

**Rezetko, Robert ; Young, Ian**

*Historical linguistics and biblical hebrew:  
steps toward an integrated approach*

**Documento de investigación**

**Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente. Departamento de Historia. Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Políticas y de la Comunicación**

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HISTORICAL  
LINGUISTICS &  
BIBLICAL HEBREW

*Steps Toward an Integrated  
Approach*

Robert Rezetko and Ian Young

Ancient Near East Monographs – Monografías sobre el Antiguo Cercano Oriente

Society of Biblical Literature

Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (UCA)

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS  
AND BIBLICAL HEBREW



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HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS  
AND BIBLICAL HEBREW

Steps Toward an Integrated Approach

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS  
AND BIBLICAL HEBREW  
Steps Toward an Integrated Approach

Robert Rezetko  
Ian Young

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Dedicated to Martin Ehrensvärd  
with gratitude for a duodecad  
of collaboration and friendship

*In the beginner's mind there are many possibilities,  
but in the expert's there are few.*

Shunryu Suzuki



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Note to the Reader: One table (6.4) and eighteen figures (7.2; chapters 8–9, *passim*) in this volume include non-black/white colors, and we ask that the reader of the printed edition refer to the digital edition in order to fully appreciate these color graphics.

## Acknowledgments

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Robert Rezetko, Edinburgh  
Ian Young, Sydney  
August 2014

## List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Freedman, D. N., ed. <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABH	Archaic Biblical Hebrew
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
AbrNSup	Abr-Nahrain: Supplement Series
ANES	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies: Supplement Series
AO	Der Alte Orient
AOS	American Oriental Series
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AV	Authorized Version
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBS	Ben Hayyim, Z. <i>The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary</i> (Hebrew). Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language. Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language and Shrine of the Book, 1973.
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHS	Elliger, K. and W. Rudolph, eds. <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . 4th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990.
BHSCT	Young, I., ed. <i>Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology</i> . JSOTSup 369. London: T&T Clark, 2003.
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>

- BIOSCS* *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
- BKAT* *Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament*
- BM* *Beit Mikra*
- BurH* *Buried History*
- BZAW* *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- CahRB* *Cahiers de la Revue biblique*
- CBET* *Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology*
- CBH* *Classical Biblical Hebrew*
- CBQ* *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
- CBR* *Currents in Biblical Research*
- CEEC* *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*  
(<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/domains/CEEC.html>)
- CILT* *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*
- CLIP* *Corpus Linguistics and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Language*
- Concise DCH* *Clines, D. J. A., ed. The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009.*
- CTVA* *Cross-Textual Variable Analysis*
- DBH* *Miller-Naudé, C. and Z. Zevit, eds. Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew. LSAWS 8. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012.*
- DCH* *Clines, D. J. A., ed. The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew. 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011.*
- DJD* *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. 40 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955–2010.*
- DSD* *Dead Sea Discoveries*
- DSS* *Dead Sea Scrolls*
- EBH* *Early Biblical Hebrew*
- EHLL* *Khan, G., ed. Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2013.*
- ELL* *Brown, K., ed. Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. 14 vols. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Elsevier Science, 2006.*
- EModE* *Early Modern English*
- ErIsr* *Eretz-Israel*
- FRLANT* *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
- GKC* *Kautzsch, E., ed. and rev. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. Translated and revised by A. E. Cowley. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.*
- HALOT* *Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, eds. The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000.*

<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
<i>HSK</i>	Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft
<i>HSM</i>	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HSS</i>	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEngL</i>	<i>Journal of English Linguistics</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JL</i>	<i>Journal of Linguistics</i>
<i>JM</i>	Joüon, P. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . Translated and revised by T. Muraoka. <i>Subsidia biblica</i> 27. 2d ed. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2006.
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JPS</i>	Jewish Publication Society Version
<i>JSJSup</i>	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSPSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KEHAT</i>	Kurzgefasste exegetische Handbuch zum Alten Testament
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version
<i>LAEME</i>	<i>A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English</i> ( <a href="http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html">http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html</a> )
<i>LALME</i>	<i>A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</i> ( <a href="http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html">http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html</a> )
<i>LBH</i>	Late Biblical Hebrew
<i>LDBT</i>	Young, I., R. Rezetko, and M. Ehrensverd. <i>Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts, Volume 1: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems, Volume 2: A Survey of Scholarship, a New Synthesis and a Comprehensive Bibliography</i> . BibleWorld. London: Equinox, 2008.
<i>Lesh</i>	<i>Leshonenu</i>

LHBOTS	Library Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
<i>LingI</i>	<i>Linguistic Inquiry</i>
<i>LS</i>	<i>Louvain Studies</i>
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
<i>LSoc</i>	<i>Language in Society</i>
<i>LVC</i>	<i>Language Variation and Change</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MdB	Le Monde de la Bible
ME	Middle English
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
ModE	Modern English
MT	Masoretic Text
MUTUEP	Münchener Universitätsschriften Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie
NAB	New American Bible
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	VanGemenen, W. A., ed. <i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> . 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OE	Old English
OL	Old Latin
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PCH	Peripheral Classical Hebrew
<i>QC</i>	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
QH	Qumran Hebrew
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RH	Rabbinic Hebrew
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBH	Standard Biblical Hebrew
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLTCS	Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Studies

SCH	Standard Classical Hebrew
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
SEMLL	Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SLang</i>	<i>Studies in Language</i>
<i>SN</i>	<i>Studia Neophilologica</i>
SOTSM	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
SRSIK	Studien zur romanischen Sprachwissenschaft und interkulturellen Kommunikation
SSLL	Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Syr.	Syriac Peshitta
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	Kittel, G. and G. Friedrich, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
<i>TDOT</i>	Botterweck, G. J., H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Translated by J. T. Willis, D. E. Green, G. W. Bromiley, and D. W. Stott. 15 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006.
TEL	Topics in English Linguistics
Tg.	Targum
TiLSM	Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs
<i>TLOT</i>	Jenni, E. and C. Westermann, eds. <i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated by M. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997.
TNK	JPS Tanakh
VA	Variationist Analysis
<i>VOT</i>	Andersen, F. I. and A. D. Forbes. <i>The Vocabulary of the Old Testament</i> . Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1992.
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
Vulg.	Latin Vulgate
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WO	Waltke, B. K. and M. O'Connor. <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> . Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>

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*Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*

*ZAH*

*Zeitschrift für Althebräistik*

*ZAW*

*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. BACKGROUND

A convenient point to begin telling the story behind this book is in the 1990s with the so-called “maximalist” and “minimalist” (or “traditionalist” and “revisionist”) controversy.<sup>1</sup> It was then that we saw the publication of writings by Knauf,<sup>2</sup> Davies,<sup>3</sup> and Cryer,<sup>4</sup> which in one way or another looked to undermine the conventional linguistic chronology of preexilic Early (or Classical or Standard) Biblical Hebrew (EBH, CBH, or SBH) developing into postexilic Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). To these, Ehrensverd<sup>5</sup> and Hurvitz<sup>6</sup> tried to offer strong rebuttals, emphasizing the relevance of external linguistic controls, such as the nature of the language of monarchic-era inscriptions and the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS). But these only managed to intensify the debate rather than resolve it, which in turn led to the publication of a pivotal collection of essays in a book edited by Young.<sup>7</sup> The contributors later became known as,

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<sup>1</sup> Before this time, in the 1970s and 1980s and earlier, arguments over the history of Biblical Hebrew centered mainly on the nature and date of the Priestly material in the Pentateuch.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Knauf, “War ‘Biblich-Hebräisch’ eine Sprache?,” *ZAH* 3 (1990): 11–23.

<sup>3</sup> P. R. Davies, *In Search of ‘Ancient Israel’* (2d ed.; JSOTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 97–101.

<sup>4</sup> F. H. Cryer, “The Problem of Dating Biblical Hebrew and the Hebrew of Daniel,” in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and Its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1994), 185–98.

<sup>5</sup> M. Ehrensverd, “Once Again: The Problem of Dating Biblical Hebrew,” *SJOT* 11 (1997): 29–40.

<sup>6</sup> A. Hurvitz, “The Historical Quest for ‘Ancient Israel’ and the Linguistic Evidence of the Hebrew Bible: Some Methodological Observations,” *VT* 47 (1997): 301–15.

<sup>7</sup> I. Young, ed., *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (JSOTSup 369; London: T&T Clark, 2003).

in the words of Zevit, “consensus scholars” and “challengers.”<sup>8</sup> But the dialogue did not end there either. It continued in three sessions of meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Antonio (2004), Philadelphia (2005), and Vienna (2007), and the proceedings were published in the journal *Hebrew Studies*<sup>9</sup> and in a book edited by Ben Zvi and others.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd who had unexpectedly abandoned the ship of the “consensus scholars” while descending Mt. Scopus in the late 1990s, wrote the two-volume work *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts (LDBT)*.<sup>11</sup> Our aim was to review and critique previous scholarship on the linguistic dating of biblical writings, and also to propose, on the basis of many case studies, a new perspective on the language of Biblical Hebrew (BH): not only is the linguistic dating of biblical writings unfeasible, but the distribution of linguistic data in the Masoretic Text (MT) of the Hebrew Bible suggests that EBH and LBH are better explained in general by a model of co-existing styles of literary Hebrew throughout the biblical period. It goes without saying that our argument in *LDBT* has not convinced everyone. Nevertheless our co-authored books provoked a second series of interchanges in another five sessions of meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature in New Orleans (2009) and Atlanta (2010). The proceedings of those sessions, and some additional contributions, have been published in a book edited by Miller-Naudé and Zevit.<sup>12</sup> At the same time that book was being put together, Hornkohl and Kim

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<sup>8</sup> Z. Zevit, review of I. Young, ed., *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, *RBL* 8 (2004) (<http://www.bookreviews.org>).

<sup>9</sup> *HS* 46 (2005): 321–76; 47 (2006): 83–210.

<sup>10</sup> E. Ben Zvi, D. V. Edelman, and F. H. Polak, eds., *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics and Language Relating to Persian Israel* (Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 5; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> I. Young, R. Rezetko, and M. Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts, Volume 1: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems, Volume 2: A Survey of Scholarship, a New Synthesis and a Comprehensive Bibliography* (BibleWorld; London: Equinox, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit, eds., *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* (LSAWS 8; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012). The editors acknowledge that the impetus for the conference sessions and collection of articles was *LDBT* (C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit, “Preface,” in *DBH*, xi). There were five sessions, not four as stated by the editors in the preface, which were co-sponsored by the Society of Biblical Literature and the National Association of Professors of Hebrew, and there were twenty speakers: 2009: two sessions, nine presentations (Zevit, Drescher, Naudé, and Holmstedt; Polak, Cook, Forbes, Paul, and Joosten); 2010: three sessions, eleven presentations (Bar-Asher Siegal, Ehrensverd, Roger Good [not included in *DBH*], and Notarius; Rezetko [not submitted to *DBH*], David Emanuel [not included in *DBH*], Bloch, and Cohen; Pat-El, Young [not submitted to *DBH*], and Hurvitz).

completed and published Ph.D. dissertations related to the topic.<sup>13</sup> It is clear that *LDBT* has kicked up a lot of dust among Hebraists and biblicalists.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of its historical precursors, it is crucial that we state clearly and emphatically that *the core of the present book is not an extension or defense of LDBT's main ideas or a rejoinder to the responses to LDBT.*<sup>15</sup> *LDBT* was

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<sup>13</sup> A. D. Hornkohl, "The Language of the Book of Jeremiah and the History of the Hebrew Language" (Hebrew; Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 2011), published as idem, *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition* (SSLL 74; Leiden: Brill, 2014); D.-H. Kim, "The Use of Linguistic Evidence in the Dating of Biblical Hebrew Texts: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011), published as idem, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation of the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (VTSup 156; Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Many have interacted with the books, praising or criticizing, agreeing or disagreeing, sometimes misunderstanding or misrepresenting the content or argumentation. Leaving private emails to the side, we are aware of well over one-hundred sources of interaction, including conference sessions, course syllabi, personal blogs, discussion groups and mailing lists (Ancient Near East 2, Biblical Studies, B-Hebrew), online journals (*The Bible and Interpretation*), M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations, journal articles and books, ongoing theses and dissertations, and other research projects underway. Aside from brief entries in journal announcements and booklists (*DTT*, *JSOT*, *ZAW*, *ZBG*), we are aware of the following full-scale reviews: S. Holst, *SJOT* 24 (2010): 145–48; J. Joosten, *Babel und Bibel* 6 (2012): 535–42; M. Wang, *OTE* 24 (2011): 533–46; and Z. Zevit, "Not-So-Random Thoughts on Linguistic Dating and Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew," in *DBH*, 455–89. Hendel interacts with *LDBT* in an informal context: R. Hendel, "Unhistorical Hebrew Linguistics: A Cautionary Tale," *The Bible and Interpretation* (September 2011) (<http://www.bibleinterp.com/opeds/hen358022.shtml>). Forbes focuses on *LDBT*'s test of accumulation: A. D. Forbes, "The Diachrony Debate: Perspectives from Pattern Recognition and Meta-Analysis," *HS* 53 (2012): 7–42. As for the criticisms, the most frequent ones are that *LDBT* (supposedly) is anti-diachronic in its outlook, lacks or abuses historical linguistic theory and method, misrepresents or exaggerates the fluidity of language during the Hebrew Bible's long history of composition and transmission, and has a problematic explanation related to "style"; and then there are various sorts of cherry picking, red herring, straw man, and *ad hominem* arguments. On the other hand, it is unfortunate that some major studies proceed as if there has been no controversy at all in recent decades, or pretend that *LDBT* had never been published (cf. the remark in Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 457). Two recent examples that proceed silently or dismissively are O. Cohen, *The Verbal System in Late Biblical Hebrew* (trans. A. Aronsky; HSS; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013); W. M. Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origins through the Rabbinic Period* (AYBRL; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> For our replies to some of the writings mentioned above, see appendix 3, and M. Ehrensverd, "Diachronic Change in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," in *DBH*, 181–92; R. Rezetko, review of R. M. Wright, *Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-Exilic Date of the Yahwistic Source*, *JTS* 60 (2009): 605–9; idem, "What Happened to the Book of

principally a book about the *linguistic dating* of Biblical Hebrew *texts* (or *writings*).<sup>16</sup> This book is about the *historical linguistics* of Biblical Hebrew

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Samuel in the Persian Period and Beyond?," in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics and Language Relating to Persian Israel* (ed. E. Ben Zvi, D. V. Edelman, and F. H. Polak; Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 5; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 237–52; idem, "The Spelling of 'Damascus' and the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts," *SJOT* 24 (2010): 110–28; idem, "Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew: Review of an Approach from the Perspective of Paraleipomenon" (review-essay of R. B. Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*), *HS* 52 (2011): 397–409; idem, "Evaluating a New Approach to the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts" (review-essay of D.-H. Kim, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation of the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*), *JHS* 13 (2013) (<http://www.jhsonline.org>); idem, "The Qumran Scrolls of the Book of Judges: Literary Formation, Textual Criticism, and Historical Linguistics," *JHS* 13 (2013) (<http://www.jhsonline.org>); idem, "The (Dis)Connection between Textual and Linguistic Developments in the Book of Jeremiah: Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism Challenges Biblical Hebrew Historical Linguistics," in *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism* (ed. R. F. Person, Jr. and R. Rezetko; SBLAIL; Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming); R. Rezetko, I. Young, and M. Ehrensvärd, "A Very Tall 'Cautionary Tale': A Response to Ron Hendel," *The Bible and Interpretation* (September 2011) (<http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/rez358028.shtml>); I. Young, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Qumran Peshet Habakkuk," *JHS* 8 (2008) (<http://www.jhsonline.org>); idem, "Is the Prose Tale of Job in Late Biblical Hebrew?," *VT* 59 (2009): 606–29; idem, "What Is 'Late Biblical Hebrew'?" in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics and Language Relating to Persian Israel* (ed. E. Ben Zvi, D. V. Edelman, and F. H. Polak; Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 5; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 265–80; idem, "Collectives: Biblical Hebrew," in *EHLL* 1:477–79; idem, "'Loose' Language in IQIsa<sup>a</sup>," in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown* (ed. S. Tzoref and I. Young; Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 20; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), 89–112; idem, "Patterns of Linguistic Forms in the Masoretic Text: The Preposition ׀ 'From'," in *Interested Readers: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David J. A. Clines* (ed. J. K. Aitken, J. M. S. Clines, and C. M. Maier; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 385–400; idem, "The Greek Loanwords in the Book of Daniel," in *Greek through the Ages* (ed. T. V. Evans and J. Aitken; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

<sup>16</sup> Several important clarifications in *LDBT* in this regard are often overlooked by our critics: "[W]e have limited the scope of our work to linguistic dating of biblical texts. We will not say much about the relative dating of linguistic features, or linguistic change, except when it pertains to the dating of the texts" (*LDBT* 1:4); "Note that historical linguistics, rather than the dating of texts, is much more commonly concerned with the relative dating of linguistic features, i.e. linguistic change, and the mechanisms of such change..." (*LDBT* 1:61 n. 32); and of course we did not deny language variation and (ongoing) change in ancient Hebrew: "It is an axiom of linguistics that languages change over time" (*LDBT* 2:94). Again we refer the reader to appendix 3 where we discuss some misunderstandings and misrepresentations of *LDBT*.

*language (linguistic forms and uses)*. The framework of *LDBT* was the marginal discipline of “linguistic dating of texts” as practiced by some Hebraists and biblicists. The framework of this book is historical linguistics, a major area of research in the humanities and social sciences that is applied to countless premodern and modern languages, ranging from Akkadian in ancient Iraq to Zuni in modern New Mexico. For reasons we discuss in chapter 2 these different fields of research, linguistic dating and historical linguistics, are altogether different topics and they are based on completely different theoretical and methodological foundations. The present book does, however, develop in detail several of the ancillary matters in *LDBT*. First we summarize those matters and others which together constitute the *central issues* of this book (1.2). Then we describe the *specific objectives* of the monograph (1.3). Finally we present the new terminology we use for describing the broad contours of language variation in ancient Hebrew (1.4).

## 1.2. ISSUES

We should begin the discussion of central concepts and practices which lie at the core of this book by underlining several matters that are not in doubt or under consideration. First, along with many Hebraists and biblicists we acknowledge the literary antiquity and complexity of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>17</sup> The writings that make up the Hebrew Bible have their roots in at least the early monarchic period in the early first millennium B.C.E., and the long and complicated history of production, which involved the telling, writing, editing, and copying of the biblical stories, lasted until early in the Common Era. Second, ancient Hebrew, spoken and written, was not a static entity that never changed. “All languages change all the time (except dead ones). Language change is just a fact of life; it cannot be prevented or avoided.”<sup>18</sup> Campbell’s pronouncement is equally true for ancient Hebrew. And there is no doubt in our minds that the history of Hebrew is reflected in the Hebrew Bible. Third, the theories and methods of contemporary historical linguistics can and should be applied to ancient Hebrew in general and the language of the Hebrew Bible in particular. And it is precisely here, in the application of historical linguistics to the language of biblical writings, where this book seeks to make headway. We believe, however, that progress will come only on the heels of thoughtful and thorough consideration, in a historical linguistic framework, of key theoretical and methodological issues and questions such as those that follow.

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<sup>17</sup> See, for example, D. M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>18</sup> L. Campbell, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (3d ed.; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 3.

*Objective.* What is the normal objective of diachronic linguistic research? Is it descriptive or prescriptive? Is its focus on linguistic description or linguistic dating? What are the differences between historical linguistics and linguistic dating? What circumstances would there have to be for the prescriptive undertaking of linguistic dating to be possible?

*Sources.* What counts as evidence in historical linguistics? What are the inherent limitations of using old writings as sources of data in historical linguistic analysis? What problems are introduced when the sources of data are non-authentic, composite, and/or unsituated in time and place? What importance do historical linguists give to the evaluation of the quantity and quality of the sources of the data? How much does the nature of the sources matter? Do all sources have equal value? Does it matter whether the sources of data are literary or non-literary (documentary)? What is the normal attitude of historical linguists toward literary writings and religious literature in particular? To what degree are literary writings amenable to historical linguistic analysis? How much attention should be paid to the text type, genre, degree of poeticality and/or orality, and so on, of the sources? What is the place of philology in historical linguistic theory and method? And so on.

*Variation.* What is language variation? What kinds of variation occur in language? What extra-linguistic/independent factors condition language variation? What is the difference between stable, unstable, and stabilized language variation? How can language variation in particular writings and corpora of writings be empirically defined in terms of quantity and quality? How important is it to control for dialect, text type, genre, and other parameters in studies of language variation? What is the relationship between language variation in speech and language variation in writing? To what degree do written sources, especially literary sources, constrain language variation? What are reliable sample sizes and token frequencies for analyses of language variation? How does language variation in individual speakers/writers relate to language variation in groups of speakers/writers? What is language change? What is the difference between language “change,” “innovation,” “diffusion,” and related terminology? What kinds of change occur in language? What is the difference between conscious and unconscious language change and why does it matter? What is the relationship between language variation and language change? And so on.

*Periodization.* What is a language period(s) (or phase, stage, state)? Is the idea of a language period even valid? How can a language period be isolated? What set of linguistic facts should exist in order to establish empirically a language period? What degree of linguistic heterogeneity is acceptable to be able to continue to talk about a language period? How does the language of individual speakers/writers relate to the language of a language period as a whole? How little or much time can a language period be? How do language

variation and (ongoing) change relate to language periodization? What is a language transition(s)? Is the idea of a language transition even valid? How can a language transition be isolated? And so on.

### 1.3. OBJECTIVES

This book does not look to address, much less to give exhaustive treatments, of all the abovementioned issues and questions; nor does it aim to be a general introduction to the theories and methods of historical linguistics or language variation and change. Rather, our objectives are more modest and more focused on issues which we deem crucial for diachronic linguistic research on BH. We have three main goals in this book.

First, we explore the *objective* and *sources* of historical linguistics and the *variation* and *periodization* of language, from both theoretical and methodological standpoints, and from cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary perspectives. We begin by examining these issues largely independent of the writings, theories, and methods of Hebraists and biblicists (chapter 2; parts of 4 and 7), and then we look more closely at the relevance of our findings for BH (chapters 3–10). In particular, we aim to underline what we believe are significant shortcomings in research on the history of BH, and suggest some prospective solutions to these problems.

