6; 9.21; **BS—long**: SirB 20v.5 (|| Sir. 51.9); SirB 21r.17 (|| Sir. 51.19); **II-w/y: MT Torah—short**: Gen. 24.27, 42; Lev. 20.23; Deut. 1.19; 2.1; 10.5; **MT Prophets—short**: 1 Kgs 3.21; 8.20, 21; Jer. 13.2; Zech. 6.1; **long**: 1 Sam. 10.14; 28.21; Isa. 51.6; Ezek. 3.15, 23; 8.10; 16.8; Zech. 5.1; Mal. 1.3; **pseudo-cohortative**: Judg. 12.3; **MT non-LBH+—long**: Job 38.10; **pseudo-cohortative**: Ps. 69.21; 90.10; **MT LBH+—long**: Dan. 8.27; Ezra 8.32; Neh. 2.9, 11, 12, 15, 15, 15; 4.8, 9 (*ketiv*); 13.7, 25; 2 Chron. 6.10, 11; **pseudo-cohortative**: Ezra 8.15, 17, 23; Neh. 5.7; 13.7, 11, 17; **BDSS—short**: 4Q56 f36.2 (|| long MT Isa. 51.16); 4Q70 f21–22i.3 (|| short MT Jer. 13.2); **pseudo-cohortative**: 4Q51 9e–i.16 (|| long MT 1 Sam. 10.14); **NBDSS—pseudo-cohortative**: 1QH^a 12.37; 4Q504 f1–2Rv.17; 11Q5 28.5; **SP—short**: Lev. 20.23 (|| short MT); **long**: Gen. 24.42 (|| short MT), 47 (|| short MT); Deut. 1.19 (|| short MT); 2.1 (|| short MT); **pseudo-cohortative**: Deut. 10.5 (|| short MT).

Table 16

Torah: hif'il—written and reading short: וְנָגַדְ (Gen. 43.7); וְנָשַׁב (Gen. 43.21); וְנָגַדְ (Gen. 44.24); וְאוֹלְךְ (Lev. 26.13); וְנִקְרַבְ (Num. 31.50); וְנִחְרַםְ (Deut. 2.34); וְנִחְרַםְ (Deut. 3.6); וְאוֹלְךְ (Deut. 29.4); written short, reading long: וְאָבָא (Exod 19.4); וְאָבְדְלְ (Lev 20.26); וְאָשְׁלְךְ (Deut. 9.21); written and reading long: וְנָשִׁים (Num. 21.30); **qal II-w/y**—written and reading short: וְנָסַבְ (Deut. 2.1); written short, reading long: וְאָשַׁם (Gen. 24.47); וְאָקַקְ (Lev 20.23); וְאָשַׁם (Deut. 10.5); invariable: וְאָבָא (Gen. 24.42); וְנָבִיבְ (Deut. 1.19); **Prophets: hif'il**—written and reading short: וְאָשַׁב (Josh. 14.7); וְאוֹלְךְ (Josh. 24.3); וְאָטַדְ (Jer. 32.10); וְאוֹלְךְ (Amos 2.10); written short, reading long: וְאָצַלְ (Josh. 24.10); וְאָצַלְ (Judg. 6.9); וְאָטַדְ (1 Kgs 2.42); וְאָחַבְא (1 Kgs 18.13); וְאָשְׁבַעְ (Jer. 5.7); וְאָבָא (Jer. 35.4); וְאָגַדְ (Jer. 42.21); וְאוֹצֵא (Ezek. 28.18); וְאָקַדְרְ (Ezek. 31.15); וְאָסַתְרְ (Ezek. 39.23); וְאָסַתְרְ (Ezek. 39.24); וְאָכַחְדְ (Zech. 11.8); written and reading long: וְאוֹצֵיא (Josh. 24.6); וְאָבִיא (Judg. 2.1); וְאוֹצֵיא (Judg. 6.8); וְאָצַילְ (1 Sam. 10.18); וְאוֹמְלִידְ (1 Sam. 12.1); וְאָבִיא (1 Sam. 15.20); וְאָגִידְ (Isa. 48.5); וְאָבִיא (Jer. 2.7); וְאָבִיא (Jer. 11.8); וְאָסִיר (Ezek. 16.50); וְאָפִיץ (Ezek. 36.19); וְאָשְׁמִידְ (Amos 2.9); וְאָקַים (Amos 2.11); וְאוֹשְׁלִי (Zech. 11.13); written pseudo-cohortative, reading long (*ketiv-qere*): וְאָבִיא (Josh. 24.8); **qal II-w/y**—written short, reading long: וְאָקַם (1 Kgs 3.21); וְאָקַם (1 Kgs 8.20); וְאָשַׁם (1 Kgs 8.21); וְאָשַׁם (Jer. 13.2); וְאָשַׁב (Zech. 6.1); written and reading long: וְאָשִׁים (1 Sam. 28.21); וְאָשִׁים (Isa. 51.16); וְאָקַים (Ezek. 3.23); וְאָשִׁיב (Zech. 5.1); וְאָשִׁים (Mal. 1.3); written long, invariable vocalisation: וְנָבִיא (1 Sam. 10.14); וְאָבוֹא (Ezek. 3.15); וְאָבוֹא (Ezek. 8.10); וְאָבוֹא (Ezek. 16.8); **Non-LBH+**

²⁴ The total and citation list in Hornkohl (2013a, 160, 163 fn. 17) exclude the cases in Lev. 18.25 and Num. 21.30.

Writings: *qal II-w/y*—written and reading long: וְאָשִׁים (Job 38.10); LBH+: ***hif'il***—written and reading short: וְנָשָׁב (Ezra 10.2); written short, reading long: וְאָגַד (1 Chron. 17.10); written and reading long: וְאָגִיד (Neh. 2.18); וְאָשִׁיב (Neh. 2.20); וְנִעַמְּיָד (Neh. 4.3); וְאֶעֱמִיד (Neh. 4.7); וְאֶעֱמִיד (Neh. 4.7); וְאָשִׁיב (Neh. 6.4); וְאֶעֱמִיד (Neh. 7.1); וְאָשִׁיב (Neh. 13.15); וְאֶכְרַתִּי (1 Chron. 17.8); ***qal II-w/y***—written and reading long: וְאָקֹום (Dan. 8.27); וְאָקֹום (Neh. 2.12); וְאָשִׁיב (Neh. 2.15); וְאָשִׁיב (Neh. 2.15); וְאָקֹום (Neh. 4.8); וְנָשָׁב (Neh. 4.9 *ketiv*); וְאָרִיב (Neh. 13.25); וְאָקֹום (2 Chron. 6.10); וְאָשִׁים (2 Chron. 6.11); written long, reading short: וְנָשָׁב (Neh. 4.9 *qere*); written long, invariable vocalisation: וְנָבִיא (Ezra 8.32); וְאָבִיא (Neh. 2.9); וְאָבִיא (Neh. 2.11); וְאָבִיא (Neh. 2.15); וְאָבִיא (Neh. 13.7).

18. I-Y WE-YIQTOL FOR WEQATAL

By and large in Tiberian BH prose, there is a clearcut functional difference between *we-yiqtol* and *weqatal* forms. Whereas the former are used fairly exclusively in 1st- and 3rd-person for what Bybee et al. (1994, 179) call ‘speaker-oriented modality’, i.e., directives indicating the speaker’s will,¹ the latter have much broader future force, including indicative meaning and both ‘speaker-oriented’ and ‘agent-oriented modality’ (see Bybee et al. 1994, 176–81; Shulman 1996, 180; Verstraete 2007, 32–35; Cook 2012, 247–48; Dallaire 2014, 39; Hornkohl 2018, 31–32; 2021, 378–80, 383–86).

In a well-known functional subcategory of the modality signalled by *we-yiqtol*, the structure serves to encode final, e.g., purpose and result, clauses. Though real-world purposes and results (and speaker-oriented modality, more generally) can also be communicated via *weqatal*, the latter much less transparently expresses these meanings. In sum, then, in BH prose *we-yiqtol* normally has jussive semantics, whether subordinated to a previous (normally directive volitional) verb (1) or merely coordinate with a previous jussive (2).

¹ The parallel 2nd-person form is not *we-tiqtol*, but the imperative *u-qtol* (JM §116f; cf. Lambdin 1973, 119, §107c; Muraoka 1997).