Second, having explored general issues related to language variation and change (chapter 2), we introduce and illustrate several methods which can advance and enrich historical linguistic research on BH: *cross-textual variable analysis* (CTVA; chapters 4–6) and *variationist analysis* (VA; chapters 7–9). A summary of modern-day text-critical perspectives on the Hebrew Bible is an essential prelude to CTVA (chapter 3). The first method we introduce, CTVA, compares language variations in different versions of the same writing. The CTVA includes a general introduction to theory and method and various non-biblical illustrations (chapter 4). The second chapter on CTVA looks at language variations in a series of synoptic passages in the MT (chapter 5).<sup>19</sup> The third chapter on CTVA focuses on language variations in manuscripts/witnesses of the book of Samuel (chapter 6).<sup>20</sup> The second method we introduce, VA, compares changing proportions of occurrence of two or more language variables in different writings. The VA includes a general introduction to theory and method and extra-biblical illustrations (chapter 7). Assorted VA lexical and grammatical studies follow in the next two chapters, respectively (chapters 8–9). In addition to exploring language variation and change, the application of CTVA

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<sup>19</sup> 2 Sam 22//Ps 18, 1 Kgs 22//2 Chr 18, 2 Kgs 18–20//Isa 36–39, and 2 Kgs 24–25//Jer 52.

<sup>20</sup> The MT, Qumran scrolls of Samuel (1QSam, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, 4QSam<sup>c</sup>), and selected data in the Septuagint (LXX).

and VA to BH helps to clarify the nature of these (literary/religious) sources of ancient Hebrew.

The stimulus for the chapters on CTVA and VA is the notion that the determination of facts (or data) precedes the articulation of theories (or ideas).<sup>21</sup> Our contention is that much theorizing on the history of BH has been based more on extra-linguistic assumptions, intuitions, and ideologies than on the linguistic details of the biblical writings themselves. Any theory of the history and periodization of BH must take account of at least two sorts of linguistic facts: variation of forms/uses in the MT Bible (VA) and variation between the MT and other textual traditions (CTVA). Therefore this book is more than “mop-up work” of any paradigm, whether ours or others’. It is mainly about data-mining. As such our focus is on the question of *what* rather than *why* (causes) and *how* (mechanisms).<sup>22</sup>

Third, we operate from cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary perspectives. On the one hand, we include insights not only from general historical linguistics but also, to varying degrees, from studies of other Ancient Near Eastern and Indo-European languages.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, our fact-gathering incorporates a

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<sup>21</sup> The application of the scientific method to language involves the following steps: gather and observe some data, make some generalizations about patterns in the data, develop hypotheses that account for these generalizations, test the hypotheses against more data, and revise and retest the hypotheses to account for any new data. See A. Carnie, *Syntax: A Generative Introduction* (3d ed.; Introducing Linguistics 4; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 7–18.

<sup>22</sup> Clearly we must establish the linguistic facts before we attempt to explain them. See J. M. Anderson, *Structural Aspects of Language Change* (Longman Linguistics Library 13; London: Longman, 1973), 1–2; Campbell, *Historical*, 322–23. In addition, the explanation of linguistic facts requires input from various other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, such as history, archaeology, geography, anthropology, psychology, and sociology, and such an undertaking is a step beyond this book’s intentions. Finally, Drescher claims that a “model” of the history of BH is needed in order to use linguistic criteria to date the biblical writings (B. E. Drescher, “Methodological Issues in the Dating of Linguistic Forms: Considerations from the Perspective of Contemporary Linguistic Theory,” in *DBH*, 19–38 [23, 35]). However, this book deals with historical linguistics instead of linguistic dating, and in historical linguistic theory the determination of facts naturally precedes the articulation of theories (or models).

<sup>23</sup> The cross-linguistic approach we have in mind here is not the comparative method, diachronic typology, and so on. Rather, the idea is that comparison with historical linguistic study of other languages (comparative historical “linguisticography”), that is, what is done, and how and why, may provide helpful analogies for supporting and/or correcting theoretical and methodological aspects of diachronic linguistic research on ancient Hebrew. See the remarks on various languages in *LDBT* 1:46–47, 61–62, as well as the use of premodern English in Drescher, “Methodological.” The cross-linguistic approach can be considered an extension of the principle of uniformity.

joint “history of texts–history of language” approach (i.e., CTVA; chapters 4–6) and also the quantitative approach of variationist historical sociolinguistics (i.e., VA; chapters 7–9). We are setting our aim high, but not unreasonably or unrealistically so. Kabatek’s comment on the study of the history of Spanish—a topic we return to later—articulates our thoughts well and gets to the heart of this book:

The postulated reform of historical linguistics [which combines the history of texts and the history of language] may seem utopian or too complex if on the one hand it includes a variationist perspective and on the other discursive traditions [= the history of texts] are taken into account. But we think that the proposal, although it complicates things, does not complicate them in an arbitrary and artificial way, but rather by proposing a more adequate [research] model, *justified by the objects themselves and, therefore, corresponding to the most fundamental objective of scientific study.*<sup>24</sup>

The motivation behind the integrated or interdisciplinary approach to the history of BH which we are proposing is rooted mainly in our experience working with scribally-created writings, whether with literary-critical, text-critical, or historical linguistic intentions. Perhaps an equally important factor, however, is the growing unease we have felt while participating in the linguistic dating/historical linguistics debate of the past decade. Our sense is that meaningful conversation, and determined collaboration, between Hebraists and biblicists, historical linguists, literary critics, and textual critics, and so on, is long overdue. Several scholars have argued that literary- and/or text-critical studies should pay more attention to historical linguistics.<sup>25</sup> We have frequently

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<sup>24</sup> J. Kabatek, “Las tradiciones discursivas del español medieval: historia de textos e historia de la lengua,” *Iberoromania* 62 (2005): 28–43 (41; emphasis added). The original statement is: “La postulada reforma de la lingüística histórica [que combina la historia de los textos y la historia de la lengua] parece a lo mejor utópica o demasiado compleja si por un lado se incluye una perspectiva variacionista y por otro lado se tienen en cuenta las TD [tradiciones discursivas]. Pero pensamos que la propuesta, aunque complique las cosas, no las complica de manera arbitraria y artificial, sino proponiendo un modelo más adecuado, justificado desde los objetos mismos y, entonces, correspondiente al objetivo más fundamental del estudio científico.”

<sup>25</sup> R. D. Holmstedt, “The Nexus between Textual Criticism and Linguistics: A Case Study from Leviticus,” *JBL* 132 (2013): 473–94; J. Joosten, “Textual Developments and Historical Linguistics,” in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebelle Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 21–31; idem, “Textual History and Linguistic Developments: The Doublet in 2 Kgs 8:28–29 // 9:15–16 in Light of 2 Chr 22:5–6,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebelle Barrera: Florilegium Complutensis* (ed. A. Piquer Otero and P. Torijano Morales; JSJSup 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 133–45.

said that historical linguistics should not (in fact, cannot) proceed apart from literary and textual criticism.<sup>26</sup> But, given especially the nature of the sources of data for ancient Hebrew, this really should not be an either/or effort. That it is often one-dimensional is partly due to this or that scholar's feeling that one discipline is more objective or authoritative than another, but it is also one of the harmful effects of specialization. Our hope is that this book has some success in "communicating across the academic divide."<sup>27</sup>

#### 1.4. TERMINOLOGY

In this book we usually talk about particular linguistic items and the specific writings and manuscripts where they appear. And we focus mainly on BH. Sometimes, however, it is helpful to speak about linguistic forms/uses in terms of their occurrence in the entire corpus of ancient Hebrew writings. Following some others, we have decided to use the phrase "Classical Hebrew" for the four premishnaic corpora: the Hebrew inscriptions, Ben Sira, the DSS, and the Hebrew Bible.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, although it is customary to speak about two main types or periods of Biblical Hebrew, Golden Age or Early, Classical, or Standard BH on the one hand, and Silver Age or Late BH on the other,<sup>29</sup> we will sometimes use "Classical Hebrew" and speak instead about linguistic forms/uses that are "standard" in the classical corpus and others that are "peripheral" or "non-standard" in the same corpus.<sup>30</sup> By forms/uses that are "peripheral" or

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<sup>26</sup> For example: "The text-critical dimension of language study has too often been ignored in biblical scholarship. Yet it is, logically, an issue that must be discussed before any conclusions are drawn from the extant texts" (I. Young, "Concluding Reflections," in *BHSCT*, 312–17 [312]).

<sup>27</sup> M. H. Strober, "Communicating Across the Academic Divide," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (<http://chronicle.com/article/Communicating-Across-the/125769/>; cited January 2, 2011); cf. idem, *Interdisciplinary Conversations: Challenging Habits of Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

<sup>28</sup> *DCH* 1:14, 30–66; J. F. Elwolde, "Developments in Hebrew Vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah," in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University 11–14 December 1995* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 17–55 (48–55); W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira* (SSLL 41; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–5, 401–2. Schniedewind, *Social*, 5–6, also includes early Rabbinic Hebrew in his corpus of Classical Hebrew.

<sup>29</sup> For additional terminology see *LDBT* 1:7. Here we are setting aside the small corpus of so-called Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH) writings.

<sup>30</sup> Other descriptions might be normative, common, central vs. non-normative, uncommon, non-central, marginal. Of course in reality ancient Hebrew was more complex than even the conventional three-stage model allows (chronologically, regionally, and otherwise). See, for example, the discussion of "The Linguistic Status of

“non-standard” in the classical corpus, we mean those that are considered to characterize “Late Biblical Hebrew,” which we here label “Peripheral Classical Hebrew.” So, in summary, we sometimes refer to “Standard Classical Hebrew” (SCH) and “Peripheral Classical Hebrew” (PCH) throughout this book.

At this point we need to make several clarifications. First, we are not using “standard” and “peripheral” as they appear in studies of dialect geography or historical dialectology. Rather, SCH and PCH are merely *descriptive* labels for linguistic items which occur more or less frequently in the surviving written specimens of ancient Hebrew. Second, SCH and PCH are general tags, subjective labels, which we do not intend to quantify, since ultimately we feel it is more productive to speak about specific (and sometimes normalized and proportional) numbers of linguistic items in particular writings and manuscripts. Third, using PCH instead of LBH allows us to circumvent persistent confusion over the meanings and connotations of “late” and LBH as well as judgmental views of LBH as something “less-than-classical.” For example, very often it is the case that scholars label some linguistic item as “LBH” when that item occurs infrequently in the postexilic writings of Esther–Chronicles or does not appear there even once.<sup>31</sup>

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Biblical or Ancient Hebrew” in R. Holmstedt, “Issues in the Linguistic Analysis of a Dead Language, with Particular Reference to Ancient Hebrew,” *JHS* 6 (2006) (<http://www.jhsonline.org>). We look closely at the issue of periodization in chapter 2 (2.5) and chapter 9 (9.5).

<sup>31</sup> We have discussed this issue in many publications. As an example—it is simple to cite many other examples in the writings of many other scholars—Pat-El has written about several syntactic changes from “CBH” to “LBH.” One of those changes, the rise of the causal subordination particle on the basis of *šel-* alongside other particles such as **כי**, appears only twice in BH, in Jonah 1:9 (בְּאִשׁוּר ל) and Qoh 8:17 (בְּשֵׁל אִשׁוּר), and never in the “late” or “LBH” books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. For the full discussion see N. Pat-El, “Syntactic Aramaisms as a Tool for the Internal Chronology of Biblical Hebrew,” in *DBH*, 245–63 (254–59). Pat-El’s argument that the “distribution [in Jonah, Qoheleth, and various Aramaic and post-Classical Hebrew sources] makes it a perfect candidate for an Aramaism” is plausible, but her further comment that “it replaces an earlier particle” is problematic (*ibid.*, 258). We might ask in what sense do two occurrences in all of BH of the *šel-* construction *replace* **כי** (not counting other particles) when the latter appears thousands of times in BH, in “early” and “late” writings alike, including hundreds of times in the books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles where the *šel-* construction is *unattested*? Furthermore, we would argue, even if the use of this feature in Jonah and Qoheleth is late, it has only minimal value for establishing the internal chronology of BH, or for the “linguistic dating” of biblical writings to the late or postexilic period (*ibid.*, *passim*), since none of the “early” books of Genesis–Kings *or* even the undisputed “late” books of Esther–Chronicles have this construction.



## Chapter 2

### Historical Linguistics: Key Issues for Biblical Hebrew

#### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

For thousands of years people have been thinking about language, its origins, and the relationships between languages. Yet it is commonplace to situate the roots of present-day historical (or diachronic) linguistics in the late eighteenth century, developing from philology, and especially in the nineteenth century, with the development of the comparative method.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter we explore some topics of contemporary historical linguistic theory and method which, in our estimation, are especially relevant nowadays to the study of

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, L. Campbell, “The History of Linguistics,” in *The Handbook of Linguistics* (ed. M. Aronoff and J. Rees-Miller; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 81–104 (85–93); W. P. Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (3d ed.; London: Routledge, 1992), 23–45. Accordingly, Gesenius, whom many consider to be the “father” of diachronic study of ancient Hebrew, wrote his history of the Hebrew language in the early nineteenth century. See W. Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift: Eine philologisch-historische Einleitung in die Sprachlehren und Wörterbücher der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1815). Gesenius’s *History* was, of course, a product of its time, and it should be used cautiously. For discussions of Gesenius’s “limited critical insight and too empirical grammatical views” on the one hand, and his reliance on the writings of de Wette on the other, see, respectively, T. K. Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism: Biographical, Descriptive, and Critical Studies* (London: Methuen & Co, 1893), 53–65; J. Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Fortress, 1985), 50–57; *LDBT* 1:65–69; cf. J. Joosten, “Wilhelm Gesenius and the History of Hebrew in the Biblical Period,” in *Biblische Exegese und hebräische Lexikographie: Das „Hebräisch-deutsche Handwörterbuch“ von Wilhelm Gesenius als Spiegel und Quelle alttestamentlicher und hebräischer Forschung, 200 Jahre nach seiner ersten Auflage* (ed. S. Schorch and E.-J. Waschke; BZAW 427; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 94–106. For a short summary of the history of diachronic study of ancient Hebrew see *LDBT* 1:8–9; cf. 1:1–9; 2:1–71.

ancient Hebrew. Our focus is on the four key issues and questions that we introduced in chapter 1 (1.2): the objective of diachronic linguistic research (2.2), the written sources of historical linguistics (2.3), language variation and change (2.4), and language periodization or states and transitions (2.5).

## 2.2. OBJECTIVE

Historical linguistics is the study of language in its temporal dimension. In this section we base our comments regarding the objective of diachronic linguistic research on Fischer's and Lightfoot's statements on the historical linguist's main duties.<sup>2</sup>

The primary tasks of the historical linguist are to give a *description* of the historical linguistic facts at particular moments in time, to show *how* linguistic utterances change when they are compared over a period of time, to describe what general *mechanisms* are involved in or underlie these changes, and,

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<sup>2</sup> We give several other definitions as illustrations, each with its own nuances and emphases, from short and simple statements like Jensen's and Trask's to longer and more elaborate accounts like Bussmann's: "*Historical linguistics* is the study of language change by comparison of a language at two (or more) points in time" (C. Jensen, "Historical Linguistics," in *Encyclopedia of Linguistics* [ed. P. Strazny; 2 vols.; New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005], 1:461–64 [461]); "historical linguistics: The branch of linguistics which investigates the processes of language change, which attempts to identify all types of historical and prehistoric connections between languages, and which tries to establish genetic relationships between languages..." (R. L. Trask, *The Dictionary of Historical and Comparative Linguistics* [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000], 150); "diachronic linguistics: Systematic description and elucidation of all linguistic changes through time (internal historical linguistics) with regard to external facts such as political history, cultural influences, social change, territorial changes, language contact (external historical linguistics) among others"; "historical linguistics: Subdiscipline of general linguistics concerned with developing a theory of language change in general or of a specific language. This comprises, among others, the following subareas: (a) representation of the origins and development of individual languages and language groups (through internal and, where actual linguistic data are lacking, external reconstruction); (b) development of a typology of processes leading to language change (types of phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic changes); (c) explanation of individual processes of change or universal types of change with special reference to articulatory phonetics, cognitive psychology..., sociolinguistics, and communication theory; and (d) study of the origin and the spread of language-internal and language-external changes" (H. Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* [trans. and ed. G. Trauth and K. Kazzazi; London: Routledge, 1996], 304, 513–14).

finally, to provide an *explanation* of the changes that take place in these linguistic utterances.<sup>3</sup>

The linguist's job is to describe properties of some stage of some language and to offer explanations for why they should be the way they are. Historical linguists provide *descriptions* for two or more stages and, where possible, offer *explanations* for why things changed. They try to provide accurate *descriptions*, showing how people actually spoke in the past or speak at the present time, and they provide *explanations* for why structural changes took place.<sup>4</sup>

The central goal, the ultimate aim, of the historical linguist is to explain *how* and *why* variation and change occurred between different moments of time in the history of a language.<sup>5</sup> Note therefore the words “mechanisms” and “explanation(s)” in Fischer’s and Lightfoot’s statements. In keeping with the objectives of this book (chapter 1, 1.3), however, we are mainly concerned with the question of *what*, rather than *why* (causes) and *how* (mechanisms), although we do not entirely neglect these other matters.

*Description.* The noteworthy words in Fischer’s and Lightfoot’s statements are “describe” and “description(s).” Historical linguistics is about describing, comparing, classifying, or giving a detailed account of things as they are. Prescription, in the sense of “linguistic dating of texts,” is seldom if ever on the mind of the historical linguist.

*Facts.* Fischer and Lightfoot speak about “facts,” “utterances,” and “properties.” The object of historical linguistics is the *facts* of language, sounds, forms, and uses. The object is not the sources of the linguistic data, or writings, much less in the sense of “linguistic dating of *texts*.”

*Stages.* Lightfoot explicitly refers to “stages,” but the concept is latent in Fischer’s references to “at particular moments in time” and “over a period of time.”<sup>6</sup> Historical linguistics is concerned with the *description* of linguistic *facts*

<sup>3</sup> O. Fischer, *Morphosyntax: Functional and Formal Perspectives* (Oxford Surveys in Syntax and Morphology 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11–12 (emphasis original).

<sup>4</sup> D. Lightfoot, *The Development of Language: Acquisition, Change, and Evolution* (Blackwell/Maryland Lectures in Language and Cognition 1; Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 2–3 (emphasis added).

<sup>5</sup> “Historical linguistics is chiefly concerned with *how* and *why* language changes” (Anderson, *Structural*, 11; emphasis added); “The ultimate aim of historical linguistics is to explain the *causation* of linguistic change” (J. Milroy, *Linguistic Variation and Change: On the Historical Sociolinguistics of English* [Language in Society 19; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992], 20 [emphasis original]).

<sup>6</sup> “One needs a good knowledge of a language and its diachronic stages in order to describe and explain the changes that take place therein” (Fischer, *Morphosyntax*, 5); “it will be emphasized throughout that a thorough knowledge of the various synchronic stages in the history of a language is necessary in order to be able to discover and explain

in two or more *stages* of a language such as, for example, Old, Middle, Early Modern, and Modern English, or Medieval, Golden-Age, and Modern Spanish. We examine the concept of stages or periodization in 2.5.

*Sources.* Another important issue in Fischer's and Lightfoot's discussions is the nature of the sources, the quantity and quality of linguistic data they are able to provide to the historical linguist, and their selection.<sup>7</sup> We examine the issue of sources in 2.3.

We should briefly elaborate on two other matters which are implicit in Fischer's and Lightfoot's discussions: relative vs. absolute chronology and real vs. apparent time.

*Relative vs. absolute chronology.* Historical linguistics is normally concerned with the relative temporal relationship of linguistic facts. The difference between relative and absolute chronology is nicely summarized in the entries for these words in Campbell and Mixco's glossary of historical linguistics. Note also the correlation between chronology, dating, and extra-linguistic information.

**chronology** With respect to linguistics, the order in which language changes occur, or the arrangement of these changes according to this order. There are two types of linguistic chronology, absolute and relative chronology...**absolute chronology** The assignment of linguistic events to a specific date in the past. Absolute chronology for linguistic events usually depends on correlations of linguistic facts with information about dating from outside of linguistics. For example, when linguistic forms are found in written material, conclusions that the linguistic form must predate the time of the writing are safe...**relative chronology** The apparent order in which linguistic changes took place. A linguistic change takes place at some particular time, and different changes taking place at different times have a temporal order or sequence, some earlier, others later, though usually the exact time of the changes cannot be determined directly. However, based on the linguistic evidence, it is often possible to determine the temporal order (sequence) of the changes without exact dates—their relative chronology...<sup>8</sup>

*Real vs. apparent time.* Real time, and real-time change, are generation-based, and focus on the language of people at different times, in different time

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the changes that take place" (ibid., 5–6); "in order to compare utterances from different periods" (ibid., 12); and so on.

<sup>7</sup> Fischer, *Morphosyntax*, 12–14 ("1.1 What counts as evidence in historical linguistics?" and "1.1.1 What texts do we use as the basis for comparison?"), 43–45 ("1.3 Where to find the evidence"); Lightfoot, *Development*, 8–12 ("1.2 The Records, our Witnesses").

<sup>8</sup> L. Campbell and M. J. Mixco, *A Glossary of Historical Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 2–3 ("absolute chronology"), 31 ("chronology"), 169–70 ("relative chronology").

periods. In contrast, apparent time, and apparent-time change, are age-based, and center on the language of people of different ages, in the same time period. In other words, apparent time is concerned with language variations between younger and older speakers or writers who are living in the same era.<sup>9</sup> Fischer's and Lightfoot's statements on historical linguistics are oriented toward real time; however, when the available sources permit it, inevitably because of extra-linguistic knowledge about the speakers or writers (e.g., year of birth), some sociolinguistic and historical sociolinguistic research examines apparent-time change.<sup>10</sup>

In light of the foregoing discussion, we stress that diachronic linguistic research, or historical linguistics, is a descriptive task linked to particular facts, stages, and sources of language, issues we address in more detail below and in the other chapters of this book. In contrast, linguistic dating, dating linguistically, dating on the basis of linguistic criteria, dating writings using language, and so on, are, for historical linguists, marginal at best and irrelevant at worst. Outside BH and biblical studies it is uncommon to find any mention, much less any sustained discussion or application, of the concept of "linguistic dating."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> For basic definitions see Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 14, 164. For lengthier treatments see P. Cukor-Avila and G. Bailey, "Real Time and Apparent Time," in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (ed. J. K. Chambers and N. Schilling; 2d ed.; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 239–62; G. Sankoff, "Age: Apparent Time and Real Time," in *ELL* 1:110–16; and especially W. Labov, *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 2: Social Factors* (Language in Society 29; Malden: Blackwell, 2001), 43–112.

<sup>10</sup> For a very enjoyable discussion of apparent-time change in the present, see S. Tagliamonte, "So Different and Pretty Cool! Recycling Intensifiers in Toronto, Canada," *English Language and Linguistics* 12 (2008): 361–94. For examples of studies of both real-time and apparent-time changes in historical data see chapters 4–5 in T. Nevalainen and H. Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor England* (Longman Linguistics Library; London: Pearson Education, 2003), 53–109.