- (1) וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ וַיְרִדוּ בְדִגְתַּי הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף
 הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבְבֵהֵמָה וּבְכָל-הָאָרֶץ וּבְכָל-הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ:
 ‘Then God said, “Let us make humankind in our image, after
 our likeness, **so they may rule** over the fish of the sea and
 the birds of the air, over the cattle, and over all the earth, and
 over all the creatures that move on the earth.”’ (Gen. 1.26)
- (2) וְאֵל שַׁדַּי יְבָרֶךְ אֶתְךָ וַיַּבְרֶךְ יְיָ וַיְרַבְּךָ וְהָיִיתָ לְקָהָל עַמִּים:
 ‘God Almighty bless you **and make you fruitful and mul-
 tiply you**, that you may become a company of peoples.’
 (Gen. 28.3)

By contrast, in order to express more generic futurity and/or the speaker-oriented modality of what convention says should or must happen, rather than *we-yiqtol*, *weqatal* is the norm, e.g.,

- (3) וְרָאוּ כָּל-עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ כִּי שֵׁם יְהוָה נִקְרָא עָלֶיךָ וַיִּרְאוּ מִמֶּךָ:
 ‘And all the peoples of the earth shall see that you are called
 by the name of the LORD, **and they shall be afraid** of you.’
 (Deut. 28.10)

Similarly, the *weqatal* וְהָיִיתָ in example (2), though perhaps contextually interpretable as purposive (as in the gloss), is formally unspecified for anything more than just futurity, meaning that it can just as well be taken as ‘and you will become’.

In most forms of Second Temple Hebrew, the CBH TAM system, with its pragmatically distinct pairs of conversive and non-conversive perfective past forms (*wayyiqtol* and *qatal*) and habitual/future forms (*weqatal* and *yiqtol*), persists.² In all forms

² See Rabin (1958, 155; 1972, 371–73; 1976, 1015–16 fn. 2) on the rare attestation of conversive forms in Talmudic narrative.

of post-exilic Hebrew, however, the system witnesses at least some degree of erosion and, in certain cases, has been nearly or even totally eclipsed. For purposes of the present discussion, a crucial development is the use of the so-called non-conversive forms preceded by the simple conjunction -ו with the semantic values they have without the preceding conjunction, i.e., *we-qatal* for perfective past (just like *qatal*) and *we-yiqtol* for future (just like *yiqtol*).

1.0. Second Temple Evidence

1.1. Late Biblical Hebrew

The LBH verbal system, in general, and the use of *yiqtol*, more specifically, largely adhere to CBH norms (Cohen 2013, 151–92). Even so, a significant departure from CBH convention is the use of *we-yiqtol* for temporally ‘sequential’ eventualities (Cohen 2013, 151, 171–73). Consider example (4):

- (4) וְאִם־אֶשְׁלַח דְּבַר בְּעַמִּי: וְיִכְנְעוּ עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא־שְׁמִי עֲלֵיהֶם וַיִּתְפַּלְלוּ
 וַיִּבְקְשׂוּ פָנַי וַיָּשׁבוּ מִדַּרְכֵיהֶם הָרָעִים וְאֲנִי אֶשְׁמַע מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶסְלַח
 לְחַטָּאתָם וְאֶרְפָּא אֶת־אֲרָצָם:
 ‘...and if I send pestilence against my people,¹⁴ **and** my people who are called by my name **humble themselves, and pray and seek** my face **and turn** from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven **and will forgive** their sin **and heal** their land.’ (2 Chron. 7.13b–14)

The passage presents a complex conditional clause that consists of a compound protasis and a compound apodosis. In both halves of the clause *we-yiqtol* constructions comprise all but the first

verb. In CBH, these would almost certainly have been *weqatal* forms. A classic diachronic parallel may be seen in example (5):

- (5) אִם-יְהִי־אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדִי וְשָׁמְרֵנִי בְּדַרְךְ הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ וְנָתַן-לִי לֶחֶם...
 לֶאֱכֹל וּבְגָד לְלַבֵּשׁ: ²¹ וְשָׁבֹתִי בְּשָׁלוֹם אֶל-בַּיִת אָבִי וְהָיָה יְהוָה לִי לֵאלֹהִים:
²² וְהָאֶבֶן הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר-שָׁמַתִּי מִצְבֵּה יְהוָה בַּיִת אֱלֹהִים וְכָל אֲשֶׁר תִּתֶן-לִי עֲשֹׂה
 אֲעֲשֶׂנּוּ לָךְ:

‘...If God is with me **and keeps me** in this way that I go, **and gives me** bread to eat and clothing to wear, **and I return** to my father’s house in peace, **then** the LORD **will be** my God, and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, will be God’s house. And of all that you give me I will give a full tenth to you.’” (Gen. 28.20b–22)

Here, all conditions save the initial one after אִם ‘if’ are *weqatal*, as is the first verb of the apodosis, וְהָיָה ‘then (the LORD) shall be’. These leaves just three non-*weqatal* verbs, which form is precluded due to preverbal elements preventing clause-initial position.

Such sequential uses of *we-yiqtol*, while constituting a noticeable departure from CBH norms, are relatively rare throughout most of the LBH corpus. Indeed, to the series of six such forms in 2 Chron. 7.14 in example (4) above, Cohen (2013, 172, fn. 42) adds cases in Est. 1.19; Neh. 6.13; 8.15; Dan. 12.4, 10; 2 Chron. 2.15; 14.6.³

Significantly, in his discussion of the LBH verbal system, Cohen (2013, 15) expressly omits Qohelet. While this is under-

³ Cohen (2013, 172 fn. 42) also lists *we-yiqtol* cases in Dan. 1.12–13; 1 Chron. 13.2; 2 Chron. 12.8, but these are better seen as having classical purposive semantics.

standable insofar as Qohelet's verbal system differs markedly from that of the core LBH works—Esther, Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, and Chronicles—nevertheless, the language of Qohelet is widely regarded as reflecting a late chronolect (Delitzsch 1877, 190–99; Driver 1898, 474–75; Hurvitz 1990; 2007; Schoors 1992–2004; Seow 1996). Further, when it comes to the matter of non-conversive *we-qatal* and *we-yiqtol* forms, Qohelet appears to be farther along the developmental continuum than any other biblical book. In Qohelet, perfective past *we-qatal* routinely comes where one expects *wayyiqtol* in CBH,⁴ whereas future/habitual *we-yiqtol* is nearly as common as future/habitual *weqatal*.⁵

1.2. Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew

1.2.1. The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

As should be expected, classical usage of *we-yiqtol* is the norm in the BDSS. Even so, in some Qumran renditions of biblical texts a drift from future/imperfective *weqatal* to future/imperfective *we-*

⁴ There are only three cases of *wayyiqtol* in the book—1.17; 4.1, 7—against 31 cases of perfective past *we-qatal*: 1.13, 16; 2.5, 9, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15, 17, 18, 20; 3.22; 4.1, 4, 7; 5.13, 13, 18; 8.10, 15, 17; 9.14, 14, 14, 15, 15, 16; 12.9 (?), 9 (?).

⁵ Schoors (1992–2004, I:86–89) provides a corrective for extreme views, listing 15 cases of classical *weqatal* in the book, to which Qoh. 1.5, 5; 8.10; and 10.3 should be added. Future/habitual *we-yiqtol* comes around 13 times: 1.18; 2.19; 6.12; 7.7; 8.10; 12.4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7. The occurrences in 11.8–9 are passably classical jussives. The unique genre of Qohelet may also have contributed to its rare use of conversive verbal forms.

yiqṭol is evident (Muraoka 2000, 210–11; Qimron 2018, 369, fn. 2). Kutscher (1974, 357–58) lists many examples from 1QIsa^a, e.g., (6):

- (6) כִּי־אָמַר יְהוָה לְסָרִיסִים אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְרוּ אֶת־שַׁבְּתוֹתַי וַיִּבְחָרוּ...
 כִּי־כֹה | אָמַר יְהוָה לְסָרִיסִים אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְרוּ אֶת־שַׁבְּתוֹתַי וַיִּבְחָרוּ...
 ‘Thus says the LORD to the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths
and choose...’ (1QIsa^a 46.14–15 || MT Isa. 56.4)

The Great Isaiah Scroll is renowned among DSS biblical material for its frequent departures from classical norms, but other examples of DSS biblical material also present cases of *we-yiqṭol* parallel to *weqatal* in the MT:

- וְיִהְיֶה ‘and they will be’ (4Q7 f2.3) || וְהָיָה (MT Gen. 1.14)
 וַיִּקְמוּ ‘and there will arise’ (4Q9 f3–4.2) || וַיִּקְמוּ (MT Gen. 41.30)
 וְיִהְיֶה ‘and it will be’ (XHev/Se5 f1.5) || וְהָיָה (MT Exod. 13.14)
 וְאֶקְבְּצֵם ‘and I will gather them’ (4Q72 f44–50.7) || וְאֶקְבְּצֵם (MT Jer. 31.8)
 וְיִרְעֹשׁוּ ‘and (the heavens and the earth) will shake’ (4Q78 f18–20.9) || וְיִרְעֹשׁוּ (MT Joel 4.16)
 וְיִהְיֶה ‘and they will be’ (4Q76 4.4) || וְהָיָה (MT Mal. 3.17)
 וְיִחַנֵּן ‘and he will have mercy on me’ (4Q98a f2ii.2) || וְיִחַנֵּן (MT Ps. 30.11)⁶

⁶ It is, of course, possible that one or more of these cases reflect an interpretive rather than a linguistic difference, i.e., purposive/result semantics instead of more broadly future force.

1.2.2. The Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Like the BDSS, the NBDSS by and large demonstrate adherence to the classical norms of the so-called conversive *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal*. Yet, it is widely acknowledged that the NBDSS deviate from classical norms much more frequently than the BDSS. This is very clear in the case of use of *we-yiqtol* where CBH would opt for *weqatal* (Smith 1991, 59; Muraoka 2000, 210–11; Qimron 2018, 369). An example of Rewritten Bible (or Reworked Scripture), The Temple Scroll (11QT^a = 11Q19), with up to 60 cases showcases this usage, both where it cites biblical passages and where it presents independent material (Hornkohl 2021b, 147–49, esp. fn. 53; a lower figure is reported by Smith 1991, 59). From Temple Scroll biblical material, consider:

(7) **וַיִּכְבֵּס** בַּגְדָיו וְרָחַץ [בַּמַּיִם]

...**וַיִּכְבֵּס** בַּגְדָיו וְרָחַץ בַּמַּיִם

‘**And he will wash** his clothes and bathe in water’ (11QT^a

51.3 || MT Num. 19.19b)

In (7), against the series of two *weqatal* forms in MT Num. 19.19b, 11QT^a has an apparently synonymous combination of *we-yiqtol* and *weqatal* forms. Further examples from Rewritten Bible texts include:

וַיְדַבֵּר ‘and he will speak’ (4Q175 1.6) || וְדַבֵּר (MT Deut. 18.18)

וַיִּסְקְלוּנִי ‘and they will stone me (4Q365 7i.3) || וַיִּסְקְלוּנִי (MT Exod. 17.4)

וַיְדַבֵּר ‘and he will speak’ (11QT 6.15) || וְדַבֵּר (MT Deut. 20.2)

וימת 'and (the man) will die (11QT 56.11) || ומת (MT Deut. 17.12)

Such material also furnishes cases without biblical parallels, including:

...וייקח הפר השני אשר לעם ויכפר בו []... ויתן מדמו באצבעו על קרנות ה[מזבח]...

“Then he will take the second bull, the one for the people, **and he will make atonement** with it []... **and he will put** some of its blood with his finger on the horns of the altar’ (11QT^a 16.14–16)

ועשיתה על פי התורה אשר יגידו לכה ועל פי הדבר אשר יואמרו לכה מספר התורה ויגידו לכה באמת

‘and you must act according to the law that they proclaim to you and according to the word that they say to you from the book of the Law **and they shall tell** to you in truth’ (11QT^a 56.3–4; cf. MT Deut. 17.9)

ואלוהים אָמר לא ידור רוחי באדם לעולם ויחתכו ימיהם מאה ועשרים שנה

‘..and God said, “My spirit shall not dwell with man forever, and their days **shall be determined** to be one hundred and twenty years...”’ (4Q252 1.1; cf. Gen. 6.3)

1.3. Samaritan Hebrew

Like its Tiberian counterpart, the Samaritan tradition combines a relatively early (primarily consonantal) written component with a comparatively later pronunciation component (that includes consonants and vowels). In general, the Tiberian and Samaritan traditions employ *weqatal* and *we-yiqtol* similarly. Divergences

are often explicable as interpretive differences, where one tradition or the other has a more nuanced purposive/result *we-yiqtol* in place of a less semantically specialised *weqatal* form or vice versa. Consider, by way of example:

- (8) ייעש (wyās) פרעה ויפקד (wyafqəd) פקדים על הארץ ויחמש
 SP את ארץ מצרים בשבע שני השבע: (wyāmāš)
 MT יַעֲשֶׂה פְרֹעָה וַיִּפְקֹד פְּקֻדִים עַל-הָאָרֶץ וַיַּחֲמֵשׁ אֶת-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּשֶׁבַע שָׁנֵי
 הַשָּׁבָע:

‘Let Pharaoh **do** [this] **and appoint** overseers over the land **and take one-fifth** of the land of Egypt during the seven plentiful years.’ (Gen. 41.34)

In (8), the MT, Joseph’s advice to Pharaoh is conveyed in a varied series of verb forms, consisting of a morphologically long *yiqtol*, a morphologically short *we-yiqtol*, and a *weqatal*, all apparently with 3rd-person directive force. The SP, conversely, uses a series of *we-yiqtol* forms (some morphologically short). If SH ויחמש *wyāmāš* for MT וַיַּחֲמֵשׁ ‘and let him take one-fifth of’ is secondary, it seems to have less to do with post-classical *we-yiqtol*’s eclipsing of *weqatal* than with the perception that classical *we-yiqtol* better suited the context than *weqatal*.

There is, however, one relevant systematic change. Where the MT has a *weqatal* form of a I-y *qal* verb the SP written tradition (like its Tiberian counterpart) is frequently ambiguous, but the SP reading tradition consistently records *we-yiqtol*. Though some of the following could conceivably be attributed to interpretive differences, their sheer number shows the broad nature of the shift.

וידעו *wyiddā'u* ‘and (Egypt) will know’ || וַיִּדְעוּ (MT Exod. 7.5; see also Exod. 14.4, 18; 29.46; Num. 14.31)

ויצא *wyiṣṣā* ‘and (the people) will go out’ || וַיֵּצֵא (MT Exod. 16.4; see also Exod. 17.6; 21.2; 34.34; Lev. 14.3, 38; 16.18, 24; 25.28, 33, 41, 54; Num. 34.4, 9; Deut. 21.2; 23.11)

ויצא *wyiṣṣā* ‘and (water) will come out’ || וַיֵּצֵא (MT Exod. 17.6)

וישב *wyiššāb* ‘and he will dwell’ || וַיֵּשֶׁב (MT Lev. 14.8; Num. 32.17; 35.25)

ויירש *wyirāš* ‘and he will possess’ || וַיִּרְשֶׁ (MT Num. 27.11; see also Deut. 3.20;

ויזיפו *wyūšīfu* ‘and (the officers) will continue’ || וַיִּזְכְּרוּ (MT Deut. 20.8)

וייראו *wyirā'u* ‘and they should fear’ || וַיִּירָאוּ (MT Deut. 28.10; 31.12)⁷

Another indication that the Samaritan I-y *qal weqatāl* to *weyiqṭol* shift is part of a broad linguistic change is the corresponding Samaritan shift of I-y *qal wayyiqṭol* (Samaritan *w-yiqṭol*) to *weqatāl*, e.g., ויצר *wyāšār* ‘and (the LORD) formed’ || וַיִּצְרֶה (MT Gen. 2.7) (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 173, §2.9.8), a shift that even affected

⁷ Also possibly relevant is the case of וילדו *wyēlēdu* || וַיִּלְדוּ (MT Gen. 31.8, 8; see also Exod. 1.19; Deut. 21.15); but see Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 139, §2.4.3) on the ambiguity of the form. Perhaps also in the case of ויסף *wyāšaf* ‘and he will add’ || וַיִּסַּף (MT Lev. 22.14; see also Lev. 27.13, 15, 19, 27; Num. 32.15); see Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 139, §2.4.2; above, ch. 11, §§1.3; 2.4). The shift does not obtain in the case of וירד *wyārād* ‘and (the hail) will fall’ || וַיִּרְדֵּ (MT Exod. 9.19; see also Exod. 11.8; Num. 16.30; 34.11, 11, 12); ויצק *wyāšāq* ‘and he will pour’ || וַיִּצַק (MT Lev. 2.1; see also Lev. 14.15).

3FS forms, e.g., ותלך ותשב *wtālāk wtāšāb* ‘and she went and sat’ || ותלך ותשב (Gen. 21.16), which have developed a secondary *a-a* realisation apparently inherited from the related *qatal* form (Khan 2021, 331; cf. Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 173, §2.9.8). Together, both of these departures from classical norms that focus on I-y *qal* verbs—in comparison not just to Tiberian Hebrew, but to most Samaritan verb classes, too—exhibit the penetration of later features into the reading tradition where the written tradition was amenable to the shift.

1.4. Ben Sira

Notwithstanding the book’s relatively late provenance, the language of BS—so far as it can be assessed given the extant textual sources—is remarkably classical. Post-classical roots and lexemes abound (Dihi 2004), but the grammar, while not devoid of post-classicisms, is an impressive imitation of CBH. The poetic nature of the material doubtless contributes to its classical mien.