<sup>11</sup> Those experienced in the field or familiar with the literature know this intuitively. Others might, for example, search and compare results for "linguistic dating" and "historical linguistics" on <http://www.googlefight.com> and <http://www.worldcat.org>. Or note, for example, that the words "date," "dates," "dated," "dating," and "dat(e)able" are found only fifty-six times, and never with a prescriptive meaning, in the sense of "linguistic dating," in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (ed. B. D. Joseph and R. D. Janda; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2003). Similarly, we were unable to find any relevant references to the notion of "linguistic dating" in the twenty volumes of *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (ed. R. M. Hogg et al.; 6 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992–2001) and the fourteen volumes of the *ELL*. Dating, in the sense described above, is apparently also unmentioned in literature on grammaticalization (personal communication from Elly van Gelderen). In

Discussions of “dating” in historical linguistics relate to four main areas. First, some seek to date linguistic changes and borrowings (i.e., linguistic facts, not texts); however, as we will see (2.3), it is clear in such discussions that the dating is a function of *philology* and hinges on extra-linguistic information.<sup>12</sup> Second, most mentions of dating have to do with glottochronology, lexicostatistics, stylochronometry, and linguistic paleontology; but, aside from disputes over their reliability, these techniques have nothing to do with the linguistic dating of written compositions in the way it is advocated and practiced by some Hebraists and biblicists.<sup>13</sup> Third, nonetheless, there have been occasional stabs at the linguistic dating of texts with respect to some non-biblical writings; yet, on close inspection it becomes clear that these have been executed on the basis of preconditions, usually the availability of adequate control corpora (i.e., sufficient quantity and quality of other dated and localized manuscripts; 2.3), that do not hold for biblical writings (chapter 3, 3.3).<sup>14</sup> Two examples are *La Chanson de Roland* and *Historia de la donzella Teodor*.<sup>15</sup> The former is the product of multiple authors of which the earliest lived in the tenth century. The latter originated in the second half of the thirteenth century. Both compositions have been dated on the basis of phonological criteria and an abundance of Medieval French and Medieval Spanish documentation, respectively. A third example, and arguably the best known and most widely

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contrast, the above mentioned publications are replete with references to *dated* inscriptions and manuscripts. We turn to this issue in 2.3.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the statement in Campbell, *Historical*, 391–92, and the five examples on the following pages (392–96). We discuss this issue further in 2.3.2.

<sup>13</sup> On glottochronology and lexicostatistics see Campbell, *Historical*, 448–58; Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 70–71, 104; M. Makihara, “Swadesh, Morris (1909–1967),” in *ELL* 12:303–4. On stylochronometry see L. L. Stewart, “Computational Stylistics,” in *ELL* 2:769–75 (770). On glottochronology and linguistic paleontology see P. Heggarty, “Linguistics for Archaeologists: Principles, Methods and the Case of the Incas,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17 (2007): 311–40.

<sup>14</sup> See the brief discussion of this issue and the other examples and publications cited in *LDBT* 1:61–62; cf. J. B. Kofoed, *Text and History: Historiography and the Study of the Biblical Text* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 142 n. 93. Note also the sobering conclusions regarding “linguistic dating” in E. M. Cook, “On the Linguistic Dating of the Phoenician Ahiaram Inscription (KAI 1),” *JNES* 53 (1994): 33–36; M. O. Wise, “Accidents and Accidence: A Scribal View of Linguistic Dating of the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. T. Muraoka; *AbrNSup* 3; Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 124–67; reprinted in *idem*, *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* (*JSPSup* 15; Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 103–51.

<sup>15</sup> S. E. Farrier, “A Linguistic Dating of the Oxford ‘Chanson de Roland’” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1986); I. J. Rivera and D. M. Rogers, *Historia de la donzella Teodor: Edition and Study* (Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 2000), xviii–xxiii.

discussed, is *Beowulf*. The poem was composed sometime in the eighth to tenth centuries and has survived in a single manuscript dated c. 1000 (Nowell Codex or Cotton Vitellius A. XV).

Accordingly, in several recent discussions of the linguistic dating of biblical writings, Kofoed and Dresher cite some studies of Old English poems and *Beowulf* in particular as supporting examples. Kofoed summarizes the book by Amos on linguistic means of determining the dates of Old English writings, and suggests that it offers “*linguistic possibilities for dating the texts in question*” and is a “*demonstration of certain linguistic tests—especially regarding vocabulary—as valid criteria for linguistic dating.*”<sup>16</sup> Dresher opines that in some cases the problem of dating BH writings is similar to dating Old English writings, as in the case of trying to date the language of Old English poems like *Beowulf*, and then he cites several sentences from Klaeber’s edition of the poem on the value of linguistic criteria for dating *Beowulf*, apparently intending it to be an encouraging word about the possibility of dating BH writings on the basis of linguistic criteria as well.<sup>17</sup>

However, despite the optimistic thinking of Kofoed and Dresher, many others have concluded that the studies of Amos and Klaeber give less than persuasive evidence for linguistically dating the composition (not the manuscript) of *Beowulf*, whether absolutely or relatively. Thus Mitchell and Robinson, in their authoritative edition, conclude:

The main reason for the collapse of the scholarly consensus which had previously prevailed is the undermining of confidence in linguistic means of determining dates for Old English texts...Most of the presumed linguistic measures of the dates of texts have not stood up to close scrutiny...Also, this and the other linguistic tests are subject always to the vagaries of scribal transmission: scribes delete or add demonstratives, respell words, and even deconstruct contracted forms through analogy...For all of these reasons many scholars recently have been persuaded to reject linguistic tests, and the chronology of Old English poetry which had been built on the basis of linguistic features has been set aside. Without linguistic dating, we are left with more subjective criteria such as style, appeals to archaeology, supposed historical allusions, and the searching out of proper names from *Beowulf* in

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<sup>16</sup> J. B. Kofoed, “Using Linguistic Difference in Relative Text Dating: Insights from other Historical Linguistic Case Studies,” *HS* 47 (2006): 93–114 (106, 109; emphasis original; cf. 103–9). The book by Amos is A. C. Amos, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1980).

<sup>17</sup> Dresher, “Methodological,” 20–22, 31–33, 37. The book by Klaeber is F. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* (3rd ed.; Boston: D. C. Heath, 1950).

royal genealogies and attempting to deduce dating (and localization) from them.<sup>18</sup>

A fourth area of historical linguistics where dating is an issue is discussed below in the remarks on Middle English dialectology and anchor texts and the fit-technique (2.3.3).

In summary, diachronic linguistic research, or historical linguistics, aims to *describe* linguistic *facts*. A prescriptive aim, in the sense of “linguistic dating of texts,” is uncommon, is attempted only when certain prerequisites are met, and even then it frequently gives unreliable or disputed results. This observation contrasts with Hebraists’ and biblicists’ recourse to the “linguistic dating of texts,” generally related to their conviction that it is an objective method which gives dependable results.<sup>19</sup> But the tide is turning. Others are recognizing its long list of shortcomings and are incorporating conventional historical linguistic theory and method in their scholarship.<sup>20</sup> Paying more attention to the written

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<sup>18</sup> B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson, *Beowulf: An Edition* (Malden: Blackwell, 1998), 8–10. See also R. E. Bjork and A. Obermeier, “Date, Provenance, Author, Audiences,” in *A Beowulf Handbook* (ed. R. E. Bjork and J. D. Niles; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 13–34 (18–28). In the concluding paragraph they state: “Until new facts surface, all we can say with assurance when asked when, where, by whom, and for whom the poem was composed is that we are not sure” (Bjork and Obermeier, “Date,” 33). Similarly, Hogg remarks, “despite considerable investigation, it seems impossible to give an accurate chronological account of the poetry on the basis of the linguistic forms in the poems” (R. M. Hogg, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume 1: The Beginnings to 1066* (ed. R. M. Hogg; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1–25 [19]). This conclusion had been reached much earlier in the collection of essays edited by Chase which documents one of the most important “inconclusions” in the study of Old English. See especially A. Cameron, A. C. Amos, and G. Waite, with the assistance of S. Butler and A. D. Healey, “A Reconsideration of the Language of Beowulf,” in *The Dating of Beowulf* (ed. C. Chase; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 33–75 (especially 33–37); K. S. Kiernan, “The Eleventh-Century Origin of Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript,” in *The Dating of Beowulf* (ed. C. Chase; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 9–21.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, *LDBT* 1:16–18, 60–64.

<sup>20</sup> Examples are Kim, *Early* (cf. Rezetko, “Evaluating”) and several of the contributors to *DBH*. In the latter, all five contributors to Part 2—Dresher, Naudé, Cook, Holmstedt, and to a lesser extent Givón—inject a breath of fresh air into the debate on diachrony in BH by breaking free from several old-fashioned presuppositions and advocating new methods for documenting and explaining language variation and change in BH. In contrast, of the contributors to Part 3, only Bar-Asher Siegal decisively separates himself from “linguistic dating,” whereas most of the other contributors continue to regard “linguistic dating” as a viable objective of historical linguistics, mainly because the conventional periodization of BH remains the indispensable presuppositional framework in which they undertake their analyses of the language.

sources of historical linguistics (2.3) and the sources of BH (chapters 3–6) will inevitably reinforce this trend.

## 2.3. SOURCES

### 2.3.1. GENERAL DISCUSSION

The selection and evaluation of the sources of linguistic data have *fundamental importance* in most books on historical linguistics whether they are general in scope or fixed on a particular language.<sup>21</sup> Let us return to Fischer and

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<sup>21</sup> J. Aitchison, *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* (2d ed.; Cambridge Approaches to Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 19–31; C. L. Allen, *Genitives in Early English: Typology and Evidence* (Oxford Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 25–31; Anderson, *Structural*, 11–17; R. Anttila, *An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 31–46; A. Arlotto, *Introduction to Historical Linguistics* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1972), 11–28; Campbell, *Historical*, 373–404; Fischer, *Morphosyntax*, 12–14, 43–45; M. Hale, *Historical Linguistics: Theory and Method* (Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 21; Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 19–26; J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre, eds., *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 123–210 (chapters 7–11 by various authors); H. H. Hock and B. D. Joseph, *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (2d rev. ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 63–110; H. M. Hoenigswald, *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 4–12; R. D. Janda and B. D. Joseph, “On Language, Change, and Language Change—Or, Of History, Linguistics, and Historical Linguistics,” in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (ed. B. D. Joseph and R. D. Janda; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2003), 3–180 (14–23, 40–42); R. J. Jeffers and I. Lehiste, *Principles and Methods for Historical Linguistics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979), 160–71; W. Labov, *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 1: Internal Factors* (Language in Society 20; Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 10–11; R. Lass, *Historical Linguistics and Language Change* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 81; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 16–21, 44–103; Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics*, 46–64; Lightfoot, *Development*, 8–12; S. Luraghi and V. Bubenik, “Historical Linguistics: History, Sources and Resources,” in *Continuum Companion to Historical Linguistics* (ed. S. Luraghi and V. Bubenik; London: Continuum, 2010), 1–36; T. Nevalainen and E. C. Traugott, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English* (Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 19–154 (chapters 1–11 by various authors); D. Ringe and J. F. Eska, *Historical Linguistics: Toward a Twenty-First Century Reintegration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1–2; H. Schendl, *Historical Linguistics* (Oxford Introductions to Language Study; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 11–15; A. L. Sihler, *Language History: An Introduction* (CILT 191; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 186–207; J. Smith, *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change*

Lightfoot and their remarks on sources. Fischer, in her discussion of the *comparability* of utterances from different periods, proposes that the sources of data ideally should be homogeneous groups of original writings which are similar in dialect, text type, genre, and style, and hopefully sharing similar social dimensions such as the age, gender, class, and rank of writers as well.<sup>22</sup> As for *originality*, original manuscripts and non-original copies which may have been edited, she remarks: “Because the edited texts are, as it were, an interpretation of the primary material, it could be said that they constitute secondary sources rather than primary ones.”<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, Fischer also knows that the situation for historical linguistic research is often far from ideal, but even in such a situation the researcher still owes an explanation about the sources of data: “There is no real solution to this *except that it is important in any investigation to make quite clear which texts have been chosen, why these texts and not others, and to indicate the possible shortcomings in the results due to the paucity of suitable texts.*”<sup>24</sup>

Turning to Lightfoot, he bases his discussion of the sources of data on Lass’s exemplary treatment of the issue, citing the short illustration of the last line of the prologue of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>25</sup> Any standard edition says:

And he bigan with right a myrie chere  
 [And he began with right merry cheer]  
 His tale anon, and seyde as ye may heere.  
 [His tale straightway, and said as you may hear.]

But in some other editions the last line is:

His tale anon, and seyde in this manere.  
 [His tale straightway, and said in this manner.]

Lightfoot comments:

We do not have the manuscript that Chaucer wrote, only later copies; and the oldest of those copies give both versions. This example shows how much scribes and editors are willing to change a text deliberately, in order to meet some self-imposed standard. Then, of course, there may be accidental errors in copying. So it is not obvious what Chaucer wrote. Nor is it obvious exactly

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(London: Routledge, 1996), 13–38; D. Wanner, *The Power of Analogy: An Essay on Historical Linguistics* (TiLSM 170; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 28–37.

<sup>22</sup> Fischer, *Morphosyntax*, 12–14, 43–45.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 (emphasis added).

<sup>25</sup> Lightfoot, *Development*, 8–12; cf. Lass, *Historical*, 16–21, 44–103. There are eighty-three surviving manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* from the late Medieval and early Renaissance periods.

how Chaucer himself would have pronounced what is written. Masses of truly fascinating detective work has been devoted to questions like these. The texts are witnesses to the past, *but, as always, the testimony of witnesses cannot be taken at face value and must be evaluated carefully...The different versions of Chaucer's prologue show how ruthless editors can be.*<sup>26</sup>

Schneider's treatment of sources of data for studies of language variation and change deals with many important issues and is cited in many other discussions.<sup>27</sup> The central section of his treatment looks at four basic requirements for written texts to be useful for variationist analysis, and for historical linguistic analysis in general, and then he discusses some characteristics of five major text types of writings. In his estimation the fundamental prerequisite is:

Texts should be as close to speech, and especially vernacular styles, as possible...This condition largely excludes formal and literary writing—such texts may be of marginal interest, but, being shaped by prescriptive traditions and conventions, they normally display categorical, invariant usage and fail to reflect natural speech behavior and associated processes.<sup>28</sup>

Hence his categorization of text types according to their proximity to speech begins with recorded speech, which includes interviews, transcripts, trial records, and the like, and ends with invented speech, or literary dialect. In between these two opposites he situates recalled speech, such as ex-slave narratives, imagined speech, such as letters and diaries, and observed speech, or commentaries.<sup>29</sup> While letters are not totally without shortcomings, they are often datable and localizable, as well as ubiquitous in the historical records of

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<sup>26</sup> Lightfoot, *Development*, 8–9 (emphasis added).

<sup>27</sup> E. W. Schneider, "Investigating Variation and Change in Written Documents," in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (ed. J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2002), 67–96; adapted and reprinted in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (ed. J. K. Chambers and N. Schilling; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; 2d ed.; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 47–81.

<sup>28</sup> Schneider, "Investigating," 2002:71; 2013:59. Schneider's other three basic requirements are mentioned in chapter 7 (7.2).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 2002:72–81; 2013:60–68. For additional discussion of these text types one might consult, for example, J. C. Conde Silvestre, *Sociolingüística Histórica* (Madrid: Gredos, 2007), 42–46, 51–52; and chapters 7–11 in Hernández Campoy and Conde Silvestre, eds., *Handbook*, 123–210.

many languages,<sup>30</sup> so that frequently they are a preferred source of data in diachronic linguistic studies.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast to the sources of data mentioned in the previous paragraph, literary writings have some limitations and are sometimes used uncritically even by practicing historical linguists. Schneider emphasizes that literature tends to overuse stereotypical markers but reduce variability (i.e., conformity to a literary standard or normative dialect), and its authenticity may be questionable.<sup>32</sup> *To state the main problems concisely: literary writings, in contrast to non-literary or documentary sources, often are unauthentic (unoriginal), composite (heterogeneous), and unsituated in time and place (undated and unlocalized), and because the writers often are anonymous or unidentifiable, social dimensions like age, gender, ethnicity, rank, social class and network, and so on, are uncertain as well.* For these reasons, widely held views among historical linguists are that "...literary (especially poetic) materials have to be used with extreme care, and treated (where other materials exist) as secondary and a bit suspect"<sup>33</sup> (cf. Fischer's remark on edited texts as secondary sources, above), or "the use of literary texts as material for diachronic study [is] inadequate."<sup>34</sup>

Given the "bad data" problem of historical linguistics<sup>35</sup>—coincidental and fragmentary survival of documents and kinds of documents, inadequacy of many orthographic systems for recording phonetic details, absence of negative evidence associated with grammaticality judgments, and so on<sup>36</sup>—it would be

<sup>30</sup> Schneider, "Investigating," 2002:75–77; 2013:64–66.

<sup>31</sup> In addition to the English and Akkadian studies we cite below (2.3.3 and 2.3.4, respectively), see G. A. Martínez, "Topics in the Historical Sociolinguistics of Tejano Spanish, 1791–1910: Morphosyntactic and Lexical Aspects" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts - Amherst, 2000), 42–45; and the articles, especially those by van der Wal and Rutten, and Martineau in *Touching the Past: Studies in the Historical Sociolinguistics of Ego-Documents* (ed. M. J. van der Wal and G. Rutten; Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics 1; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> Schneider, "Investigating," 2002:79–81; 2013:68.

<sup>33</sup> Lass, *Historical*, 69.

<sup>34</sup> R. B. Sevic, "Early Collections of Private Documents: The Missing Link in the Diachronic Corpora?," in *Langue and Parole in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective: Selected Proceedings of the XXXIst Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, St Andrews 1998* (ed. C. Beedham; Amsterdam: Pergamon, 1999), 337–47 (337).

<sup>35</sup> W. Labov, "Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology," *Language in Society* 1 (1972): 97–120 (98); idem, *Internal*, 11.

<sup>36</sup> Hernández and Schilling discuss seven main problems of sources we have to contend with in historical (socio)linguistic research: representativeness, empirical validity, invariance, authenticity (purity in texts), authorship, social and historical validity (historical and socio-cultural background), and standard ideology. See J. M. Hernández Campoy and N. Schilling, "The Application of the Quantitative Paradigm to Historical Sociolinguistics: Problems with the Generalizability Principle," in *The*

precipitous and reckless to throw out literary sources from the start. And as a matter of fact one can point to some examples of critical and fruitful use of literary sources in diachronic linguistic research.<sup>37</sup> Yet it must be emphasized that such studies inevitably consider data from both literary *and non-literary* sources and often the results are contrary to what one might expect. For example, Anipa examines a series of grammatical variables in Golden-Age Spanish (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), such as the rivalry between *haber* and *tener* (both “to have”) as main verbs to express the concept of possession.<sup>38</sup> He uses two sources of data: five literary writings of the period between 1524 and 1604, and thirteen linguistic works (or grammars) of the period between 1492 and 1625.<sup>39</sup> His attention is focused on the continuity aspect of variation, an issue that historical linguists have frequently neglected. He shows “that contrary to conventional belief, the so-called archaisms in Golden-Age Spanish [literary writings] did persist in speech for a long time and thus continued to be an active part of the linguistic repertoire of speakers throughout that period.”<sup>40</sup> “Moreover, the contrast between the two sources [literary and linguistic] constitutes a realistic reflection of the contrast between the relatively restricted scope of the written norm and the characteristically rich dimensions of spoken language.”<sup>41</sup> And he gives this warning: “For the investigation of linguistic variation, especially into historical states of language, the disastrous consequences of perceiving language only in its written form cannot be overemphasized.”<sup>42</sup> In summary, variant linguistic forms and uses in literary writings, especially the less common items, may actually reflect various

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*Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 63–79.

<sup>37</sup> See the examples cited in Schneider, “Investigating,” 2002:80; 2013:68; and especially K. Anipa, “The Use of Literary Sources in Historical Sociolinguistic Research,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 170–90.

<sup>38</sup> K. Anipa, *A Critical Examination of Linguistic Variation in Golden-Age Spanish* (Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics 47; New York: Peter Lang, 2001).

<sup>39</sup> Ayres-Bennett also explores the matter of sources of data, and combines information from literary, metalinguistic, and other non-literary writings in her analysis of language variation and change in seventeenth century France (W. Ayres-Bennett, *Sociolinguistic Variation in Seventeenth-century France* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004]). “The metalinguistic texts exploited comprise a range of documents including volumes of observations and *remarques* on the French language, dictionaries, formal grammars, and linguistic commentaries, notably on grammatical texts” (ibid., 7–8).

<sup>40</sup> Anipa, *Critical*, 229.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 230.

communicative functions rather than language change as such. Again, as Lightfoot says, literary writings—and we should remind ourselves that biblical writings are literary writings—“cannot be taken at face value and must be evaluated carefully.”

### 2.3.2. PHILOLOGY

Old writings, old literary writings in particular, and especially old literary writings of religious character such as the Bible, Vedas (Sanskrit), Avesta (Avestan), Quran (Arabic), and so on,<sup>43</sup> have limitations (secondary, edited, unknown place and time of writing, etc.) and require evaluation before they can be utilized for historical linguistic analysis. What are their composition and transmission histories? What is known about the identities and activities of their authors, editors, and scribes? Questions like these are crucial and should be resolved or as a minimum deliberated as part and parcel of any historical linguistic undertaking.<sup>44</sup> Thus *philological analysis* is necessary because in

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<sup>43</sup> Archaic religious writings such as these are written in standard (traditional, conservative) language varieties which are marked by varying degrees of invariance (missing the heterogeneity of speech or non-formal varieties of writing), archaism (retention or imitation of old or obsolete linguistic items), compositeness (rewriting and adaptation to new communities and situations), and secondariness (availability only of copies rather than original manuscripts). For some general remarks on the linguistic properties of religious (as opposed to secular) writings see Campbell, *Historical*, 289–91; Janda and Joseph, “Language,” 16–17, 140–41 n. 21; Schendl, *Historical*, 14–15.

<sup>44</sup> The role of philology in historical linguistics is routinely addressed in the literature. See the citations in n. 21. For example, in his short introduction to historical linguistics, Schendl comments on the sources of evidence and the task of philology:

The hypotheses of the historical linguist depend crucially on the interpretation of the data. It is not just a matter of the amount of data available but primarily of their quality. To evaluate the quality of old texts, we have to find out as much as possible about their extralinguistic context (such as the author, scribe, purpose, and location of a text, etc.), and about the textual tradition, including the original form and date of composition and copying. This is the task of the philologist, for whom auxiliary disciplines such as history and paleography, the study of ancient writing, are of major importance.