Indeed, the poetic nature of BS makes it difficult to detect diagnostically post-classical instances of *we-yiqtol*. In an exhaustive discussion, van Peursen (2004, 166–79) surveys *we-yiqtol* forms throughout BS’s multiple witnesses and finds CBH parallels for nearly all of them. Arguable exceptions, perhaps indicating the adoption of post-classical conventions, occur in conditional clauses:

(9) אם יסור מאחרי אשליכנו ואסגירנו לשדדים:

‘If he goes astray after this, I will cast him away **and hand him over** to robbers.’ (SirA 1v.8 = Sir. 4.19b)

- (10) אם טוב תדיע למי תטיב ויהי תקוה לטובתך:
 ‘If you do good, know to whom you are doing it, **and there will be hope** for the good that you do.’ (SirA 4v.28–29 = Sir. 12.1)
- (11) וגם אם ישמע לך ויהלך בנחת: תן לבך להתירא ממנו
 ‘And even if he shows regard for you **and walks** peacefully, commit your heart to being in fear of him.’ (SirA 5r.9 = Sir. 12.11)
- (12) אם שלך ייטיב דבריו עמך וירששך ולא יכאב לו
 ‘If you have any possessions, he will speak pleasant words to you, **and he will make you poor** and it will not grieve him (SirA 5r.27–28 = Sir. 13.5)

According to CBH syntactic norms, in place of the above *we-yiqtol* usages, one would expect *weqatal* forms, whether encoding an ancillary condition in a compound protasis or beginning a conditional apodosis (bare, clause-initial *yiqtol* would also be possible for the latter).

1.5. Rabbinic Hebrew

Entirely lacking *weqatal* (and *wayyiqtol*) except in biblical citation, RH has regular recourse to *we-yiqtol* (in addition to other alternatives) where BH has *weqatal* (Bendavid 1967–1971, II:559–60). Consider the following contrastive pairs of BH and (Tannaitic and Amoraic) RH examples:

- (13a) ...ולא יישאו עון ומרתו...
 ‘...lest they bear guilt **and die...**’ (Exod. 28.43)
- (13b) אבל אנו לא נחטא ונמות
 ‘but we will not sin **and die...**’ (Sifre Bemidbar 10.33)

(14a) עֲלֵה נַעֲלֵה וַיִּרְשְׁנוּ אֹתָהּ

‘Let us go up at once **and occupy** it’ (Num. 13.30)

(14b) וְנִלְךְ וְנִירַשׁ אֶת אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל

‘...but we will go and inherit the land of Israel.’ (Sifre Bemidbar 10.33)

(15a) וַיֹּאמֶר פָּנֵי יְלִכּוּ וְהִנְחֵתִי לָךְ:

‘And he said, “My presence will go with you, **and I will give you rest.**”’ (Exod. 33.14)

(15b) הַמַּתֵּן לִי עַד שִׁיעֲבֵרוּ פָנִים שֶׁל זַעַם וְאֲנִי־חַ לָךְ

‘Wait for me until the face of anger passes **and I will give you rest.**’ (b. Berakhot 7.1)

(16a) וְנָאֵת | עֲשׂוּ לָהֶם וְחַיּוּ וְלֹא יָמָתוּ...

‘but deal thus with them **and they will live/so that they may live** and not die...’ (Num. 4.19)

(16b) בְּנֵי בִקֵּשׁ עֲלֵיו רַחֲמִים וַיְחַיֶּה

‘my son, request mercy form him **and he will live/so that he may live**’ (b. Berakhot 34.2)

2.0. The Tiberian Reading Tradition of Classical Biblical Hebrew Texts

We now turn to the Tiberian reading tradition of CBH material, where a limited degree of the *weqatal* to *we-yiqtol* shift has been detected (Joosten 2017, 30–33). At issue here are a relatively small number of I-y *qal* verbal forms where *weqatal* morphology has arguably been secondarily updated with *we-yiqtol* vocalisation. All cases involve *we-yiqtol* forms of the verb יָרָא ‘fear’, most instances the repeated phraseology יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּרְאוּ ‘they will hear and

fear', where it is argued that the original *weqatal* reading was along the lines of *יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּרְאוּ*.

(17) ... *יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּרְאוּ*; cf. 2Q11 f1.2 *וְכָל-הָעָם יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּרְאוּ*; SP *וַיִּירָאוּ wyīrā'u*
 'And all the people will hear **and will fear...**' (Deut. 17.13)

(18) ... *יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּרְאוּ*; cf. SP *וַיִּירָאוּ wyīrā'u*
 'And the rest will hear **and will fear...**' (Deut. 19.20)

(19) ... *וְכָל-יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּרְאוּ*; cf. SP *וַיִּירָאוּ wyīrā'u*
 'And all Israel will hear **and will fear...**' (Deut. 21.21)

There is at least a modicum of subjectivity in this assessment. Could the meaning here not be something like 'they will hear so that they fear', rather than 'they will hear and fear'? True, *we-yiqtol* with final semantics is especially common after volitional forms—short/clause initial jussive *yiqtol*, imperative, cohortative—and the X-*yiqtol* order in the cases cited make it unlikely that the *יִשְׁמְעוּ* forms that precede *וַיִּרְאוּ* are jussive. Even so, final *we-yiqtol* sometimes follows non-volitional forms/clauses, e.g.,

Interrogative with agent-oriented *yiqtol*

(20) *וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו מִה-נַעֲשֶׂה לָּךְ וַיִּשְׁתַּקֵּם הַיָּם מִעֲלֵינוּ* ...
 'And they said to him: "What **shall we do** to you, **that** the sea **may quiet down** for us?" ...' (Jon. 1.11)

Conditional future *yiqtol*

(21) *וְהָאָרֶץ תִּעֲזֹב מֵהֶם וְתָרַץ אֶת-שַׁבְּתוֹתֶיהָ בְּהִשְׁמָהּ מֵהֶם* ...
 'But the land **shall be abandoned** by them **and enjoy** its Sabbaths while it lies desolate without them...' (Lev. 26.43)

Simple past *qatal*

- (22) קראתי למאהבלי המה רמוני בהני וזקני בעיר גועו כי-בקשו אכל למו וישיבו את-נפשם: ס

‘I called to my lovers, but they deceived me; my priests and elders perished in the city, for **they sought** food to **revive** their strength.’ (Lam. 1.19)

Past habitual *yiqtol*

- (23) אחר הדבר הזה לא-שב ירבעם מדרךו הרעה וישב ויעש מקצות העם בהני במות החפץ מלא את-ידו ויהי בהני במות:

‘After this thing Jeroboam did not turn from his evil way, but made priests for the high places again from among all the people. Any who wished, **he would ordain that they be** priests of the high places.’ (1 Kgs 13.33)

Nominal clause

- (24) לא איש אל ויכזב ובן-אדם ויתגחם ...

‘God is not man, that he should lie, or a son of man, that he should change his mind....’ (Num. 23.19)

One might also compare to Deut. 31.12–13, where the *yiqtol-weqatal* form of v. 12 (22) is paralleled in v. 13 (23) by a *weqatal*-infinitive construct sequence.

- (25) ...למען ישמעו ולמען ילמדו ויראו את-יהוה אלהיכם ... SP וייראו *wyir’u*

‘...that they may hear **and that they may learn to fear** the LORD your God...’ (Deut. 31.12)

(26) ...ישמעו וְלִמְדוּ לִירְאָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם...

‘(And their children who have not heard) will hear **and will learn to fear** the LORD your God...’ (Deut. 31.13)

In this pair of verses, explicit final forms—וְלִמְעַן וְלִמְדוּ in v. 12 and לִירְאָה in v. 13—are paralleled by *weqatal* forms—וְלִמְדוּ in v. 13 and וְיִרְאוּ in v. 12 (while וְיִרְאוּ is orthographically ambiguous, וְלִמְדוּ is an unequivocal *weqatal*). The point is that even in cases where a finite form can be interpreted as having final semantics, MT Deuteronomy is content with a *weqatal* (though, as we shall see, the Samaritan tradition has וייראו *wyirā'u* here).

Something in the way of circumstantial evidence may be gleaned from the ancient Hebrew and foreign language textual witnesses—though, given the semantic range of *weqatal* and allowing for orthographic ambiguity, most of their renderings cannot be considered probative regarding the identity of the form translated. The Aramaic and Syriac *yiqtol* forms are opaque. The Vulgate reads one future and two subjunctives. The relevant BDSS form in 2Q11 f1.2 (=MT Deut. 17.13), written ויראו, is equivocal. By contrast, the Samaritan forms, which are spelled with *mater yod*, are consistently and transparently *yiqtol* according to both the written and reading components of the tradition, i.e., וייראו *wyirā'u*—in line with the Tiberian reading tradition. Yet this is also the case at Deut. 31.12, example (22), against the Tiberian tradition.