Only very few old texts are in the author’s own hand, and even these may show various kinds of textual errors. Mostly they are the result of multiple copying by different scribes in different regions and over a long period of time. Some texts are compilations by a specific author from linguistically divergent, possibly orally transmitted original sources, as with Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or the *Rigveda*, the oldest collection of religious texts written in Sanskrit. Such textual history may result in linguistically composite texts with a mixed language, full of scribal errors due to negligence or insufficient competence in the language(s) or varieties of the original. These different

reality many and often most or all the sources of data which historical linguists work with are far from the ideal of authentic, non-composite, dated, and localized manuscripts (they are “philologically ambiguous”).<sup>45</sup>

Let us begin with “philology.” What is it? Its meaning and the tasks it embraces have changed through the years. Campbell describes philology this way:

Philology has to do primarily with the use of written attestations of earlier stages of languages, and with how the information from written forms of a language can be used to determine aspects of that language’s history—with the methods for extracting historical linguistic information from written sources. The investigation of written records has always been important in historical linguistics...

Philology is understood in different ways. Sometimes it is taken to be merely the study of some classical or older language—in this sense we see university departments and professional journals dedicated to Classical philology, English philology, Germanic Philology, Nordic philology, Romance philology, and so on. Sometimes philology is understood to mean historical linguistics as practiced in the nineteenth century, since what today is called historical linguistics was earlier often referred to as ‘philology’, as in ‘Indo-European philology’. In another sense of the word, philology is understood as the scholarly activity that attempts to get systematic information about a language from written records. Definitions of *philology* range across these varied notions: the intensive study of texts, especially old ones; the humanistic study of language and literature, considering both form and meaning in linguistic expression, combining linguistics and literary studies; the history of literature and words; the systematic study of the development and history of languages; and the study of written records to determine their authenticity, original form, and meaning. Definitions of *philologist* involve these notions, meaning a collector of words and their etymologies; a humanist specializing in

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linguistic layers, whether dialectal or diachronic, must be disentangled and scribal errors detected before the text can be used as data for forming hypotheses about specific stages of a language. Furthermore, old texts are often translations, e.g. from Latin into Old English, or from Greek into early Gothic or Old Church Slavic, so that we have to reckon with linguistic influence from the original language (Schendl, *Historical*, 14–15).

<sup>45</sup> We are using “manuscripts” in a general sense to mean any written text of language on clay (and pottery), paper (and papyrus), skin (leather, parchment, etc.), stone, wood, metal, linen, wax, and so on. Manuscripts may be originals (autographs) or copies (of originals or copies). It is common to differentiate literary from non-literary or documentary sources, the latter including such writings as archival documents (contracts, deeds, receipts, etc.), inscriptions, letters, and so on. Non-literary sources are usually context-specific or occasion-bound and often they are explicitly dated, or easily dated on the basis of extra-linguistic evidence.

classical scholarship; and a person who engages in philology (historical linguistics).

One aim of philology is to get historical information from documents in order to learn about the culture and history of the people behind the text; another aim is to examine and interpret older written attestations with the goal of obtaining information about the history of the language (or languages) in which the documents are written. This second aim is the most common in historical linguistics today...

In the use of philology for historical linguistic purposes, we are concerned with what linguistic information can be got from written documents, with how we can get it, and with what we can make of the information once we have it...<sup>46</sup>

Like many others,<sup>47</sup> Campbell gives “philology” a broad meaning and application, and that is how we understand it in this book: philology is the full range of critical scholarship on written documents, including textual criticism, literary analysis, epigraphy, paleography, history, and so on. What did the author write? When and where? What did s/he mean? Was the original writing edited? Was it changed when it was copied? If so, how? It should be emphasized that a primary objective of philology is the dating and localizing of writings.<sup>48</sup> In this regard it is essential to distinguish dates of composition and dates of manuscripts, and to find out as much as possible about what happened to the writings in the lapse of time that separates them. Accordingly textual criticism,

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<sup>46</sup> Campbell, *Historical*, 373, 391; cf. Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 151–52.

<sup>47</sup> “[P]hilology can be considered to be the study of texts, with all that implies: first, determining exactly what the author of a text actually wrote; then, determining what the author said; then, determining what the author meant” (P. T. Daniels, “Philology,” in *Encyclopedia of Linguistics* [ed. P. Strazny; 2 vols.; New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005], 2:824–26 [824]); “Philology is the study of texts in the broadest sense. The preliminary task of philologists includes recovering and establishing the documents themselves, determining the orthography, grammar, and lexicon of their language, and reconstructing their history and context. Then their real work begins: interpreting the texts and the entire culture that underlies them. Among the subdisciplines of philology are epigraphy, paleography, and diplomatics (the study of documents)” (P. T. Daniels, “Writing Systems,” in *The Handbook of Linguistics* [ed. M. Aronoff and J. Rees-Miller; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003], 43–70 [76]); “Today the term is understood as denoting all those aspects of historical linguistics which crucially depend upon the scrutiny and interpretation of written documents” (Trask, *Dictionary*, 252). See also D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 1417; New York: Garland, 1994), 9–10; J. Ziolkowski, “‘What Is Philology?’: Introduction,” in *On Philology* (ed. J. Ziolkowski; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 1–12 (6–7).

<sup>48</sup> Dating linguistic changes and borrowings, especially the absolute dating of these, depends on dating the writings where they are found (e.g., Campbell, *Historical*, 391–96).

“the study of the history of the content of texts,” plays a central role in philological analysis and consequently in historical linguistics,<sup>49</sup> and this is the aspect of philology we focus on in chapters 3–6.

A short excursus related to BH is appropriate here. Over the years Hebraists and biblicists have occasionally addressed the relationship between (historical) linguistics and philology.<sup>50</sup> Holmstedt stands out among recent contributors.<sup>51</sup> In a 2006 article he discusses the relationship between these disciplines, arguing that they are complementary approaches (“neither chronological [i.e., sequential] nor hierarchical” approaches) which differ mainly in their object of study: linguistics is “system” oriented and philology is “text” oriented.<sup>52</sup> In a 2012 article he continues this line of reasoning.<sup>53</sup> Holmstedt’s main point, if we may be allowed to make a sweeping statement, is that (historical) linguistics is concerned ultimately with the abstract language system which produced, or which “stands” behind, the output in the written texts or textual artifacts (or: what the language was when it was alive vs. the attestation of the language in a recorded medium). Consequently, he argues, the whole idea of “linguistic dating

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<sup>49</sup> Daniels, “Philology,” 825.

<sup>50</sup> In chapter 3 we look closely all the recent discussions of *textual criticism* by scholars of BH to understand precisely how they view the “text” in their historical linguistic/linguistic dating analysis.

<sup>51</sup> See also J. A. Cook, “Detecting Development in Biblical Hebrew Using Diachronic Typology,” in *DBH*, 83–95 (83–85; cf. 88–89 [“philologically datable”], 92–93 [“philological dating”]). In her introduction to this collection of articles Miller-Naudé notes that some of the contributors distinguish “between the text of the Bible as linguistic artefact and the linguistic system(s) of Biblical Hebrew” (C. Miller-Naudé, “Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Perspectives on Change and Variation,” in *DBH*, 3–15 [10]). Only Cook and Holmstedt explicitly discuss the distinction (cf. Drescher, “Methodological,” 23).

<sup>52</sup> For example: “To summarize, then, linguists have as their goal the system of language, whereas philologists have as their goal a better understanding of the meaning of the text being observed, and language is simply the primary means to that end” (Holmstedt, “Issues”); “Whereas philologists study specific texts, linguists study linguistic systems and even the internal (mental) grammars of native speakers. Whereas philologists privilege the finite corpus and are reticent to hypothesize beyond the extant data (in good Bloomfieldian fashion), linguists recognize that no corpus represents the infinite set of sentences available to the native speaker” (ibid.). He cites Bodine and Gleason as the catalysts of his argument: W. R. Bodine, “Linguistics and Philology in the Study of Ancient Near Eastern Languages,” in *“Working with No Data”: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (ed. D. M. Golomb and S. T. Hollis; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 39–54; H. A. Gleason, “Linguistics and Philology,” in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida* (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 199–212.

<sup>53</sup> R. D. Holmstedt, “Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew,” in *DBH*, 97–124 (98–101). He cites Hale as the catalyst of his argument. See Hale, *Historical*, 19–26.

of texts” is incongruous since linguistics is not tasked with “texts” as such; rather, texts and the dating of texts are the domains of philology. He speaks therefore about “(the) philological text(s).” Holmstedt’s argument is sensible in the context of Chomsky’s distinction between I-language (internalized language; *Language*) and E-language (externalized language; *language*), which stands behind Hale’s discussion, which in turn stands behind Holmstedt’s.<sup>54</sup>

While we certainly agree in principle with Holmstedt’s general distinction between (historical) linguistics and philology, specifically that the two approaches ultimately have different objects (“system” vs. “text,” respectively), we nevertheless find his understanding of philology to be slightly off. It is inadequate because, with regard to BH, it is too limited in its conceptual sphere and temporal reach. What precisely is the philologist supposed to find out about the texts? In his 2006 article Holmstedt cites several passages from Campbell’s (see above) and Bodine’s discussions which describe the philological task, and he remarks specifically that “philologists have as their goal a better understanding of the meaning of the text being observed,” and, “Philologists read the texts, sort through the data, establish what is available, and categorize it. Minimally, a philologist tells us what is there to study, and maximally, the reconstruction of the grammar that he provides may be accurate.”<sup>55</sup> But, we ask, what point in the development of the text does the philologist seek? In his 2012 article Holmstedt clarifies his view. He suggests that “the philological text should be very much like the text-critical goal of the *last redaction*,”<sup>56</sup> referring to Tov’s distinction between two stages or processes, one of literary formation (composition/editing; “authors”/“editors”) followed by one of textual transmission (“scribes”), and suggesting that the “philological text” which the historical linguist researches is the finished literary product that stands at the beginning of textual transmission. But, we ask, why stop there? Holmstedt’s stopping point seems arbitrary. And it falls short of distinguishing dates of composition and dates of manuscripts, and finding out as much as possible about what happened to the writings in the lapse of time that separates them. Tov’s view represents the conventional view of literary and textual critics: “Most of the biblical books were not written by one person nor at one particular time, but rather over many generations.”<sup>57</sup> So, if the aim is to describe the development of the Hebrew language during the first millennium B.C.E., then why base the analysis on a reconstructed text that stands at the very end of hundreds and

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<sup>54</sup> See Hale, *Historical*, 8–10.

<sup>55</sup> Holmstedt, “Issues.”

<sup>56</sup> Holmstedt, “Historical,” 100 (emphasis original); cf. 100 n. 2.

<sup>57</sup> E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 166. This, and the fact that it is often difficult or impossible to separate literary and textual developments, strictly defined, is the reason for a chapter on textual *and literary criticism* in Tov’s authoritative introduction to textual criticism.

perhaps many hundreds of years of literary growth?<sup>58</sup> And how would Holmstedt's approach deal with some biblical books, such as Jeremiah, which reached a final state more than once? In sum, with regard to BH, philology and the reconstruction of a "philological text" should include the full range of critical scholarship on written documents, *including both their composition and transmission stages*.

The disconnect between historical linguistics and philology—the latter embracing the entire panoply of critical scholarship on written documents, including textual criticism—is not unique to BH studies. In chapter 1 (1.3) we cited Kabatek's call for a "reform" of historical linguistic research on Medieval Spanish, advocating an approach that conjoins the history of language and the history of texts. His invitation indicates that the problem extends beyond BH studies. In fact, the origin of the disengagement can be traced back to the dramatic growth of academic specialization since the nineteenth century, when the "philological triad" of language, text, and literature also broke down.<sup>59</sup> This situation began to change only in recent decades.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Note that Hale, on whose discussion Holmstedt bases his own, actually speaks about "the date of the original composition of the 'text'" (Hale, *Historical*, 19) and "the chronologically earliest composition" (ibid., 22), and says the philologist's aim is to "establish the date of its original composition, and formulate a hypothesis about the form the text had at the time of composition" (ibid., 21). Needless to say, a "last redaction" (Holmstedt) is hardly the same as an "earliest composition" or "original composition" (Hale).

<sup>59</sup> On the rise of specialization see Strober, *Interdisciplinary*, 11–15. On the breakdown of the "philological triad" see J. Børtnes, "Lotman, Bakhtin, and the Problem of a Semiotics of Culture," in *Changing Philologies: Contributions to the Redefinition of Foreign Language Studies in the Age of Globalisation* (ed. H. L. Hansen; Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2002), 77–88 (77–78), which references H. Jordheim, *Lesningens vitenskap: Utkast til en ny filologi [The Science of Reading: Toward a New Philology]* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 2001). On the deterioration of textual criticism in biblical studies, especially as a component of biblical exegesis, see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: Rise, Decline, Rebirth," *JBL* 102 (1983): 365–99; J. C. Trebelle Barrera, "Redaction, Recension and Midrash in the Books of Kings," *BIOSCS* 15 (1982): 12–35 (12–14); cf. R. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark: Text, Language and Story in 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16* (LHBOTS 470; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 55–57.

<sup>60</sup> Our remarks here are general in scope. Later we look at the reintegration of philology, especially textual criticism, in historical linguistic research on English (2.3.3, chapter 4, 4.3.1), French (chapter 4, 4.3.2), and Spanish (chapter 4, 4.3.3). The rejoining of textual criticism and biblical exegesis in the scholarship of some biblicists (see previous note) is a dialogue that is just beginning between textual critics and historical linguists of BH (see chapters 3–6).

The contributors to the volume *Textual Parameters in Older Languages* argue that “linguistic analysis of an older language may depend crucially on variable properties of the textual data themselves.”<sup>61</sup> Examples of textual parameters include text type, genre, poeticality, orality, dialect, writer demographics, scribal influence, cultural status, and whether a text is a translation from another language.<sup>62</sup> In the volume’s first article, which is a revision of the conference lecture that inspired the volume, Fleischman explores the relationship of (historical) linguistics to philology, arguing that the two disciplines have conspired—unwittingly, she believes—to produce grammatical descriptions of text languages based as much on the fantasies and desires of their practitioners as on the testimony of the texts, the “native speakers” of text languages.<sup>63</sup> This unfortunate situation exists because, on the one hand, textual critics have often neglected to take to heart that “l’écriture médiévale ne produit pas des variantes, elle est variance,”<sup>64</sup> and, on the other hand, “traditional [language] histories have tended to evacuate too many variable elements from

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<sup>61</sup> S. C. Herring, P. van Reenen, and L. Schøsler, “Preface,” in *Textual Parameters in Older Languages* (ed. S. C. Herring, P. van Reenen, and L. Schøsler; CILT 195; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), vii–viii (vii).

<sup>62</sup> S. C. Herring, P. van Reenen, and L. Schøsler, “On Textual Parameters in Older Languages,” in *Textual Parameters in Older Languages* (ed. S. C. Herring, P. van Reenen, and L. Schøsler; CILT 195; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 1–31 (1).

<sup>63</sup> S. Fleischman, “Methodologies and Ideologies in Historical Linguistics: On Working with Older Languages,” in *Textual Parameters in Older Languages* (ed. S. C. Herring, P. van Reenen, and L. Schøsler; CILT 195; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 33–58. Other excellent discussions of the indissoluble link between historical linguistics and philology (especially textual criticism), which accentuate their complementarity (and also in a general, or hypothetical, way their different objects of study, i.e., “system”/“theory” vs. “text”/“data”), are R. M. Hogg, “Linguistics, Philology, Chickens and Eggs,” in *English Historical Linguistics 1992: Papers from the 7th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 22–26 September 1992* (ed. F. Moreno Fernández, M. Fuster, and J. J. Calvo; CILT 113; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), 3–16; articles in *Historical Linguistics and Philology* (ed. J. Fisiak; TiLSM 46; New York: de Gruyter, 1990), especially A. Ahlquist, “Paragraph 16 of *Audacht Morainn*: Linguistic Theory and Philological Evidence” (1–10) and M. Rissanen, “On the Happy Reunion of English Philology and Historical Linguistics” (353–69); and articles in “Section 1: Linguistics and Philology” of *Studies in the History of the English Language II: Unfolding Conversations* (ed. A. Curzan and K. Emmons; TEL 45; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), especially D. Minkova, “Philology, Linguistics, and the History of [hw]~[w]” (7–46).

<sup>64</sup> Fleischman, “Methodologies,” 47; citing B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 111 (emphasis added). English: “medieval writing does not produce variants, it is variance.” Cerquiglini’s vision is discussed in relation to the Hebrew Bible and other Ancient Near Eastern writings in G. D. Martin, *Multiple Originals: New Approaches to Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism* (SBLTCS 7; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 28–31.

the data they have wanted to consider, insufficiently aware perhaps that language change has its very roots in language variation.”<sup>65</sup> Fleischman concludes her article by suggesting that the way past this dilemma is a dual application of the notion of *variation*: reconstitute philology (or textual criticism) on a new foundation of intrinsic textual variation, and utilize the theory and method of variationist historical sociolinguistics to provide a more solid foundation for the description of language variation in texts.<sup>66</sup> Fleischman’s remarks on Medieval French resonate closely with those of Kabatek on Medieval Spanish (see chapter 1, 1.3). Our view is that their suggested twofold text-critical and variationist approach to heavily processed and highly variant literary writings may also enhance our understanding of BH, and for this reason a large part of this book is dedicated to cross-textual variable analysis (chapters 4–6) and variationist analysis (chapters 7–9).

### 2.3.3. ILLUSTRATION: ENGLISH

So far we have mentioned various facets of research on premodern English, French, and Spanish. A closer look at English helps to illustrate some of the basic source/philology problems that historical linguists have to confront.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Fleischman, “Methodologies,” 51; citing R. A. Lodge, *French: From Dialect to Standard* (London: Routledge, 1993), 9.

<sup>66</sup> Fleischman, “Methodologies,” 52.

<sup>67</sup> We look more closely at Akkadian in the next section and Spanish in chapter 4 (4.3.3). On the history of English see J. Algeo, *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (6th ed.; Boston: Wadsworth, 2005); C. Barber, J. C. Beal, and P. A. Shaw, *The English Language: A Historical Introduction* (2d ed.; Cambridge Approaches to Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); A. Baugh and T. Cable, *A History of the English Language* (5th ed.; Oxford: Routledge, 2002); A. Bergs and L. Brinton, eds., *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (2 vols.; HSK 34; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012); L. J. Brinton and L. K. Aronovick, *The English Language: A Linguistic History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); D. Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); J. Culpeper, *History of English* (2d ed.; Language Workbooks; London: Routledge, 2005); B. A. Fennell, *A History of English: A Sociolinguistic Approach* (Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 17; Malden: Blackwell, 2001); D. Freeborn, *From Old English to Standard English: A Course Book in Language Variation Across Time* (3d ed.; Hampshire: Macmillan 1992); E. van Gelderen, *A History of the English Language* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006); Hogg et al., eds., *Cambridge History*; R. M. Hogg and D. Denison, eds., *A History of the English Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); S. Lerer, *Inventing English: A Portable History of the Language* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); E. M. Millward and M. Hayes, *A Biography of the English Language* (3d ed.; Boston: Wadsworth, 2010); H. Momma and M. Matto, eds., *A Companion to the History of the English Language* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008); L. Mugglestone, ed., *The Oxford History of English* (Oxford:

Scholars conventionally divide the history of English into four main periods (also called stages or states):<sup>68</sup>

Periodization	Dates	Events	Examples
Old English (OE)	c. 500–1100 (some: c. 450–1100)	Germanic Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain (c. 449)	<i>Beowulf</i> (8th–10th centuries)
Middle English (ME)	c. 1100–1500 (some: c. 1050–1500)	Norman invasion of Britain (1066)	Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343–1400)
Early Modern English (EModE)	c. 1500–1800 (some: c. 1450–1800)	William Caxton’s printing press (1476) and roughly the beginning of the Renaissance in England	William Shakespeare (c. 1564–1616)
Modern English (ModE)	c. 1800–present (some: c. 1650 or 1700 to present)	Independence of American colonies (1776) and end of the British monopoly on the English language	Charles Dickens (1812–1870)

Some do not make a rigid distinction between EModE and ModE, speaking instead of a single ModE period from c. 1500 to the present. Others divide the ModE period into Late Modern English (LModE) and Present Day English (PDE) with the latter beginning c. 1900. In any case our attention in this book is mainly on ME. Also, note that the simplicity of this sketch, which in fact is based principally on external historical events, disguises numerous difficulties, vertical (dialect) and horizontal (chronology), which we discuss below.

The written record of English is copious and continuous, including countless numbers of onomastic, epigraphic, and manuscript sources extending over a millennium (c. 1000–present). The sources are available as originals,

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Oxford University Press, 2006); Nevalainen and Traugott, eds., *Handbook*; I. Singh, *The History of English: A Student’s Guide* (London: Hodder Education, 2005); Smith, *Historical*.

<sup>68</sup> This periodization is repeated with minor variations throughout the standard literature (see the preceding note). The outline here mainly follows Fennell, *History*, 1–2.

copies, facsimiles, and editions,<sup>69</sup> and in electronic corpora (CD, online, etc.) which are linguistically tagged to facilitate lexical and grammatical analysis.<sup>70</sup> The following summary only deals with OE and ME since the written evidence for English skyrocketed following the introduction of the printing press in England in the late fifteenth century.

*Old English.*<sup>71</sup> The Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOE Corpus)<sup>72</sup> is the most complete collection of OE writings. It includes more than 3,000 texts, excluding some variant texts of individual writings, and has more than 3,000,000 words.<sup>73</sup> As for manuscripts proper (discounting onomastics,

<sup>69</sup> The sources available in the principal British libraries (British Library, Cambridge and Oxford libraries) are cataloged in N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957); N. R. Ker, A. J. Piper, A. G. Watson, and I. Cunningham, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (5 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1969–2002); P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 736–1600, in Cambridge Libraries* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Brewer, 1988); idem, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 888–1600, in London Libraries* (2 vols.; London: The British Library, 2003); A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 700–1600, in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library* (2 vols.; London: The British Library, 1979); idem, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 435–1600, in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

<sup>70</sup> More than sixty corpora are cataloged in the Corpus Resource Database (CoRD), part of VARIENG, the Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English at the University of Helsinki (<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/>). For a narrative description of the many electronic resources available for the historical linguistic study of English, see O. M. Traxel, “Resources: Electronic/Online Resources,” in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (ed. A. Bergs and L. Brinton; 2 vols.; HSK 34; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 2:1131–48.