The foregoing facts are subject to various interpretations. Arguably, one of the more compelling is that a form intended to be read as *weqatal* וְיִרְאוּ was secondarily reinterpreted in the Tiberian vocalisation tradition as *we-yiqtol* וְיִרְאוּ in line with trends

seen to varying degrees in Second Temple Hebrew sources. This is not surprising, as various scholars have highlighted features within the Tiberian pronunciation tradition that indicate that, while preserving Iron Age features and not immune to Byzantine and medieval developments, it substantially crystallised in the Second Temple Period.

3.0. The Tiberian Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

The obvious implication of all this is that, when it comes to internal Tiberian written-reading deviations such as these, the Tiberian reading tradition should be regarded as temporally removed from the pronunciation tradition implied by the consonantal text. This is borne out in numerous pieces of evidence, as seen throughout this monograph. Yet, as has also often been emphasised, it is not the whole story. Frequently, the Tiberian consonantal tradition itself bears witness to the very secondary features adopted that have become characteristic of the reading tradition. Consider an example relevant to the issue under examination here:

(27) וְאֶת־הָעָם צֹו לֵאמֹר אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים בְּגִבּוֹל אֶחֱיֵיכֶם בְּנֵי־עֵשָׂו הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּשֵׁעִיר

MT

וַיִּירָאוּ מִכֶּם וְנִשְׁמַרְתֶּם מְאֹד:

DSS ואת] העם צו לאמר אתם עברים בגבול אחיכם בני עשו הישב]ים בשעיר

ויראו מ[כ]ם ונשמרתם מאד

SP ואת העם צוי לאמר אתם עברים בגבול אחיכם בני עשו היושבים בשעיר

וַיִּירָאוּ (wyrā'u) מכם ונשמרתם מאד:

‘And command the people, “You are about to pass through the territory of your brothers, the people of Esau, who live in Seir; **and they will be afraid** of you. So be very careful.’

(Deut. 2.4 || 4Q35 f56.9 || SP)

Here the orthographically unambiguous Tiberian *we-yiqtol* form וַיִּירָאוּ is arguably less felicitous than *weqatal* וַיִּירָאוּ, since the meaning is not purposive ‘you are crossing into their territory... so that they fear you’, but one of mere succession, one event leading to the next. Crucially, though, given the *mater yod*, the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition are in harmony here; similar harmony characterises the written and reading components of the SP at this point. For purposes of contrast, one may compare the BDSS text 4Q35 f56.9, which has the more ambiguous spelling ויראו, perhaps (but not certainly) reflecting a *weqatal* form. If the MT form here is secondary, it shows that the *yiqtol* morphology has penetrated into not only that layer of the reading tradition reflected in the medieval vocalisation signs, but also into that reflected by the *matres lectionis*, which were presumably added earlier on, probably in the Second Temple Period.

Similarly, and of more immediate relevance, in a fourth occurrence of the וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּירָאוּ formula, in Deut. 13.12, the text reads:

(28) ... וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמְעוּ וְיִרְאוּ...

‘And all Israel will hear **and will fear...**’ (Deut. 13.12)

This case differs from the rest in that the *we-yiqtol* form ends with paragogic *nun*. While *qatal* forms with paragogic *nun* are not unknown in the MT (there are three of them: Deut. 8.3, 16; Isa. 26.16), they are more than one-hundred times less frequent than *yiqtol* forms with the same suffix. In this case, again, there is harmony between the Tiberian written and reading traditions. Either the *we-yiqtol* form here with paragogic *nun* is original or the historical depth of the secondary *we-yiqtol* analysis in the Tiberian tradition extends beyond the levels of vocalism reflected in *niqqud* and *matres* to consonantal realisation.

4.0. Conclusion

This leads us back to the three other cases of וְיִשְׁמְעוּ וְיִרְאוּ. If the apparently problematic *we-yiqtol* readings of וְיִרְאוּ and וְיִרְאוּ are rooted in the written tradition, then perhaps cases in which *we-yiqtol* וְיִרְאוּ has been seen as a secondary vocalisation are *not* deviations from the ostensible pronunciation underlying the written tradition, but reliably conserve it. There are at least three ways to interpret the evidence:

1. *We-yiqtol* in place of *weqatal* is strictly late, in which case all supposed forms—whether in the written or reading tradition—must be explained as late. This could mean anything from the late composition of the entire surrounding text, through the insertion of a late gloss, to a corruption, to the secondary

updating of the consonantal text by means of addition of a *mater* or paragogic *nun*. This option seems extreme.

2. On the other extreme, on the basis of the consonantal evidence of *we-yiqṭol* for *weqaṭal*, one might adopt the view that *all* cases of suspected interchange are acceptable CBH, so that no secondary process in line with late Hebrew trends need be entertained, except for the notion that such early instances are authentic forerunners in the vein of what would later become more established convention.

3. There is also a preferable middle path between these extremes. This involves allowing for *both* the early agreement of the Tiberian written and reading traditions on characteristically late features *and* the deviation of the reading component from the typologically earlier profile of its written counterpart in line with Second Temple developments. Whether this is analysed as the early original use of a characteristically late feature secondarily extended within the reading tradition or as a process of secondary development within the written tradition, the implication is the same: less remoteness between the written and reading components, which, even in the case of apparent secondary developments, should be seen as largely overlapping on the historical continuum.

Similarly, in the case of *we-yiqṭol* for *weqaṭal*, it is possible that a certain number of I-y *qal* forms vocalised as *we-yiqṭol* began as *weqaṭal* forms, so that there is a degree of dissonance on this point between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition. But given the consonantal testimony regarding the feature, this dissonance should not be interpreted as a chasm be-

tween the two. Obviously, linguistic continuity typifies the relationship between the written and reading traditions when it comes to the vast majority of linguistic features. But even in dissonance there is continuity. The distinction between the written and reading components is one of degree, not essence, characterised by drift along a continuum within a continually recited tradition, rather than a clean break and restart within the tradition.

CONCLUSION

This collection of research has presented twenty-five cases of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian reading tradition—seven in the Introduction and eighteen in the subsequent chapters. The argument has been twofold.

1.0. The Secondary and Late Character of Tiberian Written-reading Dissonance

First, it has been argued that the relevant cases of dissonance reflect relatively late, secondary developments of the Tiberian pronunciation tradition in line with Second Temple linguistic trends vis-à-vis its orthographic counterpart. This carries with it the implication that the pronunciation tradition, despite marked conservatism regularly safeguarding genuine Iron Age features, in large part crystallised in the Second Temple Period. It therefore occasionally manifests contemporary phenomena anachronistic for First Temple texts.

2.0. The Antiquity of Secondary Features in the Reading Tradition

Second, despite the late character of the pronunciation features involved in these cases of dissonance, it has been maintained that they do not derive from medieval or Byzantine Period developments, but are rooted in Second Temple linguistic conventions. To be sure, they often appear to continue evolutionary processes already documented in pre-exilic material, whether biblical or

epigraphic. Notwithstanding the medieval origin of the Tiberian vowel signs, the fact that the secondary features of the Tiberian pronunciation tradition reflect Second Temple linguistic developments strongly suggests that the tradition's primary features—i.e., the ones on which there is consensus between the written and reading components of the tradition—are even older. This all points to a reading tradition which, in the main, is a remarkably ancient and conservative linguistic artefact.

It is readily admitted here that the individual arguments made in the case of the features discussed in this volume are unlikely to have equal cogency. It is, however, hoped that even if certain explanations have been rejected, the combined evidence and argumentation will have been sufficient to convince even the sceptic of the major prongs of the argument. If one accepts the reality of written-reading dissonance, the secondary nature of vocalic developments in line with Second Temple conventions, and a degree of continuity between such developments and minority Iron Age features, the resulting acknowledgement of the historical antiquity of the Tiberian reading tradition should affect its perceived value for exegetical, textual, literary, and linguistic research. Allowing for the historically composite nature of the Tiberian vocalisation tradition, there is no reason to disfavour its testimony in contrast to traditions characterised by earlier written attestation. The combined evidence points to an ancient interpretive tradition that largely coalesced in the post-exilic period. The vast majority of the tradition seems reliably to preserve Iron Age features, whereas the small minority that must be considered anachronistic reflects linguistic and interpretive

trends that need be dated no later than the Second Temple Period.

In the rest of this concluding section, an attempt is made to summarise findings with regard to the principal corpora cited as representative of First and Second Temple Hebrew and to highlight certain ancillary ramifications of the research.

3.0. Linguistic Affinity between Second Temple Chronolects and the Tiberian Reading Tradition

3.1. Tiberian Late Biblical Hebrew

Though some scholars reject the diachronic import of the CBH/LBH distinction, there is no doubt that the core LBH books exhibit linguistic profiles especially marked by features characteristic of other Second Temple sources in concentrations not found in acknowledged CBH material.

The significance of LBH in the present connection centres on features common to both LBH and the Tiberian reading tradition in which both differ from the Tiberian written tradition. Such features discussed in this volume include spelling of the toponym ירושלים reflecting diphthongisation (Introduction, §3.1); univerbalisation of the proposition ל- and the infinitive construct (Introduction, §3.2); constructions of the type היום השישי instead of יום השישי (Introduction, §3.3); the nifalisation of originally *qal* *יִכְשֶׁל-כְּשֶׁל (ch. 10, §§1.1.1; 2.1.1); the shift from *qal* internal passive to *nif'al* (ch. 10, §§1.1.2; 2.2); hifilisation of the originally *qal* form נָחָה (see ch. 11, §1.1.3; 2.1); hitpaelisation of forms with

assimilated *t* (see ch. 13, §§1.1.2; 2.1); relativising *ha-* + *qaṭal* (ch. 15, §§1.1; 2.0); long *yiqṭol* (*yaqtulu*) morphology in 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, especially II-*w/y qal* and *hif'il* forms (ch. 17, §2.1).

3.2. The Dead Sea Scrolls

While the designations QH or DSSH might be understood to indicate a sort of monolithic Hebrew in use in the Judaean Desert at the turn of the epoch, the diversity of Hebrew types there has long been acknowledged (Morag 1988). At the very least, it is necessary to distinguish between BDSS Hebrew and NBDSS Hebrew (see above, ch. 6, §9.0; ch. 17, §1.1), though even this dichotomy is problematic (Hornkohl 2021b, 134, fn. 19).

3.2.1. The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Among the BDSS, it is well known that the Hebrew of 1QIsa^a stands out against the Hebrew of the rest of the manuscripts that reflect material eventually canonised as Jewish Scripture (Tov 2012, 100–10; Young 2013; Reymond 2014, 11; Rezetko and Young 2014, 138–39; Hornkohl 2016a, 1020). Despite 1QIsa^a's biblical content and style, its linguistic character—which has been described as ‘contemporised’ and ‘popular’—includes many features that stray from the classical norms reflected in MT Isaiah and 1QIsa^b in favour of acknowledged Second Temple alternatives. For this reason, it might be expected that 1QIsa^a would share many features with the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition. And, indeed, just such a scenario obtains. Consider the following list of affinities: the spelling אדני for יהוה, like

the Tiberian *qere perpetuum* 'ăḏōnāy (ch. 1, §1.0); agreement with the Tiberian *qere perpetuum* שב"ב for שג"ל (ch. 3, §1.3); the spelling לקרת || MT לקראת (ch. 5, §4.1); 2MS כה- || MT ה- (1QIsa^a 28–54 only; ch. 6, §5.1.1); 2MS תה- || MT ה- (ch. 6, §5.2.1); pielisation (ch. 12, §1.2.1); hitpaelisation (ch. 13, §1.2.1); I-y *qal we-yiqtol* for *wayyiqtol* (ch. 18, §1.2.1).

More generally, the BDSS often show affinity with the Tiberian reading tradition in terms of agreement with *qere* over *ketiv* (Introduction, §1.0 and fn. 5); realisation of יששכר (ch. 4, §2.0 [?]); 2MS כה- || MT ה- (1QIsa^a 28–54 only; ch. 6, §§5.1.1; 9.0); 2MS תה- || MT ה- (ch. 6, §5.2.1); 2/3FPL endings written נה- || MT ה- (ch. 9, §2.1); hifilisation, specifically of יש"ה (ch. 11, §1.2.1); pielisation (ch. 12, §1.2.1); hitpaelisation (ch. 13, §1.2.1); long II-w/y *qal* and *hif'il* 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms (ch. 17, §1.2.2); I-y *we-yiqtol* for *wayyiqtol* (ch. 18, §1.2.1).

Notwithstanding the foregoing lists of features in which BDSS material appears to side with the Tiberian reading tradition against the Tiberian written tradition, it should be emphasised that—with the notable exception of 1QIsa^a—the linguistic profile of the BDSS is largely consistent with standard BH as reflected in the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition. From this perspective, there is a marked difference between the linguistic profile of the BDSS and that of the NBDSS, which are evidently more representative—than even 1QIsa^a—of contemporary Second Temple language usage.

3.2.2. The Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Despite a pronounced degree of resemblance between DSSH and Tiberian BH against RH, the NBDSS exhibit far greater departure from BH than do the BDSS. This should not be surprising, since the BDSS represent copies of already traditional First Temple texts, while the NBDSS appear to be Second Temple compositions. It should come as no surprise, then, that the NBDSS share many features with the Tiberian reading tradition, including constructions of the type *יום השישי* instead of *היום השישי* (Introduction, §3.3); realisation of *יששכר* (ch. 4, §2.0 [?]); 2MS כה- || MT ק- (1QIsa^a 28–54 only; ch. 6, §5.1.2); 2MS תה- || MT ת- (ch. 6, §5.2.2); nifalisation, especially replacement of *qal* internal passive with *nif'al* (ch. 10, §1.2.2); hifilisation (ch. 11, §§1.1.3; 1.2.2); pielisation (ch. 12, §§1.0; 1.2.2); hitpaelisation (ch. 13, §1.2.2); past tense *ṭerem qatāl* for *ṭerem yiqṭol* (ch. 14, §2.1.3); long II-*w/y qal* and *hif'il* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms (ch. 17, §1.2.2); I-*y we-yiqṭol* for *wayyiqṭol* (ch. 18, §1.2.2).

3.3. Samaritan Hebrew

Like the combined Tiberian biblical written-reading tradition, the Samaritan tradition is composite, comprising a written component that, in view of its orthography, appears to reflect a somewhat later crystallisation than that of the Tiberian Torah, together with a significantly later pronunciation component. The pronunciation tradition, though not lacking in classical features, is strikingly replete with late linguistic features, especially typical of Second Temple Hebrew and Aramaic, but also including even later elements. Characteristic Second Temple linguistic features

common to both SH and the Tiberian reading tradition include univerbalisation of the proposition -ל and the infinitive construct (Introduction, §3.2); syncopation of the 3MPL gentilic ending -im < -iyyim (Introduction, §3.4); consistent replacement of the tetragrammaton with an alternative form (ch. 1, §§1.0; 2.0); *nif'al* analysis of $\text{לְרִאוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה}$ and similar (ch. 2, §§1.0; 2.0); euphemistic ב"ש for ל"ג (ch. 3, §§1.3; 2.0); 2MS תה- || MT ת- (ch. 6, §§4.0; 5.2.1); $\text{היא } \bar{i}$ || Tiberian *qere perpetuum* הוא in the Torah (ch. 8, §2.0); 2/3FPL endings written -נה || MT -ן (ch. 9, §2.1); nifaliation (ch. 10, §1.3); hifilisation (ch. 11, §1.3); pielisation (ch. 12, §1.3); hitpaelisation (ch. 13, §1.3); *ha-* + *qatal* (ch. 15, §§3.2); long II-w/y *qal* and *hif'il* 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms (ch. 17, §§1.2.2; 1.3); I-y *we-yiqtol* for *wayyiqtol* (ch. 18, 1.3).

3.4. Ben Sira

Due partially to its wisdom genre, partially to its poetic style, and partially to the archaising predilections of its author, the linguistic profile of BS is a mixture of classical, even archaic, features, especially in terms of vocabulary. Even so, there is no mistaking the book's inclusion of diagnostically late features, lexical as well as grammatical, in both its Second Temple and medieval manuscript evidence. Diachronically significant late features common to BS and the Tiberian reading tradition include the following: univerbalisation of the proposition -ל and the infinitive construct (Introduction, §3.2); syncopation of the 3MPL gentilic ending -im < -iyyim (Introduction, §3.4); היא || Tiberian *qere perpetuum* הוא in the Torah (ch. 8, §2.0); nifaliation (ch. 10, §1.4); hifilisation (ch. 11, §1.4); pielisation (ch. 12, §1.4); hitpaelisation (ch. 13,

§1.4); past tense *ṭeṣem qaṭal* for *ṭeṣem yiqṭol* (ch. 14, §2.1.4); long II-w/y *qal* and *hiṣ'il* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms (ch. 17, §1.3.1); I-y *we-yiqṭol* for *wayyiqṭol* (ch. 18, §1.4).