<sup>71</sup> In general on OE see the works cited in n. 67, especially volume 1 of *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, as well as the following brief articles which include references to most of the widely-cited monographs: C. L. Allen, “English, Old English,” in *ELL* 4:181–84; D. Minkova, “Old English,” in *Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (ed. P. Strazny; 2 vols.; New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), 1:777–80. The following summary of sources for OE is based on Crystal, *Encyclopedia*, 10, 27; D. Denison and R. M. Hogg, “Overview,” in *A History of the English Language* (ed. R. M. Hogg and D. Denison; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–42 (35); van Gelderen, *History*, 48, 204; C. Hough, “Evidence from Sources prior to 1500,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English* (ed. T. Nevalainen and E. C. Traugott; Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 37–49; K. A. Lowe, “Resources: Early Textual Resources,” in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (ed. A. Bergs and L. Brinton; 2 vols.; HSK 34; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 2:1119–31 (1119–25); and online descriptions of various resources.

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca>; cf. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/DOEC/index.html>.

<sup>73</sup> The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE) is based on the DOE Corpus and includes all the major OE prose works (<http://www->

inscriptions, etc.) there are about 400. Many of these are dated and localized with confidence. Few date to before 700 and most date to after 900. About 30,000 lines of OE poetry (e.g., *Beowulf*) have survived in four major manuscripts (Exeter Book, Junius Manuscript, Nowell Codex, Vercelli Book; dated c. 950–1000), but overall poetry comprises only about five percent of the manuscript corpus. It has been estimated that the manuscripts have about 24,000 different lexical items of which only fifteen percent are still in use today. There is a considerable variety of text types, documentary and literary, prose and poetry, and secular and religious in nature.<sup>74</sup>

*Middle English.*<sup>75</sup> There is considerably more documentation for ME than OE, altogether tens of thousands of texts. However, a substantial part of the writings in the early ME period are in French and Latin (following the Norman conquest of England in 1066). Writings in English began to accumulate in the thirteenth century. Large (but incomplete) collections of ME texts are incorporated in *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME)*; covers c. 1150–1325),<sup>76</sup> which includes 168 texts and more than 800,000 words, and *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)*; covers c. 1325–1450),<sup>77</sup> which includes more than 1,000 texts.<sup>78</sup> Once again, there is a considerable

users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm). It contains one-hundred texts and about 1,500,000 words.

<sup>74</sup> A helpful presentation of the types of OE texts, based on texts included in the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (cf. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/index.html>), is given in L. Kahlas-Tarkka, M. Kilpiö, and A. Österman, “Old English,” in *Early English in the Computer Age: Explorations through the Helsinki Corpus* (ed. M. Rissanen, M. Kytö, and M. Palander-Collin; TEL 11; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 21–32.

<sup>75</sup> In general on ME see the works cited in n. 67, especially volume 2 of *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, as well as the following brief articles which include references to most of the widely-cited monographs: D. Minkova, “Middle English,” in *Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (ed. P. Strazny; 2 vols.; New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), 1:688–91; J. Smith, “English, Middle English,” in *ELL* 4:176–180. The following summary of sources for ME is based on Crystal, *Encyclopedia*, 34; Denison and Hogg, “Overview,” 35; van Gelderen, *History*, 112–13; Hough, “Evidence”; Lowe, “Resources,” 1125–28; and online descriptions of various resources.

<sup>76</sup> Completed by Laing and Lass in 2008; <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html>; cf. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/LAEME/index.html>.

<sup>77</sup> Completed by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin in 1986; <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>.

<sup>78</sup> The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition (PPCME2) has fifty-five texts and about 1,200,000 words (<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/histcorporata/PPCME2-RELEASE-3/index.html>).

variety of text types, again documentary and literary, prose and poetry, and secular and religious in nature.<sup>79</sup>

The preceding broad-brush-stroke review of the large number of early English textual resources might lead one to think that there are relatively few source/philology difficulties related to the historical linguistic description of OE and ME. That would be a wrong conclusion. Indeed, in her summary of resources Lowe describes the corpus of OE as “comparatively small” (!) and that of ME as having a “comparative scarcity of sources” (!),<sup>80</sup> and then there are “general problems in terms of uneven diatopic and diachronic coverage, the uncertainties of dating and localization, together with broader issues relating to manuscript production and scribal practice.”<sup>81</sup> Here we restrict our comments to ME since it figures in both our discussion of periodization (2.5) and our introduction to the theory and method of variationist analysis (chapter 7).

“The most striking fact about Middle English is that it exhibits by far the greatest diversity in written language of any period before or since.”<sup>82</sup> The period is often called “the age of dialects,”<sup>83</sup> “the dialectal phase of English,”<sup>84</sup> and so on. Scholars have conventionally (but, admittedly, simplistically) identified five dialects of ME: Northern, East Anglian, Midland (East and West),

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<sup>79</sup> Once again, a helpful presentation of the types of ME texts, based on texts included in the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (cf. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/index.html>), is given in S. Nevanlinna, P. Pahta, K. Peitsara, and I. Taavitsainen, “Middle English,” in *Early English in the Computer Age: Explorations through the Helsinki Corpus* (ed. M. Rissanen, M. Kytö, and M. Palander-Collin; TEL 11; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 33–51.

<sup>80</sup> Lowe, “Resources,” 1119, 1125.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 1119.

<sup>82</sup> J. Milroy, “Middle English Dialectology,” in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume 2: 1066–1476* (ed. N. Blake; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 156–206 (156). Note especially this comment about variation in early ME writings: “If we compare two twelfth-century texts, such as the Peterborough continuation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (East Midland) and Layamon’s *Brut* (South-west Midland), we could not be blamed for believing that they are in different languages. The differences between them are of the same order as the differences between modern Dutch and standard German: the *Brut* retains the OE case-inflexions and grammatical gender, whereas the Peterborough *Chronicle*, even though it is an earlier document, has lost most of these. But not only is there considerable divergence *between* different texts, there is also normally great variability (particularly in spelling and inflexional forms) *within* the texts” (Milroy, *Linguistic*, 131).

<sup>83</sup> R. M. Hogg, “English in Britain,” in *A History of the English Language* (ed. R. M. Hogg and D. Denison; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 352–83 (370).

<sup>84</sup> B. M. H. Strang, *A History of English* (London: Routledge, 1970), 224.

Southeastern, and Southwestern.<sup>85</sup> The dialectal differences between these regions are more obvious than in OE because there are more written specimens available from different areas and because there was not a literary standard, unlike Late Old English (Winchester Standard; until late eleventh century) and Late Middle English (Chancery Standard; after late fifteenth century).<sup>86</sup> Written ME shows substantial variability at every linguistic level, both diachronically and diatopically, and scholars frequently remark that more substantial changes took place in ME than in any time before or since.<sup>87</sup> ME is often called “the period of weakened inflections,”<sup>88</sup> a reference to the decay of the inflectional system and the related shift toward more rigid (SVO) word order (i.e., change from a synthetic toward an analytic language).

In light of the varieties of language, chronological and dialectal, in the ME period, we want to summarize, in a nutshell, two issues: manuscript dating/localization and scribal practices.<sup>89</sup> Or, given that ME is far from a coherent or homogenous entity, how do scholars put manuscripts and scribes, and their varieties of language, in order in time and place?

*Manuscript dating/localization.* Some sources, usually of the documentary type but occasionally of the literary kind, are able to be situated securely in time and/or place on the basis of *prima facie* extra-linguistic evidence. For example, an inscription may sit *in situ* or explicitly give its origin; a colophon may give details related to the author or scribe, and date and location of a text’s production; or paleographers and codicologists may be able to situate the script or decoration of a manuscript. These sorts of writings are primary witnesses, or “anchor texts.” They are the starting point. Other writings, however, especially literary ones, lack sufficient indications of their origin, and therefore they have to be situated on linguistic grounds. These sorts of writings are secondary witnesses. So, for example, in terms of ME, primary witnesses are “charters,

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<sup>85</sup> Milroy, “Middle,” 172. ME Northern corresponds to OE Northumbrian; ME Midland (East and West dialects) corresponds to OE Mercian; ME Southeastern corresponds to OE Kentish; ME Southwestern corresponds to OE West Saxon.

<sup>86</sup> Van Gelderen, *History*, 133–34; Milroy, “Middle,” 156.

<sup>87</sup> Baugh and Cable, *History*, 158; Milroy, “Middle,” 156. Note especially this comment: “At the beginning of the period English is a language that must be learned like a foreign tongue; at the end it is Modern English” (Baugh and Cable, *History*, 158).

<sup>88</sup> Barber, Beal, and Shaw, *English*, 167.

<sup>89</sup> This short review is based on the many publications since the 1960s of McIntosh, Samuels, Benskin, Laing, Williamson, and Lass, linked to the Institute for Historical Dialectology at the University of Edinburgh (<http://www.ppls.ed.ac.uk/lel/groups/institute-for-historical-dialectology>). Many of their publications are cited in *LAEME* and *LALME*. For more recent works see, for example, K. Williamson, “Middle English: Dialects” and “New Perspectives, Theories and Methods: Historical Dialectology,” in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (ed. A. Bergs and L. Brinton; 2 vols.; HSK 34; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 1:480–505 and 2:1421–38, respectively.

dealing with such matters as leases, bonds, and alliances, marriages, testaments, and also record books (ecclesiastical and lay) recording the proceedings of courts and local administrations,” and secondary witnesses are generally literary texts, whether prose or poetry and secular or religious.<sup>90</sup> English historical linguists sometimes use a method called the “fit-technique” to situate secondary, especially literary, texts *within a matrix of securely dated and localized texts*. In short, the linguistic forms (usually spellings) of anchor texts serve as a network within which to fit the language of the literary texts through a process of elimination or triangulation. The end result is a set of explicitly dated/localized texts and otherwise “fitted” texts which are situated in a particular year or quarter of century and a specific city or county. In the end, therefore, there are documentary anchor texts, literary texts with specific (temporal/geographical) associations, and literary texts with provisional associations based on linguistic criteria.

*Scribal practices.* An interesting outcome of LAEME/LALME’s fit-technique work is the discovery of various kinds of scribal practices or strategies in the composition and transmission of medieval English manuscripts. This is especially noticeable in regard to texts whose language is not fitted or placed because it is dialectally mixed. In other words, some texts are composite, meaning that they contain the linguistic forms of two or more scribes. Altogether three archetypal scribes have been found:

- The copier, or mirror-copyist, who provides an exact copy of an earlier text (linguistic conservation/retention)
- The translator, who completely translates a text into his own dialect (linguistic modernization/updating)
- The mixer, who copies and translates during scribal work, thus creating a linguistically composite text (linguistic mixing/contamination; *Mischsprache* [“mixed language”]<sup>91</sup>)

The LALME survey includes analyses of the outputs of more than 2,500 scribes, representing at least one-third of the extant ME corpus, and it concludes that at least 60% of their texts are translations, 30–40% are *Mischsprachen*, and authorial originals and copies are negligible. In other words, most scribes tended to update partially or completely the language of the (mainly literary) works which they copied. They were mainly “translators” or “contaminators.”<sup>92</sup> As for

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<sup>90</sup> Williamson, “Middle,” 485; idem, “Perspectives,” 1424.

<sup>91</sup> Note that *Mischsprache* in this context relates to the result of scribal copying rather than a mixture in actual spoken language.

<sup>92</sup> See M. Benskin and M. Laing, “Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts,” in *So many people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh* (ed. M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels; Edinburgh: The Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), 55–106 (79).

*Mischsprachen*, they reflect layers of use by different individuals and can be likened to archeological sites. Given adequate documentary evidence, and potentially multiple versions of a text, it is possible to use the fit-technique to uncover, to some extent at least, the various hands that created a composite work.<sup>93</sup>

Before we move on to an additional language illustration we should say a brief word about letters. We mentioned letters above in our discussion of Schneider's treatment of sources of data. By letters we mean private and official correspondence. Because letters often closely approximate spoken language, and because private letters in particular are frequently written by non-professional and relatively inexperienced writers, they have often been a primary source for studies of language variation and change in premodern English. It is also an added benefit of letters that frequently the social dimensions of the writers are known, such as age, gender, ethnicity, rank, social class and network, and so on, and so they are especially valuable for historical sociolinguistic studies.<sup>94</sup>

#### 2.3.4. ILLUSTRATION: AKKADIAN

Akkadian, an extinct Semitic language of ancient Mesopotamia, is attested in hundreds of thousands of texts, documentary and literary, prose and poetry, and secular and religious in nature, spanning more than 2,500 years, and a great many of those are dated with a high degree of certainty.<sup>95</sup> A recent study by Deutscher entitled *Syntactic Change in Akkadian* was able to focus on Akkadian letters spanning 2,000 years. Letters, he states, "are available from the earliest to the latest period of the language, and they form a very stable genre spanning a period of two millennia. They are ideally suited for linguistic study, because (unlike much of the material available to us from ancient languages) they give a very close idea of what the spoken language must have actually been like."<sup>96</sup> In the same context, he notes that he avoids the study of literary (poetic) texts

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<sup>93</sup> See M. Laing and K. Williamson, "The Archaeology of Medieval Texts," in *Categorization in the History of English* (ed. C. J. Kay and J. Smith; CILT 261; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 85–145.

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, A. Bergs, *Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics: Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters (1421–1503)* (TEL 51; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005); Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*.

<sup>95</sup> G. Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian: The Evolution of Sentential Complementation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 17–18; N. J. C. Kouwenberg, "Diachrony in Akkadian and the Dating of Literary Texts," in *DBH*, 433–51 (433). For a summary of archives and libraries in Middle and Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian areas see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1998), 80–120, 130–213.

<sup>96</sup> Deutscher, *Syntactic*, 23; cf. xv, 4, 18–19, 23–30 for additional remarks on the sources.

because the language “is highly stylized, and at a remove from the spoken language.”<sup>97</sup> Similarly, Luukko in *Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian* focuses on letters in particular, because unlike other sorts of compositions, like literary writings, “one may assume that letters give the most reliable information on the spoken language.”<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, unlike non-literary writings such as (unedited) letters, the sources of the literary writings are characterized by a high degree of textual fluidity and linguistic variation.<sup>99</sup> For example, the Gilgamesh Epic is an example of a relatively stable Ancient Near Eastern writing. However, in Young’s study of the epic he found that while large- or edition-scale variants had reached their end in the extant first millennium B.C.E. copies, the texts had not yet achieved stability in terms of lesser-level variants. Specifically, he found that the manuscripts of the epic exhibit linguistic variants (conservatively defined; see chapter 4, 4.5.1) against each other every ten or less words. For example, manuscripts C and J, both from Ashurbanipal’s library in seventh century B.C.E. Nineveh, preserve about 350 words in common with each other,

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>98</sup> M. Luukko, *Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian* (SAAS 16; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2004), 17; cf. 17–19 for additional remarks on the sources. In particular, regarding literary sources, he comments: “I have left aside royal inscriptions, literary (e.g. myths), administrative and economic texts, trade documents, astrological reports and oracle queries because they contain a more conservative linguistic form than the one attested in letters” (ibid., 19).

<sup>99</sup> Ancient Near Eastern literary works, including those of the Hebrew Bible, were produced over a long period of time, and clearly the precise transmission of the writings was not the norm (i.e., not literatim or mirror-copying; see 2.3.3). For detailed substantiation of this point see Carr, *Formation*, 3–149, where most of the relevant secondary literature is cited and/or discussed. Other related contributions are D. R. Dobrusin, “The Nature of Ancient Northwest Semitic Copying Practices as Reflected through Variants” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1987); R. Hobson, *Transforming Literature into Scripture: Texts as Cult Objects at Nineveh and Qumran* (BibleWorld; London: Equinox, 2012); Martin, *Multiple*; R. F. Person, Jr., *The Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World* (Ancient Israel and Its Literature 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010). Many helpful observations are also given in M. Worthington, *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism* (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012). Similar matters in Homeric literature are treated in G. D. Bird, *Multitextuality in the Homeric Iliad: The Witness of the Ptolemaic Papyri* (Hellenic Studies Series; Cambridge, MA: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2010); M. Herbert, “‘Almost Knowing How to Read’: Scribes as Creative Partners in Homeric Transmission” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2009). We discuss Carr’s and Person’s work on BH in chapter 3 (3.5.4).

and these exhibit about forty linguistic variants, or one every 8.6 words on average.<sup>100</sup>

Many of these linguistic variants reflect the later scribal transmission of the writings. As George states in his masterful edition of the *Gilgamesh Epic*: “As the epic passed through its various versions the text was susceptible to the influence of the prevalent vernacular dialects.”<sup>101</sup> Using the language of *LALME*, it is a translation or *Mischsprache*. However, note that the presence of a list of “late” linguistic forms—forms we are fairly certain are late due to our plethora of dated non-literary texts—does not lead him to conclude that the *Gilgamesh Epic* itself is late. For example, the presence of “anarchic [*sic*] spellings of final vowels,” which is a process “already well entrenched in the seventh century”<sup>102</sup> in some manuscripts, does not cause him to date the text in the mid-first millennium B.C.E.<sup>103</sup> He is aware that the linguistic forms of scribal copies simply vary in scribal transmission. Note also the discussion by Kouwenberg of the way linguistic evidence has figured in attempts to date the composition of *Enuma Elish*. Throughout the discussion, the scholars involved assume that “the predominance of late features” is due to “the process of copying in the late period” or “result[s] from a conscious modernization that the scribes undertook to make the work more accessible and/or more romantic (*romantischer*) by means of artificial archaisms.”<sup>104</sup> Akkadian scholars are well aware that while “[s]ome tablets can be dated on the basis of the ‘colloquialisms’ that they

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<sup>100</sup> I. Young, “Textual Stability in *Gilgamesh* and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Gilgamesh and the World of Assyria: Proceedings of the Conference Held at Mandelbaum House, The University of Sydney, 21–23 July 2004* (ed. J. Azize and N. Weeks; ANES Supplement 21; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 173–84. A still more striking example of variation in contemporaneous writings is provided by the three parallel Phoenician versions of the Karatepe inscription from the eighth century B.C.E. kingdom of Que in southern Anatolia. Despite being, we might presume, versions of the “same” text produced at the same time, they still exhibit variants at a rate of about one every thirteen words. This provides a very sobering insight into the fluidity of even “original” texts.

<sup>101</sup> A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1:435.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:439. On the loss of case distinction in first millennium Akkadian see W. von Soden with W. R. Meyer, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (3d ed.; AO 33; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1995), 99 (§63e). George notes that, despite the substantial number of exceptions he lists, the Kuyunjik manuscripts of *Gilgamesh* are relatively more successful in their reflection of the case endings (George, *Babylonian*, 1:439), whereas late forms are much more common still in Late Babylonian manuscripts, so much that “I have not thought it instructive to document them in the same way” (*ibid.*, 1:442).

<sup>103</sup> George dates the production of the Standard Babylonian epic to the later part of the second millennium B.C.E. (George, *Babylonian*, 1:28–33).

<sup>104</sup> Kouwenberg, “Diachrony,” 445.

contain—intrusions from the vernacular of the scribe...[a]n entirely different matter is the date of composition of a scientific or literary work.”<sup>105</sup> Thus, “[e]ven though individual manuscripts of literary texts may still be datable on grounds other than language, generally speaking, the date of composition of a literary work cannot be established on the basis of linguistic criteria.”<sup>106</sup> In summary, historical linguists of Akkadian, like historical linguists of English, do not generally hold the presupposition that the linguistic particularities of the extant manuscripts of literary works represent the details of the language of the “original” authors of those works. If so, second millennium B.C.E. literary works like Gilgamesh or Enuma Elish would be dated to some time in the mid-first millennium B.C.E.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 443.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 448. In contrast: “The nonliterary texts show clear differences according to dialect (Babylonian or Assyrian) and historical period (old, middle, or late). Consequently, they are easy to date on both external criteria of provenance and physical characteristics and internal criteria of language, syllabary, and paleography” (ibid., 448).

<sup>107</sup> In chapter 3 (3.6.7) we cite some views on source/philology issues by specialists of the Ancient Near Eastern languages of Aramaic and Ugaritic. Another interesting case in point is the Indo-European language of Hittite, the language of ancient Anatolia (largely in modern-day Turkey). Hittite was written during the seventeenth through the thirteenth centuries B.C.E. (c. 1650–1180). It is attested in over 30,000 cuneiform tablets and tablet fragments. The current catalog of Hittite texts lists nearly 1,000 writings covering the panorama of documentary and literary genres, such as historical, administrative, legal, mythological, ritual, and so on (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>). For a summary of archives and libraries in Hittite areas see Pedersén, *Archives*, 42–80. As expected there were many changes in Hittite over its attested 500 year history, which is conventionally divided into three major stages, Old, Middle, and New/Neo-Hittite. Many Hittite compositions and tablets are securely dated on the basis of philological criteria, and in the 1960s–1980s Hittitologists developed methods for situating “floating” texts (those lacking direct testimony to date of composition, especially religious writings) among the securely dated ones. Thus the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* indicates both date of original composition and date of copy. (The language of copies, morphology and syntax, was frequently updated by scribes.) These issues are summarized in T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 380–82; H. A. Hoffner and H. C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language, Part 1: Reference Grammar, Part 2: Tutorial* (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 1:2–3; and S. Luraghi, *Hittite* (Languages of the World/Materials 114; Munich: Lincom Europe, 1997), 1–3. A clear illustration of historical linguistic method in research on Hittite is D. M. Meacham, “A Synchronic and Diachronic Functional Analysis of Hittite *-ma*” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000). He traces the frequency and syntactic and pragmatic distribution of the connector (coordinating conjunction) *-ma* through the entire history of Hittite. The secure dating and sufficient completeness of the sources are considered crucial to the success of the project (Meacham, “Synchronic,” 23–26; cf. 34, 117–19, 192–94, 291–317). Meacham makes several observations which are especially

In the preceding discussion of sources and philology we have talked about some general issues of historical linguistic research and specific aspects of work on English and Akkadian. We repeat several of our main points.

- The nature of the sources of data, and their selection and evaluation, that is, their philological analysis, are fundamental issues in historical linguistic research.
- Documentary sources are generally considered primary witnesses for language variation and change, whereas literary sources are mostly avoided or deemed secondary and used cautiously.
- Literary writings often reflect a literary standard or normative dialect of writing, do not approximate speech, and are subject to the vagaries of scribal transmission. Consequently they are not considered to be primary or neutral witnesses to natural states of language usage or original compositions.
- All sources, and especially literary sources, must be carefully evaluated, keeping in mind that the origin and linguistic profile of a manuscript are not coterminous with the provenance and language of a(n) (original) composition.
- Even in unfavorable circumstances, when literary writings are unauthentic, composite, undated, and/or unlocalized, it may still be possible to make great gains, when there is sufficient documentary evidence, to sort out, date, and localize the various hands that contributed to the text.

The bottom line is that historical linguistics and philology (broadly defined, as above) are inseparable. The historical linguist has to be concerned with literary-critical and text-critical matters, with the whole gamut of text production. There are signs that a “scholarly *rapprochement*” is emerging in the historical linguistic and philological work of scholars of Medieval languages such as

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relevant in this context. First, “since the language of rituals and festivals is questionable with regard to which features are truly archaic or contemporary..., none has been included for Neo-Hittite” (Meacham, “Synchronic,” 26). Second, “the use of *-ma* in some MH texts [Middle Hittite, c. 1380–1200 B.C.E.] seems to agree with that in OH texts [Old Hittite, c. 1600–1450 B.C.E.], while other texts indicate transition or affinity with NH texts [Neo-Hittite, c. 1380–1200 B.C.E.]” (Meacham, “Synchronic,” 192). The second point illustrates the fact that contemporaneous specimens may exhibit opposite trends in their selection of variable forms/uses. In other words, some writers are more conservative in their linguistic choices and some are more progressive. See the next section and chapter 7 (7.3.5, 7.3.6). As a final note to this section, we regret that two substantial and seemingly promising volumes on the (linguistic) dating of Egyptian literary writings came into print and were brought to our attention after the present book was completed: G. Moers et al., eds., *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts* (Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 11; Hamburg: Widmaier, 2013); A. Stauder, *Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts* (Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 12; Hamburg: Widmaier, 2013).

English, French, and Spanish.<sup>108</sup> Lowe's words on OE and ME are fitting: "We forget at our peril that (to adapt a phrase) *chaque texte a son histoire*. Each...must be interrogated in a way that is sensitive to the individual mechanics and manifold complexities of its production and history. Without this requisite spadework, we build our house on sand."<sup>109</sup>

#### 2.4. VARIATION

Variation is the focal-point of sociolinguistics. In chapter 7 we look more closely at the quantitative approach of variationist historical sociolinguistics, its theory and method, and then in chapters 8–9 we analyze numerous lexical and grammatical variables in BH from the variationist standpoint. Therefore in this short section our aim is just to introduce on a basic level some concepts and definitions which are good to have in mind from an early point in this book, including the relationship between variation and change, the meaning of "variation," "change," and several other terms, and linguistic and extra-linguistic dimensions of variation.

Language variation is ubiquitous and language change is continuous. But what is the relationship between variation and change? It is an accepted fact among historical linguists that all change is preceded by variation. "Not all variability and heterogeneity in language structure involves change; but all change involves variability and heterogeneity" is the well-known pronouncement by Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog in the conclusion of their programmatic essay.<sup>110</sup> These ideas lie at the foundation of this book. Language variation and language change are inseparable.<sup>111</sup> They go hand-in-hand. "Change is essentially variation projected in the temporal dimension."<sup>112</sup> Variation is the central problem of historical linguistics. The main task is to explain it (2.2).

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<sup>108</sup> So far we have mentioned Fleischman on French (2.3.2) and Kabatek on Spanish (chapter 1, 1.3). We will continue this discussion in chapter 4 (4.3). An excellent summary of the situation in English studies is given in Smith, *Historical*, 13–15.

<sup>109</sup> Lowe, "Resources," 1128. English: "each text has its own history."

<sup>110</sup> U. Weinreich, W. Labov, and M. I. Herzog, "Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change," in *Directions for Historical Linguistics: A Symposium* (ed. W. P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 95–188 (188).

<sup>111</sup> Milroy, *Linguistic*, 1–2. This may seem like a commonsensical view but strikingly only since the 1960s have sociolinguists resolved the so-called Saussurean paradox: how can language continue to be used effectively as a vehicle for expression and communication while it is in the process of a large number of changes? See R. M. Millar, *Trask's Historical Linguistics* (2d ed.; London: Hodder Education, 2007), 333–34.

<sup>112</sup> M. J. Gordon, *Labov: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 161.

But what are “variation” and “change”? The word “change” is used in different ways in the linguistic literature. To this point we have spoken about “variation and [i.e., followed by] change,” which is intentional, because we are using “change” in the way many sociolinguists understand it, as the *outcome of diffusion* in a community/society.<sup>113</sup> So, whereas some talk about innovation (in a speaker/individual) and change (in a community/society), as we do, others, especially in the generative tradition, refer to change (or: actuation; in a speaker/individual) and diffusion (or: implementation; in a community/society).<sup>114</sup>

*Linguistic variation* is the occurrence of “competing” forms/uses with the same meaning (or, simply, different ways of saying the same thing) in a single speech community/society or variety of language.<sup>115</sup> Frequently cited examples are *pig* and *pork* (from Old French *porc*) in Middle English or מַמְלָכָה and מַלְכוּת (“kingdom”) in BH (e.g., מַמְלַכַת צְדָקִיָּה in Jer 28:1 vs. מַלְכוּת צְדָקִיָּה in Jer 49:34). Before moving on to “change” we should distinguish variation from several other similar terms. A *linguistic variant* is any one of two or more different ways in which an item (sound, word, construction, etc.) exists in the same language at the same time, whether spoken by different speakers or the same speaker on different occasions.<sup>116</sup> So, for example, צַעַק and זַעַק are two variants of the idea “to cry” in BH, and one can say they are in variation with one another. A *linguistic variable* therefore is the general or abstract feature, whereas the actual instantiations of the variable are the variants.<sup>117</sup> Thus מַמְלָכָה and מַלְכוּת are variants in variation of the variable “kingdom” and צַעַק and זַעַק are variants in variation of the variable “to cry.” So, one could say that the study of variation involves the search for consistent patterns in the use of two or more variants of a variable. The context in which these variants occur is called the *variable context*.

<sup>113</sup> For discussion see Janda and Joseph, “Language,” 12–14.

<sup>114</sup> On the latter see Fischer, *Morphosyntax*, 4; Hale, *Historical*, 33–47; cf. Lightfoot, *Development*, 77–110.

<sup>115</sup> Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 217; Trask, *Dictionary*, 360–61.

<sup>116</sup> Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 216–17; Trask, *Dictionary*, 360.

<sup>117</sup> M. Meyerhoff, *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (London: Routledge, 2006), 8. Or: “An essential construct in the study of linguistic variation is the linguistic variable, a structural unit that includes a set of fluctuating variants showing meaningful co-variation with an independent set of variables” (W. Wolfram, “Variation and Language: Overview,” in *ELL* 13:333–41 [333]). We return below to the idea of independent variables. Note that the terms “variation,” “variant,” and “variable” can occur alone, for example, just “variation,” or preceded by “linguistic” or “sociolinguistic,” as in “linguistic variation” or “sociolinguistic variable.” On “variable” also see Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 216; Trask, *Dictionary*, 359–60; and in more detail: J. A. Walker, *Variation in Linguistic Systems* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 5–15; D. Watt, “Variation and the Variable,” in *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics* (ed. C. Llamas, L. Mullany, and P. Stockwell; London: Routledge, 2007), 3–11.

Also, “variant” in the linguistic sense should be distinguished from the use of the same word in textual criticism. A *textual variant* is an alternative reading at the same point in a different textual witness. Such a variant can be linguistic as opposed to, for example, an orthographic or content variant. However, note that textual variants between two texts and linguistic variants of a particular variable may or may not coincide, that is, not all textual variants involve instantiations of a particular linguistic variable.<sup>118</sup>

We remarked above that we take “change” to refer to the outcome of diffusion in a community/society. Change concerns the spread of forms/uses in speech, and then, perhaps, their introduction and spread in writing. Thus the Milroys distinguish sharply between innovation, which is the act of a speaker(s), and change, which is the successful diffusion and integration of the innovation in the language system.<sup>119</sup> In other words, an innovation diffuses and then is perceived as a change or, conversely, an innovation that does not diffuse is not a change. One perspective is that a linguistic variant that fails to diffuse and (practically speaking) *replace* another one is not a change.<sup>120</sup> Another view, given two competing variants, is that any ultimate shift in their conditions of occurrence, whether frequency or environment, constitutes change. Here it becomes necessary to introduce several associated ideas. Two variants may occur in stable (or steady) variation, unstable (or dynamic or transitional) variation, or stabilized ( $\pm$  elimination) variation. Stable variation is not change.<sup>121</sup> Stabilized variation may represent change, or completed change, if the conditions of occurrence shifted. Unstable variation may be change in

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<sup>118</sup> The meaning of other terms such as “co-variation,” “variational,” “variationist,” “variationism,” and “variability” should be clear in their respective contexts of usage.

<sup>119</sup> See J. Milroy and L. Milroy, “Linguistic Change, Social Network and Speaker Innovation,” *JL* 21 (1985): 339–84; cf. Milroy, *Linguistic*, 164–205.

<sup>120</sup> For example: “In practice, therefore, a variable can be said to have truly changed only when its earlier variant has *completely* dropped out—virtual non-use, at least; otherwise, it has only developed a variant or variants, favoured in (written) standard form. The eventual complete change may occur only after many centuries” (Anipa, *Critical*, 27); “From that point forward [when it begins to spread] linguistic change occurs in the context of variation unless and until an innovation becomes universal in a speech community, when it is said to have ‘gone to completion.’ During that part of its trajectory one can study the change only by studying the variation in which it participates...” (Ringe and Eska, *Historical*, 45).

<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, stable variation may continue for generations, centuries, or indefinitely, thus in “variational stasis.” See the discussions and examples in Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 30; Trask, *Dictionary*, 361. Labov discusses the stability of “(ing),” “(th) and (dh),” and “negative concord” in English since probably the seventeenth century (Labov, *Social Factors*, 85–92; cf. 74–120 on stable variables in general). Milroy discusses the example of [h]-loss showing that the change from one phonetic realization to another may take many centuries and may never be complete (Milroy, *Linguistic*, 137–45). There are very many other examples of stable linguistic variation.

progress/ongoing/underway, but it is not change or more precisely completed change.<sup>122</sup> Finally, and unfortunately, the quantitative approach of variationist historical sociolinguistics cannot be altogether adequately applied and appreciated until an innovation has diffused significantly in a speech community/society, and this has an impact on the use of the method on written sources, which often contain insufficient tokens for meaningful analysis.

Linguistic dimensions (or kinds or levels) of variation and change are well-known and described in detail in the standard historical linguistic textbooks. They may concern any class (noun, verb, etc.), unit (phrase, clause, etc.), or structure (morphology, syntax, etc.) of language. More interesting here is the concept of extra-linguistic dimensions of variation. It is common in historical linguistics and sociolinguistics to distinguish dependent (or linguistic) variables and independent (or extra-linguistic) variables. Related terminology includes “constraints on variation” and “social correlates.” Language variation and change (i.e., diachronic [historical/temporal] developments) are conditioned by (synchronic) diatopic (dialect/region), diastratic (sociolect/society), diaphasic (style, register), and diasituative (register, situation) circumstances.<sup>123</sup> Generally speaking, language usage, and change and resistance to change, are social phenomena.<sup>124</sup> “The social profiles of linguistic variables are unique in that no two variables are exactly identical in terms of their linguistic and social embedding.”<sup>125</sup> Linguistic variables can be conditioned by the social attributes of the sender (speaker, writer), the receiver (hearer, reader), and/or the setting (context, situation).<sup>126</sup> Social factors that can pattern with people’s linguistic choices include age, gender, ethnicity, rank, social class and network, and so on. Unfortunately, it can be difficult or impossible to discern such demographic factors in premodern sources of data, unless somehow the writers or others have

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<sup>122</sup> A helpful discussion of these issues is given in Ringe and Eska, *Historical*, 45–48. A major theme of Milroy’s work is that from a sociolinguistic perspective an innovation is not a (complete) change until it is agreed on and adopted by some community of speakers (e.g., Milroy, *Linguistic*, 160, 221).

<sup>123</sup> This “dia-system,” also called “dia-dimensions” or “sociolinguistic subsystems,” is common in the continental European tradition of sociolinguistics. The four dimensions of diachronia, diatopia, diastratia, and diaphasia are usually attributed to E. Coseriu, “Los conceptos de dialecto, nivel y estilo de lengua y el sentido propio de la dialectología,” *Lingüística española actual* 3 (1981): 1–32; cf. Bussmann, *Dictionary*, 304. These various circumstances which together make up the hybrid nature of synchrony are also referred to as “dynamic synchrony.”

<sup>124</sup> Milroy, *Linguistic*, 4–13.

<sup>125</sup> T. Nevalainen, “Synchronic and Diachronic Variation,” in *ELL* 13:356–63 (360).

<sup>126</sup> Campbell and Mixco, *Glossary*, 216.

provided extra-linguistic knowledge about the writers.<sup>127</sup> Other independent variables include text type and genre (categorized as disituative variables).<sup>128</sup>

## 2.5. PERIODIZATION

The notion of language periodization, and language periods, stages, or states,<sup>129</sup> is a major idea of historical linguistics. We observed this previously in the quotations from Fischer and Lightfoot,<sup>130</sup> it is routinely mentioned elsewhere,<sup>131</sup> and it is inherent in talk about, for example, Old, Middle, Early Modern, and Modern English, or Medieval, Golden-Age, and Modern Spanish. These illustrations also highlight the related ideas of threefold division and a middle (e.g., Old, *Middle*, and Modern English), the “middle” being a

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<sup>127</sup> This is one of the main reasons why letters have been a primary source of data in some historical (socio)linguistic studies of premodern languages. The identities and/or social situations of their writers are frequently known or can be determined.

<sup>128</sup> We have remarked several times that our focus in this book is on the question of *what* rather than *why* (causes) and *how* (mechanisms) language changes. In any case, we should point out that theories of how and why languages change usually revolve around binary oppositions such as internal/endogenous/linguistic vs. external/exogenous/extra-linguistic, individual vs. group, formal vs. functional, and so on. Common explanations relate to a variety of biological/physical, cognitive/psychological, functional, and social factors. It seems though that language change is complex and defies a single sweeping explanation. Thus Campbell says: “As the discussion of these examples (several of them well known in the literature) shows, a broad view of language will be required in order to explain linguistic change, a view which must include internal factors, external factors, the structure of the language as a whole and how different parts of the language interact with one another, the communicative and social functions of the language, the role of the individual, the role of society/the speech community, and more—that is, the complex interaction and competition among a large number of factors” (Campbell, *Historical*, 333). Several brief but clear discussions of theoretical aspects of language change are Campbell, *Historical*, 322–45; S. Luraghi, “Causes of Language Change,” in *Continuum Companion to Historical Linguistics* (ed. S. Luraghi and V. Bubenik; London: Continuum, 2010), 358–70; Schendl, *Historical*, 67–80, 82–83. A list of proposed explanations is given in Trask, *Dictionary*, 114–15.

<sup>129</sup> Other terms are also used, such as eras, phases, etc.

<sup>130</sup> Fischer, *Morphosyntax*, 5–6, 11–12; Lightfoot, *Development*, 2–3. Elsewhere Lightfoot is even more explicit about this: “A fundamental prerequisite for work in diachronic syntax is that one should be able to compare the grammars of at least two stages of a language” (D. Lightfoot, *Principles of Diachronic Syntax* [Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 5; cf. 5–7).

<sup>131</sup> For example: “Plainly, the observation of change in a language does not amount to a simple report: it requires observation of two states of a language and a guarantee of some continuity between the two—an assurance that in some sense, these are two states of the *same* language” (Labov, *Internal Factors*, 42); Anderson, *Structural*, 1; Arlotto, *Introduction*, 5–6; Hoenigswald, *Language*, 3; and so on.

“transition” between the old and the new, or the ancient and the modern. Ancient Hebrew, itself considered the first of several successive stages of the Hebrew language (usually called Classical, Medieval, and Modern Hebrew), is not an exception, of course. BH is often thought of as having evolved through three eras, ABH, EBH, and LBH. So also, ABH sits between Canaanite and EBH,<sup>132</sup> EBH between ABH and LBH, Transitional or Exilic BH between EBH and LBH, LBH between EBH and Qumran Hebrew (QH), and QH between (L)BH and Mishnaic Hebrew (MH).<sup>133</sup> It is very difficult to escape “threes,” “middles,” and “transitions” in historical research on languages!

Language periodization seems like an intuitive and even innocent idea.<sup>134</sup> After all, it will seem obvious to many that two sentences like the following ones come from different times and represent different stages of English, Middle and Modern, respectively (or maybe somebody’s very poor spelling skills!):

In the bigynnyng God made of nouyt heuene and erthe. (Wycliffe’s Bible;  
c. 1390)

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. (JPS)

However, the familiarity and apparent simplicity of periodization actually conceal some significant difficulties which are seldom pondered deeply, or so it seems. Several of these problems are summarized in the following points.

*Endpoints.* A period or stage has a start and a finish. But in reality these are arbitrary points in time. And they are based on the present moment, which of course is always changing. Also, language variation and change are a continuous process, so starts and finishes are empty at worst and fuzzy at best. Furthermore, usually a division between linguistic periods is grounded on historical, literary, and other factors rather than language itself. So, for example, Blake observes:

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<sup>132</sup> It is sufficient to mention that aspects of the language of ABH are frequently compared to Amarna Canaanite and Ugaritic.

<sup>133</sup> See, for example, A. D. Hornkohl, “Biblical Hebrew: Periodization,” in *EHL* 1:315–25. We return to the periodization of BH in chapter 9 (9.5). As a matter of clarification note that in the present book we often use “QH” and the language of the “DSS” interchangeably. “QH” is not restricted to the Qumran scribal practice or manuscripts found in the eleven caves near Khirbet Qumran as opposed to “DSS” for manuscripts from any of the Judean Desert sites.

<sup>134</sup> However, to our surprise, we cannot recall having read a *definition* of language “period” anywhere in the literature, or at least a definition based on *linguistic* criteria (see, for example, Blake’s remark on the *Cambridge History of the English Language*, below). We might venture to define one as a division of language with a (statistical) combination of linguistic attributes which is not identical to another division of the same language with its (statistical) combination of linguistic attributes. However, the demarcation of the endpoints of such a “division” would be arbitrary.

The Cambridge History [of the English Language] is divided into periods and volumes on the basis of political, cultural and economic factors such as the Norman conquest, the spread of printing and the declaration of independence by the United States of America. The division is not based upon linguistic factors such as the onset of the Great Vowel Shift, but it has in practice been easier to put some linguistic changes in a single volume even though they should according to the political history have been spread over two volumes.<sup>135</sup>

*Duration.* Language periods can be short or long, at least in theory,<sup>136</sup> though it is fairly customary for them to be given as hundreds of years, usually because changes are seldom observable in short time frames. In this regard, Lyons remarks:

Moreover the notion of diachronic development between successive states of a language makes sense only if it is applied with respect to language-states that are relatively far removed from one another in time...If we take two diachronically determined states of a language that are not widely separated in time we are likely to find that most of the differences between them are also present as synchronic variation at both the earlier and the later time.<sup>137</sup>

*Heterogeneity.* The preceding quotation of Lyons continues with a reference to “the fiction of homogeneity.”<sup>138</sup> While it is widely recognized that different language periods are heterogeneous, that is, there is development from the old, through the middle, to the modern period, it is generally assumed, at least in practice, that the language of a particular period, that is, the old or the middle or the modern one, is more or less static. This is, naturally, a myth, given that

<sup>135</sup> N. F. Blake, “Premises and Periods in a History of English,” in *English Historical Linguistics 1992: Papers from the 7th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 22–26 September 1992* (ed. F. Fernández, M. Fuster, and J. J. Calvo; CILT 113; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), 37–46 (37). Others express similar ideas, such as Fennell, whose periodization we cited above in 2.3.3 (Fennell, *History*, 1–2).

<sup>136</sup> “The span may cover ten years, a generation, a century, or even more” (F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* [ed. P. Meisel and H. Saussy; trans. W. Baskin; New York: Columbia University Press, 2011], 101; cf. 101–2).

<sup>137</sup> J. Lyons, *Language and Linguistics: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 58. Bynon speaks about “an optimal time-lapse of say four or five centuries” for a systematic study of change, because “on the one hand the differences between successive language states are then sufficiently large to allow the statement in the form of rules of completed changes and on the other continuity is not at stake—one is clearly still dealing with ‘the same language’” (T. Bynon, *Historical Linguistics* [Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 6).

<sup>138</sup> Earlier in the book he discusses “the fiction of homogeneity” in terms of dialect, idiolect, and style (Lyons, *Language*, 24–27).

languages are constantly varying and changing, and in multiple ways simultaneously. We already mentioned diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, and diasituative variation, all of which relate to synchronous frames, whether they be one instant or many years in length. Yet several other aspects of language heterogeneity must be taken into account. It is frequently assumed that individual speakers or writers share similar or identical language characteristics and that all or most individuals mirror a group as a whole and vice versa. From one perspective this is reasonable since communication depends on a core of common linguistic facts and skills. But from a different angle it is problematic and even erroneous. So, for example, in her study of *tener* (“to have”) plus past participle in Spanish, Harre writes:

In the same way that some native speakers were more tolerant of the *tener*+past participle construction than others, some writers will be more forward looking in their use of language, and others will be more conservative. We must remember this when using textual evidence, and should be wary of throwing together examples of the construction taken from different authors, even when they are from the same period.<sup>139</sup>

This is an important point to remember for later in this book, when we discuss how many Hebraists and biblicists have tended to carry out their historical linguistic and linguistic dating work in the framework of two groups of books (EBH and LBH). Another aspect of heterogeneity concerns different rates of variation and change in different structures of language. In this regard, Finegan observes that the conventional dates for Old, Middle, and Modern English are more appropriate to a phonological than a grammatical history of English, since Modern English morphology and syntax were largely established in their current form by about 1400 (cf. Wycliffe’s version of Gen 1:1, above).<sup>140</sup>

In an article on periodization in the discipline of European and world history, Green argues that “[p]eriodization is among the most prominent and least scrutinized theoretical properties of history,” and, “[o]nce firmly drawn and widely accepted, period frontiers can become intellectual straitjackets that profoundly affect our habits of mind—the way we retain images, make associations, and perceive the beginning, middle, and ending of things.”<sup>141</sup> Periodization is really little more than an idealization with pedagogical relevance, and it needs to be discussed more openly and pondered more deeply in historical research on not a few languages, including, in our opinion, ancient

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<sup>139</sup> C. E. Harre, *Tener + Past Participle: A Case Study in Linguistic Description* (London: Routledge, 1991), 80. We return to this issue in chapter 7 (7.3.6).

<sup>140</sup> E. Finegan, “English,” in *The World’s Major Languages* (ed. B. Comrie; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 77–109 (85).

<sup>141</sup> W. A. Green, “Periodization in European and World History,” *Journal of World History* 3 (1992): 13–53 (13).

Hebrew. We will take up the challenge at the end of the second chapter on variationist analysis (chapter 9, 9.5). But here, to illustrate further, we return to the example of Middle English.