3.5. Rabbinic Hebrew

It has been argued that in the cases of written-reading dissonance in the combined Tiberian biblical tradition, the Masoretes were influenced in secondary pronunciations by RH (see, e.g., Blau 2018, 115, §3.5.6.3.7n, 213–14, §§4.3.4.2.2–4.3.4.2.2n). While it is difficult definitively to disprove such a notion, several considerations combine to show that such an extreme view is unwarranted. First, if RH influenced the Masoretes, it did so very sparingly, since in most distinguishing features, BH and RH remain distinct. Second, as has already been indicated, since in its departures from the Tiberian written tradition, the Tiberian reading tradition resembles not just RH, but several late traditions and corpora, including the combined Tiberian LBH written-reading tradition, there is no reason to insist specifically on RH influence on the Tiberian reading component. Finally, as emphasised below, secondary features standardised in the Tiberian pronunciation tradition often find precedent in minority features in the Tiberian CBH written tradition and/or in Iron Age epigraphy. This implies that many characteristic Second Temple Hebrew features constitute standardisations of earlier features no matter the Second Temple tradition or corpus in which their extension took place, including the Tiberian reading tradition and RH.

Even so, it would be misleading to deny the reality of significant diachronic affinity between RH and the Tiberian pronun-

ciation tradition, though this should not necessarily be considered a result artificial RH influence on the Masoretes. Salient features discussed in this volume include univerbalisation of the proposition -ל and the infinitive construct (Introduction, §3.2); syncopation of the 3MPL gentilic ending $\text{-im} < \text{-iyyim}$ (Introduction, §3.4); *qere* euphemisms (§§1.1; 1.3); the vocalisation לְקָרְאָה (ch. 5, §§1.0; 2.0); 2MS -תה || MT -תְ (ch. 6, §4.0); pielisation (ch. 12, §1.5); הִיא || Tiberian *qere perpetuum* הִיא in the Torah (ch. 8, §§1.0; 2.0); 2/3FPL endings written -נה || MT -נְ (ch. 9, §2.2); nifalisation (ch. 10, §1.5); hifilisation (ch. 11, §1.5); pieli-sation (ch. 12, §1.5); hitpaelisation (ch. 13, §1.5); *I-y qal we-yiqtol* for *wayyiqtol* (ch. 18, §1.5).

4.0. Iron Age Epigraphy and the Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

4.1. Iron Age Epigraphy

It has been argued that all of the linguistic features discussed in this volume are secondary pronunciation features vis-à-vis the relevant written tradition alternative. Occasionally, however, there is evidence of the pronunciation feature as a minority Iron Age epigraphic alternative. This occurs in the case of syncopation of the 3MPL gentilic ending $\text{-im} < \text{-iyyim}$ (Introduction, §3.4); 3MS possessive suffix on plurals -ו -āw for polythongal -יו (Introduction, §3.6); the spelling לִקְרַת *liqrat* [?] || MT לְקָרְאָה (ch. 5, §4.2); 2MS -כה || MT -תְ ch. 6, §7.0); 2MS -תה || MT -תְ (ch. 6, §7.0); nifalisation (ch. 10, §3.1); hitpaelisation (ch. 13, §3.1).

4.2. The Tiberian Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

The late, secondary features which the Tiberian reading tradition standardised as divergences from the corresponding written tradition also sometimes appear as minority features in the Tiberian CBH written tradition. Consider the following cases discussed in this volume: univerbation of the proposition -ל and the infinitive construct (Introduction, §3.2); יהוה אדני (ch. 1, §2.0; 2MS כה- || MT ה- (ch. 6, §2.0); 2MS תה- || MT ה- (ch. 6, §2.0); nifalisation (ch. 10, §3.0); hifilisation (ch. 11, §3.0); pielisation (ch. 12, §3.0); hitpaelisation (ch. 13, §3.0); past tense *terem qatal* for *terem yiqtol* (ch. 14, §§2.3; 4.0); *ha- + qatal* (ch. 15, §§1.2; 3.2); long II-*w/y qal* and *hif'il* 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms (ch. 17, §2.2.1); I-*y qal we-yiqtol* for *wayyiqtol* (ch. 18, §3.0).

5.0. Further Ramifications of the Study

Various combinations of data gathered in the foregoing studies support a number of hypotheses, each of which merits further investigation.

5.1. Diachronic Diversity within Classical Biblical Hebrew: The Torah versus the Rest

The data pertinent to several features discussed in this volume are interpretable as evidence of diachronic development within Tiberian CBH, especially, between the Torah and the rest of the CBH corpus. However such a linguistic disparity is most convincingly explained—whether as evidence of the actual linguistic antiquity of the Tiberian Pentateuchal traditions vis-à-vis the

traditions in other CBH material or as a result of early consolidation and careful preservation of the Torah's linguistic profile relative to other CBH texts¹—it is clear that in terms of select features, the Pentateuch is characterised by striking linguistic conservatism. Such features include 3FS אָהָה , which, it has been argued, may well reflect an early phonetic reality standardised as אָהָה in the rest of the Hebrew Bible (ch. 8, §3.0), but as אָהָה in the Torah (ch. 8, §2.0); hifilisation of certain *qal* II-y verbs, most notably אָהָה 'add, continue' (ch. 11, §§1.1.3; 2.4), the preservation of archaic *hif'il*-like *qal* forms (ch. 11, §2.4), and hifilisation in general (ch. 11, §3.0); short rather than long or pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms (ch. 17, §1.4.3).

Scholars who accept a diachronic distinction between CBH and LBH do not generally attempt finer gradations. Though Hornkohl (2013a; 2016) has argued for the heuristic value of TBH, CBH is generally considered a single broad chronolect that includes regional, social, and genre diversity. More rarely, it is suggested that CBH can usefully be divided into chronological phases, i.e., CBH¹ and CBH² (Elitzur 2015; 2018a; 2018b; 2019; 2022). A previous study lending support to such an approach is Hornkohl's (2013a, 83–91) analysis of proper names ending in the theophoric element אָהָה -. There it is observed, *inter alia*, that “The books of the Torah and Joshua present no examples of names with either ending, apparently reflecting a time before the use of such names was prevalent” and “To be sure, the Pentateuch has only two names containing any form of the tetragram-

¹ See above, ch. 17, §§1.4.2–3, on the need for a nuanced approach to complex data.

maton, in both cases a prefix: יהושע ‘Joshua’ and יִזְבֵּד ‘Jochabed’” (Hornkohl 2013a, 86 and fn. 35). It would seem that the onomastic tradition preserved in the Pentateuch is consistent with pre-monarchical times. The linguistic conservatism that distinguishes the language of the Torah from that of the rest of CBH may similarly be construed as evidence of the preservation of genuine linguistic antiquity within the tradition. Alternatively, it may be that the classical linguistic profile of the Torah was kept especially pristine, whereas the formerly more classical profile of other CBH material was allowed to drift in the direction of LBH, though it never reached the level of concentration of late features characteristic of the acknowledged LBH books. Whatever the explanation, there is a palpable difference between the CBH of the Torah and that of the Prophets and Writings.

5.2. Suppletion and Orthographic Constraints on Linguistic Development within the Tiberian Reading Tradition

In the above treatments on movement between verbal stems (chs 10–13), suppletive paradigms are highlighted as a common result of linguistic evolution and the resultant written-reading dissonance. Again and again, some or even most of a given verb’s orthographic forms amenable to secondary interpretation shifted *binyanim*, whereas other instances were excluded from the shift because their written forms were unsuitable to the new stem. One of the clearest examples is the well-known case of *nif'al-qaḥ* פָּגַע-פָּגַע ‘approach’, whose principal Tiberian biblical forms are given below in Table 1 (see also above, ch. 10, §2.1.2).

Table 1: Tiberian biblical forms of the suppletive *nif^cal-*qal** verb *נָשָׂא-נָשָׂא* ‘approach’

	<i>nif^cal</i>	<i>qal</i>
suffix conjugation	נָשָׂא	—
participle	נָשָׂא	—
imperative	—	נָשָׂא/נָשָׂא/נָשָׂא/נָשָׂא/נָשָׂא
prefix conjugation	—	נָשָׂא
infinitive construct	—	נָשָׂא/נָשָׂא(לְ)

It is assumed that the verb was originally consistently G-stem (as it remains in SH; see above, ch. 10, §1.3.6) and was refashioned as *nif^cal* where possible in line with its intransitive semantics, for which *nif^cal* morphology was considered a better fit.