In her extensive tables and discussions of major syntactic changes in the history of English, Fischer summarizes these three changes in this way:<sup>142</sup>

Syntax	Old English	Middle English	Modern English
Operator- <i>do</i> <sup>143</sup>	Absent	Infrequent, not grammaticalized	Becoming fully grammaticalized
Auxiliaries “have” and “be” as forms of perfect tense <sup>144</sup>	“be”/“have”	“be”/“have”; “have” becomes more frequent	Mainly “have”
Verb-object and object-verb word order <sup>145</sup>	VO/OV	VO; OV becomes restricted	VO everywhere

<sup>142</sup> O. Fischer and W. van der Wurff, “Syntax,” in *A History of the English Language* (ed. R. M. Hogg and D. Denison; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 109–98 (111–13); O. Fischer, “History of English Syntax,” in *A Companion to the History of the English Language* (ed. H. Momma and M. Matto; West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 57–68 (60–62). Note that these three changes are not unique; almost all the changes she discusses illustrate our main point.

<sup>143</sup> For example: “Does he laugh?” (cf. \*“(Laughs he?)”). This feature is also called auxiliary or periphrastic *do* and *do*-support. For detailed discussion and illustration of this change in English see D. Denison, *English Historical Syntax: Verbal Constructions* (London: Longman, 1993), 255–91; Fischer and van der Wurff, “Syntax,” 112, 154–58; A. Warner, “Variation and the Interpretation of Change in Periphrastic Do,” in *The Handbook of the History of English* (ed. A. van Kemenade and B. Los; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), 45–67.

<sup>144</sup> For example: “She has returned” (cf. \*“(She was returned [with active voice])”). For detailed discussion and illustration of this change in English see Denison, *English*, 340–70; Fischer and van der Wurff, “Syntax,” 111, 139–42; M. Kytö, “Be/have + past participle: The Choice of the Auxiliary with Intransitives from Late Middle to Modern English,” in *English in Transition: Corpus-based Studies in Linguistic Variation and Genre Styles* (ed. M. Rissanen, M. Kytö, and K. Heikonen; TEL 23; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 17–85; T. McFadden and A. Alexiadou, “Perfects, Resultatives, and Auxiliaries in Earlier English,” *LingI* 41 (2010): 389–425.

<sup>145</sup> For example: “A man wants to harm you” (cf. \*“(A man wants [to] you harm)”). For detailed discussion and illustration of this change in English see Denison, *English*, 27–58; Fischer and van der Wurff, “Syntax,” 113, 185–88; S. Pintzuk and A. Taylor, “The Loss of OV Order in the History of English,” in *The Handbook of the History of English* (ed. A. van Kemenade and B. Los; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), 249–78.

Fischer is fully aware of syntactic diversity in English dialects, and in ME in particular,<sup>146</sup> so we are hardly citing these examples as criticisms of her, but only to highlight the elasticity of changes, in this example syntactic changes, across periods as they are conventionally imagined. Note especially the words/phrases “infrequent,” “becomes more frequent,” “becomes restricted,” “becoming,” and “mainly” in the ME and ModE columns. This illustration focuses on the “stretchiness” of change in a chronological, or horizontal, dimension.

We have already discussed in some detail the regional, or vertical, linguistic diversity of ME writings. It is so extensive that Milroy says “it is reasonable to ask in what sense we are dealing with a single state or stage of language. We can argue that the label ‘Middle English’ does not refer to a coherent entity, but to a complex series of divergent, rapidly changing and intertwining varieties retrospectively seen as transitional between ‘Old English’ and ‘Modern English.’”<sup>147</sup> This problem of ME as a language period has been carefully scrutinized in two first-rate articles by Fisiak and Lass.

In “Linguistic Reality of Middle English,” Fisiak reconsiders the division of the history of English with a focus on ME.<sup>148</sup> He is particularly interested in the present-day status of ME from the perspective of past scholarship and the transmission of the scholarly tradition. He therefore takes account of more than a hundred scholarly works reaching back over 150 years. He documents the extent to which the secondary literature on English underlines the arbitrariness of the endpoints of ME, the heterogeneity in between, and the problems of tripartite division and transition. At one point he highlights the absence of an empirical basis (statistical or other) for demarcating a state of ME and the transitions into and out of it.<sup>149</sup> Later he concludes that ME as a whole it is not “a real entity” or “a living dialect,” but rather, “a reconstruction...with deliberate selections of and omissions of features...a conventional formulation...a generalization...an idealization,” and so on: “Nobody ever spoke it or wrote it in this form [as in a book on the history of English] but it is real in the sense that a few or many of

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<sup>146</sup> See, for example, O. Fischer, A. van Kemenade, W. Koopman, and W. van der Wurff, *The Syntax of Early English* (Cambridge Syntax Guides; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 30–33.

<sup>147</sup> Milroy, “Middle,” 157. Milroy’s authoritative article is full of insights on linguistic variability in ME and ME language states (plural). In chapter 7 we return to some of Milroy’s (and others’) general insights on language variation and change, and language states and transitions, especially in his book *Linguistic Variation and Change*. The approach he advocates involves *less idealization of the database* than is frequently exhibited in historical linguistic research.

<sup>148</sup> J. Fisiak, “Linguistic Reality of Middle English,” in *English Historical Linguistics 1992: Papers from the 7th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 22–26 September 1992* (ed. F. Fernández, M. Fuster, and J. J. Calvo; CILT 113; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), 47–61.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

the elements were employed at some point.”<sup>150</sup> Fisiak refers approvingly to Jones’s pronouncement that “[t]here is so much Middle English data that if nonvacuous statements are to be made, they must be restricted to very small parts of the grammars of texts within well-defined areas.”<sup>151</sup>

In “Language Periodization and the Concept ‘Middle,’” Lass casts his net around Germanic before narrowing his focus to ME and, in contrast to Fisiak who focuses mainly on the history of scholarship from the perspective of secondary literature, he discusses a series of “typological characters” in thirteen Germanic languages or language states, including ME.<sup>152</sup> His overall conclusion is that language periodization and the concept “middle” have a threefold (!) explanation: expository convenience, “triadism” or “triadoman” (i.e., “craze for trichotomies”), and in some “fuzzy” way a kind of reality, although he is unsure what kind of “reality” it is. Following a discussion of various philosophical issues like those we have mentioned above,<sup>153</sup> such as “a perpetual overlap of threes,” Lass looks at hard facts on the ground,<sup>154</sup> first the loss of case distinctions and grammatical gender in particular OE and ME texts in comparison with conventional statements about their overall disappearance, and second a matrix of ten archaisms, such as person/number marking on the verb, which gradually disappear either partially or totally as one moves from Gothic, through the histories of English, Icelandic, Swedish, German, and Dutch, to Afrikaans (and Modern English). His arguments converge on two apparently contradictory positions: (a) “there ‘is such a thing’ as a ‘Middle’ Germanic language, though it’s now more diffuse than ever,” and (b) “Middle English is not a ‘linguistic entity’” in the conventional perspective.<sup>155</sup>

A concrete example will help to bring the situation home.<sup>156</sup> The *Peterborough Chronicle*, named after the monastery in Peterborough where it was copied, is a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that tells the history of

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 58. See C. Jones, *An Introduction to Middle English* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), 2. Note also his remark earlier in the article where he talks about replacing “Old English” by “the English of Alfred” or “the English of Ælfric,” and “Middle English” by “Chaucerian English” in order to get valid statements about the evolution of English from one age to another (Fisiak, “Linguistic,” 52). We look at the problematic issue of individual writers/writings vs. groups of writers/writings in chapter 7 (7.3.6 and elsewhere).

<sup>152</sup> R. Lass, “Language Periodization and the Concept ‘Middle,’” in *Placing Middle English in Context* (ed. I. Taavitsainen, T. Nevalainen, P. Pahta, and M. Rissanen; TEL, 35; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 7–41.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 8–19 (sections 1–5).

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 20–35 (sections 6–10).

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>156</sup> One might also consider case-rich and case-impoverished texts in early ME. See Allen, *Genitives*, 126–31.

England from 60 B.C.E. to the twelfth century C.E. The Peterborough version of the chronicle (Manuscript E, Bodleian MS Laud 636) is unique because it contains additions written by two different scribes, the First Continuation which covers 1122–1131, and the Second (or Final) Continuation which covers 1132–1154. An interesting observation about the language of the Chronicle, which contains both OE and ME specimens and which is more northern in its linguistic character, is that the prefix *ge-* (which is still used in Dutch and German),<sup>157</sup> disappears in the Second Continuation (early twelfth century). So, for example, one reads *gewriton* (cf. ModE *written*) in line 350, written before the year 960, but *numen* (cf. Dutch *genomen* [“taken”]) in line 1,124, written after the year 1130. The prefix survived much later in southern dialects of English, going from *ge-* to *i-/y-* to zero/nothing (e.g., *gelufod*, *iloved/yloved*, *loved*). Thus one reads *yronne* (cf. ModE *run*) in line 8 of the prologue of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* (fourteenth century), but the prefix is absent from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (also fourteenth century). In short, on the basis of distribution in dated and localized compositions and manuscripts, the prefix *ge-* disappeared, during the ME period, several hundred years earlier in the north than in the south of England. Thus, given the variability in actual texts, it is rather equivocal to talk about the disappearance of *ge-* in “the Middle English period.”<sup>158</sup> It is crucial to control for dialect in research on ME, because changes, sometimes the same changes, transpired in different places at different times.<sup>159</sup>

## 2.6. CONCLUSION

We have covered a lot of ground in this chapter. The four topics we have surveyed—the objective of diachronic linguistic research, the written sources of historical linguistics, language variation and change, and language periodization or states and transitions—are foundational to the rest of this book. We have explored these matters largely independently of the writings, theories, and methods of Hebraists and biblicists. In the following chapters we walk over much of the same ground again, in view of our discoveries in this chapter, and with a focus on BH. Those chapters are deconstructive, in that we point out

<sup>157</sup> Other common names are the preverb/preverbal *ge-* and the completive prefix.

<sup>158</sup> For general discussion and additional illustrations see Fischer and van der Wurff, “Syntax,” 141; E. van Gelderen, “Accelerated Grammaticalization in the *Peterborough Chronicle*,” in *The Language of the Peterborough Chronicle* (ed. A. Bergs and J. Skaffari; SEMLL 20; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007), 93–110 (100–109); S. Horobin and J. Smith, *An Introduction to Middle English* (Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 54; H. F. Nielsen, *From Dialect to Standard: English in England 1154–1776* (North-Western European Language Evolution, Supplement 21; Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), 42.

<sup>159</sup> See Milroy’s remark in n. 82.

some major weaknesses in recent research on the history of BH, and they are also constructive, because we argue that cross-textual variable analysis and variationist analysis can help scholars of BH to get a much better grasp on the linguistic facts of BH, and therefore to formulate eventually a better history of ancient Hebrew, regardless of what that history ultimately turns out to be. In summary, our main contention is that *historical linguistic study of BH should aim to target, record, organize, and evaluate individual linguistic items, their processes of variation and change, in specific compositions and manuscripts, not only or mainly in the MT or in assemblages of biblical books or from the perspective of the conventional (or any other) periodization of BH*. By its very nature this task will require a strong philological component, which is focused on the composition and transmission histories of biblical writings, including especially source and textual matters. To these topics we now turn.



## Chapter 3

### **Textual Criticism: Prelude to Cross-Textual Variable Analysis of Biblical Hebrew**

#### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we saw that historical linguistic research is dependent on an assessment of the nature of the sources. The first step in diachronic linguistic analysis of ancient documents should be to investigate which sources should be used, what sort of sources they are, what quantity and quality of linguistic information they provide, and similar questions. No matter how good the method, if the analysis is done on the wrong data, or based on a false understanding of the character of those data, then the excellence of the method is of no avail.

Let us illustrate this through a somewhat ridiculous story. A linguist decides to investigate the language of the prophet Micah, which he naturally assumes is evidenced by the biblical book of Micah. He knows that the prophet Micah lived c. 700 B.C.E., and so considers that his analysis will provide valuable insight into the language used in Micah's time. The linguist does his analysis, using the finest linguistic methods available, and presents his results. But the linguist has made a fundamental error: he has analyzed the English language of the King James Version of the book of Micah. Because he was unaware of the nature of the source of linguistic evidence he was analyzing, he made the false assumption that that evidence would give him an insight into the language of the prophet Micah, when in fact the analysis is worthless, despite its methodological brilliance.

Historical linguistic analysis of ancient Hebrew has habitually proceeded on the assumption that the Hebrew language of the MT represents largely unchanged the actual language used by the original authors of biblical writings. We document this assumption in the work of some key Hebrew language scholars in 3.4. This assumption, however, is out of line with the consensus view

of specialists on the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible, who consider that the details of the biblical writings were so fluid in their textual transmission that we have no way of knowing with any degree of certainty what the original of any biblical composition looked like. We document this consensus in 3.5. We then move on to an evaluation of work on textual criticism by Hebrew language scholars (3.6). This is followed by a discussion of important points in 3.7. However, before we document the different views of historical linguists and textual critics on the text of the Hebrew Bible, we make some introductory comments on the discipline of textual criticism (3.2) and the sources of data for ancient Hebrew (3.3).

### 3.2. BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF SOME TEXT-CRITICAL ISSUES

Textual criticism “is the study of the history of the content of texts.”<sup>1</sup> Or, in relation to the Hebrew Bible, “[t]extual criticism deals with the nature and origin of all the witnesses of a composition or text, in our case the biblical books.”<sup>2</sup> Handbooks on textual criticism typically look at the necessity and objective of textual criticism, the mechanisms of textual change, and the procedures of textual criticism, and they give a description of the textual witnesses. In this chapter and chapters 4–6 we deal with some aspects of these issues, but obviously we do not intend for our discussions to replace the standard introductions to this field of research.<sup>3</sup> One matter, however, which is important to keep in mind is various conceptions of what the “original” text of a biblical writing could mean. Ulrich offers eight possibilities:

1. The “original text” of the *source* incorporated by an early author or tradent (e.g., the Canaanite or Aramean stories incorporated by J).
2. The “original text” of the work produced by an early author or tradent (J, Dtr, P).
3. The “original text” of the *complete* book, recognizable as a form of our biblical book, as it left the hand of the last major author or redactor (e.g., the book of Exodus or Jeremiah).
4. The “original text” as it was (in developed form) at the stage of development when a community accepted it as an authoritative book.
5. The “original text” as the consonantal text of the Rabbinic Bible (the consonantal text that was later used by the Masoretes).
6. The “original text” as the original or superior form of the MT as interpreted, vocalized, and punctuated by the Masoretes.
7. The “original text” as fully attested in extant manuscript witnesses.

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<sup>1</sup> Daniels, “Philology,” 825.

<sup>2</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Tov, *Textual*, and the list of other introductory works to textual criticism cited on his p. 1.

8. The “original text” as reconstructed from the extant testimony insofar as possible but with the most plausible conjectural emendations when it is generally agreed that no extant witness preserves a sound reading.<sup>4</sup>

The aim of textual criticism can relate to one, several, or all of these levels. How one approaches the text-critical task relates to one’s conceptions of (a) the composition and transmission stages of the biblical writings and (b) the definitions and relationship of literary criticism and textual criticism. While contemporary text-critical scholars are able in theory to distinguish composition from transmission stages and literary from textual approaches, it is difficult and often impossible in practice to keep these matters separate, because the final composition (or editorial) and early transmission stages of biblical writings, strictly defined, overlapped substantially, and so both approaches must be used in combination when seeking to trace the developments of biblical writings.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, regardless of one’s posture on the objective of *textual criticism* as such, the *philological task* of the historical linguist must incorporate both the literary and textual approaches (see chapter 2, 2.3.2).

### 3.3. SOURCES FOR BIBLICAL HEBREW

It is widely regarded to be the case that the Hebrew Bible is long-duration literature, the final product of a complex process of composition and transmission, whose content (including language) is authorial, editorial, and scribal.<sup>6</sup> The Bible was produced by individuals and groups who lived in many different times and places. Few will dispute the view that at least some of the writings of the Bible, whether sources or books, had their written origins sometime around the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. Accordingly it is

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<sup>4</sup> E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 3–16 (13; cf. 12–16).

<sup>5</sup> On the relationship between literary criticism and textual criticism see Tov, *Textual*, 1–2, 161–90, 283–326; J. C. Trebelle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 382–87, 390–403; and the discussion of the “textual-exegetical approach” in Rezetko, *Source*, 55–68.

<sup>6</sup> Carr, *Formation*; J. C. Gertz, A. Berlejung, K. Schmid, and M. Witte, *T&T Clark Handbook of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Literature, Religion, and History of the Old Testament* (London: T&T Clark, 2012); A. Rofé, *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 9; Jerusalem: Simor, 2009); T. Römer, J.-D. Macchi, and C. Nihan, eds., *Introduction à l’Ancien Testament* (MdB 49; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2009); K. Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012). Also see the discussions in *LDBT* 2:1–71 of individual books and groups of books with particular reference to their linguistic characteristics.

commonly believed in both traditional and progressive scholarship that the writings of the Hebrew Bible reflect many different moments in time over roughly a thousand-year period, from approximately the tenth century, if not earlier in some instances,<sup>7</sup> to the second century B.C.E. The biblical writings share the complications of other “philologically ambiguous” archaic religious writings, written in a High dialect or standard literary language, and therefore they require evaluation before they are usable as sources of data for historical linguistic analysis.<sup>8</sup> Other problems are the relative sizes of individual books and groups of books, and different genres. For example, it is difficult, and statistically problematic,<sup>9</sup> to compare the language of a long prose book like Genesis with a short one like Ruth,<sup>10</sup> or of a long prose corpus like Genesis–Kings with a short one like Esther–Chronicles.<sup>11</sup> The most taxing issue, however, is the nature of the manuscript evidence for BH.

The four premishnaic corpora which comprise Classical Hebrew, or all Hebrew texts originally written prior to 200 C.E., are the Hebrew inscriptions, the book of Ben Sira, the DSS (non-biblical and biblical), and the Hebrew Bible. The *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* offers the following statistics for the number of words in these corpora:<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> In addition, including oral precursors would further lengthen this time frame.

<sup>8</sup> See chapter 2 (2.3.2), especially n. 43. The literary control on language variation and change in relation to BH is nicely stated in W. Chomsky, *Hebrew: The Eternal Language* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1957), 30–31, 46–49.

<sup>9</sup> We discuss this issue in chapter 7 (7.3.7).

<sup>10</sup> 20,613 vs. 1,294 graphic units. To give an example of what we mean by graphic units, וַיִּזְכֹּר is four words but only one graphic unit.

<sup>11</sup> 149,641 vs. 42,088 graphic units, and much of the latter is synoptic Chronicles.

<sup>12</sup> *DCH* 8:9.

<b>Corpus</b>	<b>Number of Words / Percent of BH</b>	<b>Percent of Total Corpus</b>
Hebrew Inscriptions	6,762 / 1.6%	1.25%
Wisdom of Ben Sira <sup>13</sup>	13,818 / 3.2%	2.56%
Non-Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls <sup>14</sup>	85,507 / 19.7%	15.86%
Hebrew Bible <sup>15</sup>	432,982	80.32%
Total	539,069	99.99%

These numbers and percentages, while not absolutely precise, are good estimates of the absolute and relative figures. The Hebrew Bible has 432,982 words whereas non-BH has 106,087 words (or 24.5% of BH). According to *DCH* “the total amount of Hebrew text in sources outside the Bible (not counting the biblical manuscripts from Qumran) is equivalent to about one-third of the Hebrew Bible.”<sup>16</sup> This is a high estimate and the numbers suggest that the actual figure may be lower.<sup>17</sup>

The earliest sources of ancient Hebrew are inscriptions, or epigraphic texts, most of which date to the monarchic or First Temple period. There are very few Hebrew inscriptions from the postmonarchic or Second Temple period. These are non-biblical writings, many of them are letters, and they deal with a large variety of topics. It is noteworthy that while there is a fairly large number of

<sup>13</sup> We do not discuss the book of Ben Sira in the following remarks. For some general remarks and surveys of the language of the book see M. Kister, “Ben Sira,” in *EHL* 1:260–62; *LDBT* 1:266–79.

<sup>14</sup> *DCH* includes the Bar-Kokhba correspondence among the “Qumran and Related Non-Biblical Texts.” Altogether fifteen letters written by Simon bar Kokhba, dated 132–135 C.E., were found in the “Cave of Letters.” For some general remarks and surveys of the language of the letters see U. Mor, “Bar Kokhba Documents,” in *EHL* 1:254–58; *LDBT* 1:231–37.

<sup>15</sup> “Hebrew Bible” and the figure 432,982 include both the Hebrew and Aramaic parts. The following discussion does not consider quotations of biblical writings in the non-biblical DSS or rabbinic writings.

<sup>16</sup> *DCH* 8:7. Note the following qualification: “Where there are multiple copies of the same text or work (as in the case of the Damascus Document or the Book of Jubilees, of which 14 or 15 copies are known), for the purposes of the Dictionary we have regard only to the one *text*. Thus a given word may occur in 14 different manuscripts of Jubilees, but it will be noted and counted only once in the Dictionary” (*DCH* 1:33).

<sup>17</sup> Note *DCH*'s additional explanation with the higher percentages: “It becomes evident that Ben Sira is about 3% of the size of the Hebrew Bible, while the non-biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls amount in length to almost 20% of the Hebrew Bible, and the Inscriptions to over 2%... Together the non-biblical corpora are now equivalent in length to about 30% of the Hebrew Bible” (*DCH* 8:10).

texts (more than a thousand),<sup>18</sup> they are mostly short or fragmentary, and altogether they are a very small part of the corpus of ancient Hebrew (not much more than 1%). “Because the epigraphic texts have not undergone the same process of orthographic and linguistic standardization characteristic of BH texts, they often provide corrective insights into the reconstruction of the developmental history of the Hebrew language(s).”<sup>19</sup> However, the size of the corpus, the scope of the texts, and especially their genre (documentary, many letters), make comparison of their language with the language of the literary writings of the Hebrew Bible difficult, and there are significant linguistic similarities *and* differences between the inscriptions and BH.<sup>20</sup>

The Dead Sea Scrolls are some 100,000 fragments discovered in caves behind Khirbet Qumran and at various other nearby locales which comprise about 930 reconstructed fragmentary manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> According to a common

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<sup>18</sup> See the list of texts in *DCH* 8:43–59; cf. G. I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 2004). About 430 texts from the monarchic period are given in F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, J. J. M. Roberts, C. L. Seow, and R. E. Whitaker, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> J. M. Hutton, “Epigraphic Hebrew: Pre-Roman Period,” in *EHL* 1:835–42 (835). Note also Miller’s comments: “At various points in the discussion, reference will be made to linguistic analyses involving the Hebrew Bible, even though the Bible is within a manuscript tradition and falls outside of the rubric of ‘epigraphic’ and even though linguistic research on scribally redacted texts involves additional difficulties not considered here” (C. Miller, “Methodological Issues in Reconstructing Language Systems from Epigraphic Fragments,” in *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions: The Proceedings of a Symposium August 12–14, 2001 at Trinity International University* [ed. J. K. Hoffmeier and A. Millard; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 281–305 [281 n. 2]); “Ultimately, linguists who analyze biblical texts must reckon with a scribally redacted and transmitted text; there is no ‘direct and precise access to any one synchronic stage of ancient Hebrew’ [citing Barr]” (C. Miller, “Linguistics,” in *Dictionary of the Old Testament Historical Books* [ed. B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2005], 657–69 [659]). Miller expresses similar ideas in *idem.*, *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative* (HSM 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 14–29. One of the sources she cites is C. H. J. van der Merwe, “An Adequate Linguistic Framework for an Old Hebrew Linguistic Database: An Attempt to Formulate Some Criteria,” *Journal for Semitics* 2 (1990): 72–89 (78–79). These authors do not pursue the implications of the standardization and scribal redaction of the language of the Hebrew Bible for historical linguistic research on BH.