The consistently suppletive biblical paradigm invites scrutiny. One question involves the extent to which the unambiguous *qal* spellings effectively prevented more extensive *qal* > *nif^cal* evolution. In other words, does the Tiberian biblical suppletion reflect genuine language use? Or is it an artificial arrangement relevant specifically to the Hebrew Bible’s written-reading dissonance? There is no definitive answer, but it is striking that the NBDSS attest the *nif^cal* infinitive construct *בִּהְנַגֵּשׁוּ* ‘when he approaches’ (4Q512 f40–41.2; see above, ch. 10, §1.2.1). This may indicate that nifalisation of the verb in question was more extensive than indicated by Tiberian BH, i.e., where not anchored by unambiguous *qal* orthography, Second Temple Hebrew exhibited greater or even full nifalisation of this verb. Even so, as Hornkohl (2021a, 14–15) observes, “ancient Hebrew sources never present the prefix conjugation *נָשָׂא**, the existence of which would confirm the verb’s wholesale nifalisation.”

In other cases, it seems clearer that suppletion in the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition reflects an artificial sit-

uation unrepresentative of any genuine chronoclect. Consider the case of the suppletive *pi^{cc}el-qal* verb קָטַף-קָטַף . In this instance, the entire paradigm is *pi^{cc}el* except for the active participle, which is *qal*, and the infinitive absolute, which is equally analysable as *pi^{cc}el* or *qal*.

Table 2: Tiberian biblical forms of the suppletive *pi^{cc}el-qal* verb קָטַף-קָטַף ‘refuse’

	<i>pi^{cc}el</i>	<i>qal</i>
suffix conjugation	קָטַף	—
prefix conjugation	קָטַףְ	—
participle	—	קָטַף/קָטַףִּים
infinitive absolute	קָטַף	

In this case, all biblical spellings are interpretable as *qal*, while the pronunciation tradition reflects a shift to *pi^{cc}el* where permitted by the orthography. It should also be noted that, on the assumption of originally *qal* stative *qātēl* morphology, the extant vocalisations of the MS participle and the infinitive absolute, both קָטַף , can be considered faithful preservations of ancient morphology (the vocalisation of the MPL participle קָטַףִּים , by contrast, is appropriate for neither G- nor D-stem). Clearly, the suffix and prefix conjugation spellings might well also reflect original *qal* forms.

But if the forms of the written component of the Tiberian biblical tradition point to original *qal* morphology, SH and RH confirm the pielisation seen in the pronunciation component of the Tiberian biblical tradition (ch. 12, §2.1). Again, the question may be asked: does the Tiberian biblical suppletion reflect an authentic linguistic situation or is it an artificial combination of diachronic snapshots? While in any given case of linguistic evolu-

tion there must be intermediate stages of development characterised by mixed usage, it is not clear that the Tiberian biblical suppletion should be so explained. Since there is no unequivocal orthographic evidence of *pi^{el}* פִּיֵּל until the Mishna, it may well be that D-stem analysis of the verb is entirely foreign to the Tiberian BH written tradition. But this remains unverifiable, since Tiberian LBH lacks participial forms that might unambiguously (dis)confirm the antiquity of the process of pielisation.

Even beyond BH, biblical orthography seems partially to have anchored ancient Hebrew and prevented fuller evolution. Even in post-biblical Hebrew, where it might be expected that biblical spelling relics would no longer influence language use, the biblical linguistic tradition still exerts force. Consider the very early pielisation of דַּבֵּר 'speak', which left only a small residue of *qal* infinitival and active and passive participial forms (ch. 12, §3.1). While one might expect that beyond BH, such residual *qal* forms would be completely eclipsed, use of the active participle continues in BS, the NBDSS, Tannaitic RH, and Amoraic RH, despite the extensive pielisation of the verb in all of these traditions. Indeed, the active and passive participles continue to be used in Modern Hebrew. Evidently, the existence of clearcut archaisms in the Tiberian written tradition and the prestige of the mixed Tiberian written-reading tradition resulted in the conservation of linguistic relics that would probably otherwise have been levelled in forms of post-biblical ancient Hebrew.

5.3. Diversity within the Tiberian Reading Tradition

Not unrelated to the topic of the preceding section, it might be assumed that the Tiberian reading tradition would exhibit uniformity wherever possible. That is, outside of ancient orthographic forms not amenable to secondary reclothing, it would be reasonable to expect a homogenous and level reading tradition. But such consistency does not obtain. Consider the case of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Tiberian Torah (ch. 17, §2.2.2). In view of the prevalence of short spellings of 1st-person forms in the Torah, 1CS and 1CPL might be vocalised similarly. But such is not the case. 1CPL forms are vocalised with short morphology in accord with their orthography, whereas in the case of 1CS forms long vocalisation is regularly imposed upon short orthography.

Similar diversity with the Tiberian reading tradition is noticeable in the case of 2MS and 2/3FPL endings (chs 6 and 9). Against the backdrop of standard vowel-final morphology, the Tiberian pronunciation tradition also testifies to minority consonant-final realisations.

The above diversity indicates that the Tiberian pronunciation was not simply a monolithic tradition mechanically wedded to the corresponding written tradition. Rather, each component of the tradition itself reflected a complex and varied linguistic reality, each component influenced the other, and their merger resulted in a layered and multifarious combination of great variety and depth.²

² See Khan (2020, I:69–85) for a balanced discussion of heterogeneity within the Tiberian reading tradition, including different perspectives on diachrony.

5.4. Majority and Minority Features in Classical Biblical Hebrew

A major thrust of the present volume involves the claim that many late secondary departures of the Tiberian reading tradition find precedent in minority CBH features. In other words, rare CBH features at some point became dominant in the Tiberian tradition and were standardised at the expense of earlier dominant features. It is worth stating explicitly the corollary of this statement, namely, that by dint of including minority features among majority features, CBH was inclusive of a great deal of diversity.

As an example, consider the case of standard CBH past tense *ṭeṣem yiqṭol* versus minority CBH past tense *ṭeṣem qaṭal* (ch. 14). One, perhaps two, of the exceptional past tense *ṭeṣem qaṭal* cases are explicable as secondary revocalisations. But the other two are evidently genuine. And their genuineness calls into question the necessity of explaining away the cases that can be attributed to secondary processes (see above, ch. 14, §3.0). It is admittedly tempting to formulate a theory capable of accounting for all non-standard features, but some allowance must be made for simple synchronic linguistic variety attributable to no factor beyond human inconsistency.

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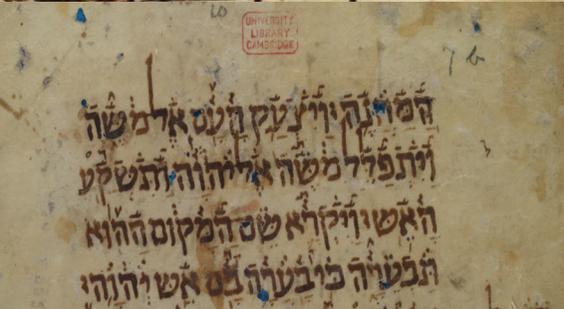
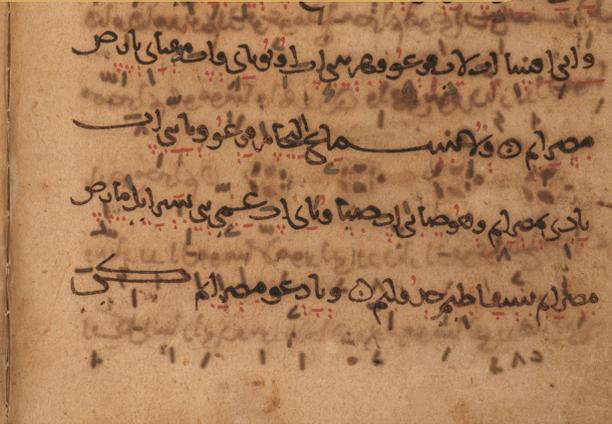
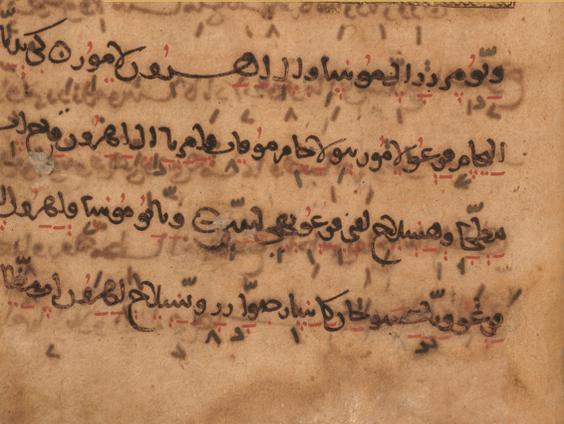
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