<sup>20</sup> *LDBT* 1:143–72.

<sup>21</sup> For the texts see the volumes of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*; F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998); E. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). For lists of texts and various kinds of statistics see *DCH*

classification, about 350 are sectarian documents (37%), 250 are non-sectarian documents or documents related to common Judaism (27%), 230 are biblical manuscripts (25%),<sup>22</sup> and 100 are unidentified writings (11%). One estimate is that the surviving non-biblical scrolls contain 85,507 words.<sup>23</sup> As for the surviving biblical scrolls, there are more than 45,142 graphic units<sup>24</sup> or 94,000 words.<sup>25</sup> In total there are about 250 separate works (or “titles”) in multiple copies. The dates of the manuscripts, which should be distinguished from the dates of the compositions, are commonly assigned to the period between c. 250 B.C.E. and 68 C.E.<sup>26</sup> About 700 of the manuscripts are in Hebrew, and the rest are

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8:12–43; E. Tov, ed., *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002); idem, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); idem, *Textual*, 93–111. Also see G. Geiger, “Manuscript Sources of Hebrew from the Judean Desert,” in *EHL* 2:569–72.

<sup>22</sup> “Within the Qumran corpus of some 930 texts, the biblical texts constitute 22% (not counting the *tefillin* and *mezuzot*)” (Tov, *Textual*, 95). By “biblical” we mean compositions in the MT Hebrew Bible. This is done for convenience. We do not mean to enter into the complicated discussion of what was considered “biblical” in that era, on which see, for example, M. M. Zahn, “Talking About Rewritten Texts: Some Reflections on Terminology,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila; BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 93–119, with extensive references; cf. Young, “Loose,” 89–90.

<sup>23</sup> *DCH* 8:9. There are 133,141 words if multiple copies of the same composition are counted (M. G. Abegg, Jr., “Linguistic Profile of the Isaiah Scrolls,” in *Qumran Cave I, Volume 2: The Isaiah Scrolls: Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* [ed. E. Ulrich and P. W. Flint; DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010], 25–41 [25]).

<sup>24</sup> For the statistics and method see I. Young, “The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Masoretic Text: A Statistical Approach,” in *Feasts and Fasts: A Festschrift in Honour of Alan David Crown* (ed. M. Dacy, J. Dowling, and S. Faigan; Mandelbaum Studies in Judaica 11; Sydney: Mandelbaum Publishing, University of Sydney, 2005), 81–139.

<sup>25</sup> Abegg, “Profile,” 25.

<sup>26</sup> For the alternative suggestion of a first century B.C.E. date for the deposit of the Qumran scrolls see I. Young, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text in the Light of Qumran and Masada: A Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 364–90; idem, “Biblical Scrolls”; idem, “The Contrast between the Qumran and Masada Biblical Scrolls in the Light of New Data: A Note in Light of the Alan Crown Festschrift,” in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown* (ed. S. Tzoref and I. Young; Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 20; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), 113–19, picking up the work of G. L. Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum: A Critical Edition* (JSPSup 35; Copenhagen International Seminar 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 683–754; idem, “The Legacy of an Error in Archaeological Interpretation: The Dating of the Qumran Cave Scroll Deposits,” in

in Aramaic and a few in Greek. Much of the Qumran literature is prescriptive, and prose is poorly attested, in contrast with BH, so it is difficult to compare the language, especially the syntax, of significant portions of BH and QH.<sup>27</sup> All the writings of the Hebrew Bible are attested with the exceptions of Esther and Nehemiah. However, the twenty-three attested biblical books (counting Ezra–Nehemiah as one and the Twelve as one) are represented very unevenly. For example, there are thirty-nine copies of Psalms and thirty-three of Deuteronomy, but there is only one fragmentary copy of each of Ezra and Chronicles. Yet these figures are misleading, because once parallel portions of multiple copies are taken into consideration, much less than half of each of the biblical books of Psalms and Deuteronomy, for example, has survived. This means that for the contents of most biblical books—1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is the notable exception<sup>28</sup>—the *earliest* Hebrew manuscript evidence is dated to the *Middle Ages*.<sup>29</sup>

There are two important medieval manuscript sources for the Hebrew Bible. The first is the Masoretic Text, the rabbinic or received version of the Bible, which has survived in thousands of medieval manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> The most important copies are the Aleppo (A; c. 925 C.E.) and Leningrad (L; 1009 C.E.) codices. The Hebrew Bible (Hebrew and Aramaic), as represented in particular in Codex L, has 432,982 words,<sup>31</sup> or 305,500 graphic units,<sup>32</sup> including approximately 8,435 unique lexemes.<sup>33</sup> We say much more below on the MT (and proto-MT) and

*Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenber; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 147–57; D. Stacey and G. Doudna, with a contribution by G. Avni, *Qumran Revisited: A Reassessment of the Archaeology of the Site and Its Texts* (BAR International Series 2520; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013); and I. Hutchesson, “63 BCE: A Revised Dating for the Deposition of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *QC* 8 (1999): 177–94.

<sup>27</sup> We discuss specific aspects of the language of the DSS in chapters 6, 8–9.

<sup>28</sup> See chapter 4 (4.4.2.2). We give precise figures for the book of Samuel in chapter 6 (6.4.2).

<sup>29</sup> The largest biblical scrolls are: (1) 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (22,696 words, 24% of the Qumran biblical corpus); (2) MurXII (4,834 words, 5%); (3) 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (4,603 words, 5%); (4) 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (3,656 words, 4%) (Abegg, “Profile,” 25). Altogether these four manuscripts comprise 38% of the Qumran biblical manuscript corpus.

<sup>30</sup> On the MT see Tov, *Textual*, 24–74; cf. J. Olszowy-Schlanger, “Manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible in the Middle Ages,” in *EHL* 2:572–75.

<sup>31</sup> *DCH* 8:9. According to BibleWorks the number is 432,596.

<sup>32</sup> *VOT* 23. According to *TLOT* 3:1445 the number is 305,441, including 300,613 Hebrew units and 4,828 Aramaic ones.

<sup>33</sup> According to BibleWorks, there are 7,727 unique Hebrew lexemes with 425,398 occurrences and 706 unique Aramaic lexemes with 7,198 occurrences.

how textual critics and historical linguists use it. The other medieval manuscript source for the Hebrew Bible is copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP).<sup>34</sup>

To summarize, the sources of data for ancient Hebrew are rather scanty compared to the evidence for other premodern languages, whether English or Akkadian or any one of many other languages.<sup>35</sup> Additionally the non-biblical sources for ancient Hebrew—Hebrew inscriptions, the book of Ben Sira, and the non-biblical DSS—are rather inadequate “anchors” for comparison with the language of the Hebrew Bible because of significant differences related to corpora sizes, subjects, genres, registers, possibly dialects, and so on. These limitations have to be factored into any historical linguistic analysis. As for the Hebrew Bible itself, there are three principal manuscript sources: early and fragmentary biblical DSS manuscripts and late MT and SP manuscripts. In reality, however, *all* the textual evidence for the Hebrew Bible is relatively late. The oldest manuscript evidence is already quite removed from the times of the original authors. The Qumran scrolls date centuries, perhaps many centuries, and in some cases maybe even a millennium, after the origins of the biblical books or their constituent parts. Furthermore, results of literary and textual analyses,<sup>36</sup> and the analogy of production of other Ancient Near Eastern literature, show that biblical writings evolved over time through a complex writing and editing process. Therefore, to paraphrase Fischer’s statement, “because the texts of the Hebrew Bible are edited, they are, as it were, an interpretation of the primary material, and it could be said that they constitute *secondary* sources rather than primary ones in the diachronic study of ancient Hebrew.”<sup>37</sup> In other words, from the perspective of general historical linguistic theory and method, there is no *primary* evidence for BH; the evidence is *secondary* (DSS, MT, SP) or *tertiary* (i.e., translational: Septuagint [LXX], Old Latin, etc.) or tangential (inscriptions, non-biblical DSS, etc.). In short, the textual witnesses are nonauthentic, composite, and largely unsituated in time and place.<sup>38</sup> The upshot of this difficult and uncomfortable situation for the historical

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<sup>34</sup> On the SP see Tov, *Textual*, 74–93; cf. M. Florentin, “Samaritan Pentateuch,” in *EHL* 3:456–57; *LDBT* 1:344 n. 9.

<sup>35</sup> Compare, for example, the descriptions of archives and libraries in the “western alphabetic area” (the Levant) dating to the period 800–330 B.C.E. (Pedersén, *Archives*, 219–35) with those of Middle and Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian areas and Hittite areas (see chapter 2, 2.3.4).

<sup>36</sup> There are *many thousands* of small and large differences between the existing textual witnesses of the Hebrew Bible, including unintentional mistakes, intentional changes, and various kinds of omissions (minuses), additions (pluses), and changes. This is illustrated in chapters 5–6.

<sup>37</sup> See chapter 2 (2.3.1).

<sup>38</sup> In a discussion of problems with modern editions of texts, Lass compares “[t]he ideal model for a corpus or any presentation of a historical text” to “an archaeological site

linguist is that the sources of data call for careful evaluation before they are used in historical linguistic investigation, and while no source of data should be denigrated, neither should any source of data be privileged. For example, medieval manuscripts may possibly be better copies than much earlier ones,<sup>39</sup> but at the outset the MT should not be considered a good or better text, or a bad or worse text, but simply a text, a witness. Unfortunately, however, this is not how things have gone in historical linguistic work on BH.

#### 3.4. THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE MT IS THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

The simple equation that the language of the MT represents in detail the language of original authors is evident in almost any sampling of the classic work on the Hebrew language up to the present day. We offer here just a few illustrations, drawn from the work of major scholars in Hebrew language study over the last decades.

The assumption that the MT represents in detail the original text of the Hebrew Bible is most evident when scholars comment on individual peculiarities of the orthography of the MT as evidence of the spelling habits of the original authors. Note Rooker's discussion of the spelling of "David":

In the book of Ezekiel, while the name דָּוִד occurs only four times, it is significant that one of these spellings is plene, identical to the pattern in the postexilic works (34:23). Ezek 34:23 provides an early attestation to this trend,

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or a crime-scene: no contamination, explicit stratigraphy, and an immaculately preserved chain of custody" (R. Lass, "Ut Custodiant Litteras: Editions, Corpora and Witnesshood," in *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology* [ed. M. Dossena and R. Lass; Linguistic Insights, Studies in Language and Communication 16; Bern: Peter Lang, 2004], 21–48 [46]). It is only a small step from reliance on a modern edition, or edited text, to reliance on relatively late exemplars of ancient editions, or edited texts, of biblical writings, about which we know almost nothing with certainty about their "contamination...stratigraphy...chain of custody."

<sup>39</sup> On this issue see R. Browning, "Recentiores Non Deteriores," *BICS* 7 (1960): 11–21; Hale, *Historical*, 19–26; C. Martone, "'Recentiores non deteriores': A Neglected Philological Rule in the Light of the Qumran Evidence," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Steudel and E. J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 205–15; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (2d ed.; Florence: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1952), 41–108; Tov, *Textual*, 274; cf. Kofoed, *Text*, 33–112; idem, "Using," 93–114 (especially 101–3). In chapter 4 (4.4.2.2) we look again at the *prima donna* example of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and MT Isaiah, studied in detail by Kutscher and cited often by historical linguists.

and we conclude that this tendency to write the name of  $\text{יְרוּשָׁלַיִם}$  as *plene* was beginning to increase in frequency in the exilic period.<sup>40</sup>

In other words, the MT of Ezekiel, even down to details such as the *plene* and defective spelling of individual words, reflects the exact wording that left the pen of Ezekiel himself. Another, more recent example is found in Rendsburg's article on the language of the newly discovered *Hazon Gabriel* inscription. Here Rendsburg wonders: "Does the author of Jer 26:18 utilise the 'long' spelling [of 'Jerusalem'  $\text{יְרוּשָׁלַיִם}$ ], since the passage quotes Mic 3:12 with the 'short' spelling [i.e.  $\text{יְרוּשָׁלַם}$ ]?"<sup>41</sup> In other words, the MT represents even the spelling choices of preexilic authors. Moving out to the level of individual word choice, Rendsburg offers another example of assumed textual stability. In a carefully argued study of the language of the Song of Songs, he states: "In actuality, the only piece of linguistic evidence which serves the scholar to date the book in the post-exilic period is the presence of the Persian loanword  $\text{פְּרָדֶס}$  'orchard, garden' in 4:13..."<sup>42</sup> In other words, the text of the Song of Songs is thought to have been copied so precisely that this one loanword is imagined as being reliable evidence of the language used at the time of the book's composition.<sup>43</sup>

Two of the most influential scholars in forming approaches to study of ancient Hebrew are Kutscher and Hurvitz. Since Hurvitz's work stretches up to the current date and he provides explicit comments on textual criticism, we will discuss his work in 3.6.2. Kutscher is a good example of an older scholar who equates the MT with the original text of the Hebrew Bible. Note how Kutscher's seminal study of the language of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> takes the MT as simply "the Bible,"

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<sup>40</sup> M. F. Rooker, "Dating Isaiah 40–66: What Does the Linguistic Evidence Say?," *WTJ* 58 (1996): 303–12 (306).

<sup>41</sup> G. A. Rendsburg, "Hazon Gabriel: A Grammatical Sketch," in *Hazon Gabriel: New Readings of the Gabriel Revelation* (ed. M. Henze; SBLJL 29; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 61–91 (66 n. 23).

<sup>42</sup> G. A. Rendsburg, "Israelian Hebrew in the Song of Songs," in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (ed. S. E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Publication of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University 1; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2006), 315–23 (318).

<sup>43</sup> In a co-authored publication on the Song of Songs, Noegel and Rendsburg include an excursus on text-critical issues (57–62) and discuss in more detail the relevance of  $\text{פְּרָדֶס}$  for dating the book (174–84). See S. B. Noegel and G. A. Rendsburg, *Solomon's Vineyard: Literary and Linguistic Studies in the Song of Songs* (SBLAIL 1; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009). They consider and accept that the text of Song of Songs, originally written in c. 900 B.C.E., was updated in the postexilic period *in this single instance*. They frankly admit, however: "Readers who are aware of our (that is, both authors') scholarship will know that generally speaking we are reticent to enter into such matters—that is to say, typically we treat only the Masoretic Text in our research" (Noegel and Rendsburg, *Solomon's*, 181).

which may be contrasted with Qumran and other biblical texts.<sup>44</sup> The MT is “the canonized text,”<sup>45</sup> “the standard text,”<sup>46</sup> “a/the model text(s),”<sup>47</sup> and so on. In contrast, other texts are “popular” or “vernacular” texts.<sup>48</sup> The SP and the LXX (he generalizes from LXX Isaiah to all the Septuagintal texts<sup>49</sup>) are characterized by “their uninhibited approach to the canonized text...scribal errors abound in all of them, [and] they all underwent conscious editing.”<sup>50</sup> The MT is “the Bible,” which may be contrasted with Qumran and other biblical texts.<sup>51</sup> “Since care was not taken to preserve these popular texts from all the various forms of corruption, they naturally came to differ from the Masoretic Text in many details.”<sup>52</sup> It is clear from his discussion that the language of “the Bible” (MT) is in detail the language of the time of the authors. Hence, for example, Kutscher can tell when the same linguistic form is being used as an archaism or as a late Aramaism because he knows that some compositions like Genesis, Deuteronomy, or Samuel are the oldest biblical writings, while other compositions like Daniel are later, and *in detail* the language of the MT reflects the language of the original forms of these biblical compositions. As one example out of hundreds, note the simple statement: “The words מלה, מלל are native Hebrew—we already find them in Gen. xxi 7 and II Sam. xxiii 2.”<sup>53</sup> This statement makes no sense at all except on the assumption that not only are Genesis and Samuel “early” writings that predate the time that Kutscher suggests such “Aramaisms” could be ascribed to actual Aramaic influence, but the specific details of those *written texts* have not been changed since that early time.<sup>54</sup>

Another influential scholar is Polzin. His often-cited *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* shares the assumption that the details of the MT reflect the language of the original composition.

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<sup>44</sup> E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIsa<sup>a</sup>)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 50.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 78, 85.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 82–83, 85–86.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 77–89, *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 77–89, *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 79. Kutscher’s approach is reflected in the bizarre situation where some works on Hebrew language include non-MT witnesses to the biblical text in their “Index of Extra-Biblical References.” See, for example, M. F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel* (JSOTSup 90; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 213–14.

<sup>53</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 26.

<sup>54</sup> For additional discussion of Kutscher’s views on IQIsa<sup>a</sup> see chapter 4 (4.4.2.2) and Young, “Loose.”

Polzin has been criticized for his over-precise use of statistics drawn from small samples,<sup>55</sup> but the assumption behind this approach is what interests us here, which is one of (near) total textual stability. Thus, when Polzin remarks that the “Nehemiah’s Memoirs” section of the book of Nehemiah “prefers to construe singular collectives...as singular,” he means that there are two cases of singular and one of plural.<sup>56</sup> Or, when he notes that the ground stratum of the P source “prefers to construe singular collectives in the plural rather than in the singular,” he means the statistic of ten plural to nine singular.<sup>57</sup> This is especially remarkable when we remember that the difference between the two forms is usually simply the presence or absence of the plural marker *waw* at the end of the verb.

In 3.6 we discuss further examples of Hebrew language scholars who make a close connection between the language of the MT and the language of the original authors of the biblical compositions.

### 3.5. CURRENT SCHOLARSHIP ON THE TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

#### 3.5.1. THE CURRENT CONSENSUS

Language scholars, as we have indicated, commonly work from the assumption that the MT provides detailed evidence of the linguistic forms used by the original authors of biblical compositions. This assumption is diametrically opposed to the current consensus of textual critics, and indeed most conventional biblical scholars, as to the production history of the Hebrew Bible. We discuss here the general picture painted by scholars of the history of the Hebrew Bible text, then in 3.5.2 we focus on the specific question of the “original” text of the Hebrew Bible which is often assumed by language scholars to be accessible in the form of the MT.

There is substantial agreement between experts on the main points of a model of the emergence of the BH text. The text-critical consensus holds that “the biblical text is the result of a continuous process of redactional activity.”<sup>58</sup> “[N]one of the texts in the O[ld] T[estament] are original in the sense they have

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<sup>55</sup> See Rooker, *Biblical*, 39; cf. I. Young, “‘Am Construed as Singular and Plural in Hebrew Biblical Texts: Diachronic and Textual Perspectives,” *ZAH* 12 (1999): 48–82 (69–70).

<sup>56</sup> R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 73, 84.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 98, 103.

<sup>58</sup> K. De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text* (SBLTCS 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 1.

not been edited.”<sup>59</sup> “All one needs to do is to think about the long and complicated editorial histories of the biblical books to recognize that the texts of our biblical books are very far from the traditionally envisioned ‘Moses and the Prophets and the Sages’, and to realize that the quest for the ‘original text’ is naive in the extreme. The books grew organically and dynamically over the centuries, in what we can call new and expanded editions or revised literary editions.”<sup>60</sup> “[I]n many instances what has become normative in the MT is actually not the most original form of a text. Naive assumptions about the value of the MT for establishing what was taking place at the earliest stages of the production of any text must be abandoned.”<sup>61</sup> “In the case of the Hebrew Bible it is difficult to define what the ‘original’ means, since each book is the product of a complicated and often unrecoverable history of composition and redaction. The ‘original text’ that lies somewhere behind the archetype is usually not the product of a single author, but a collective production, sometimes constructed over centuries, perhaps comparable to the construction of a medieval cathedral or the composite walls of an old city.”<sup>62</sup> “Due to the high level of textual variation in the extant fragments of the Scrolls, we can now better appreciate the nature of the biblical text in the prerabbinic period. Put simply, the expression ‘the biblical text,’ which was used in the previous sentence, is a misnomer. There was no single version of the Bible that one could point to as the biblical text, but rather many different texts. The textual variety in this early period in both minor details and major features is striking...”<sup>63</sup> “Scholarly analysis can only attempt to recapture primary formulations underlying the current major Hebrew and translational versions, but cannot achieve the reconstitution of one primary text from which they derive, much less the biblical authors’ *ipsissima verba*...It has become manifest that the further back the history of the biblical text is traced and the older the biblical manuscripts collated, the wider their

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<sup>59</sup> A. Aejmelaeus, “Septuagintal Translation Techniques—A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990)* (ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 381–402 (398).

<sup>60</sup> E. Ulrich, “The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures at the Time of Hillel and Jesus,” in *Congress Volume Basel 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 92; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 85–108 (86).

<sup>61</sup> G. J. Brooke, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003* (ed. J. G. Campbell, W. J. Lyons, and L. K. Pietersen; LSTS 52; London: Continuum, 2005), 26–42 (35).

<sup>62</sup> R. Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition,” *VT* 58 (2008): 324–51 (332).

<sup>63</sup> M. Segal, “The Text of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Materia giudaica* 12 (2007): 5–20 (6).

textual discordance.”<sup>64</sup> “The text of the Hebrew Bible is in a state of radical uncertainty. That means that we cannot be sure about any word or phrase in Hebrew Bible texts we have today that these were the words and phrases of their original author.”<sup>65</sup> “What ended as a stable and unchangeable text for each book had for centuries been pluriform and dynamically growing, in the form of both major new editions and minor expansions or errors, through the repeated creativity of anonymous religious leaders and thinkers, priests and scribes.”<sup>66</sup>

Such quotes could be multiplied almost endlessly, since the views expressed in the previous paragraph are the consensus views of text-critical scholars on the text of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>67</sup> To conclude this documentation of the consensus, however, we will now focus on Tov’s *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, widely considered to be the authoritative standard handbook in the field, the third edition of which has recently appeared,<sup>68</sup> which provides a wealth of

<sup>64</sup> S. Talmon, “Textual Criticism: The Ancient Versions,” in *Text in Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (ed. A. D. H. Mayes; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 141–70 (142, 162).

<sup>65</sup> D. J. A. Clines, “What Remains of the Hebrew Bible? Its Text and Language in a Postmodern Age,” *ST* 54 (2001): 76–95 (81).

<sup>66</sup> E. Ulrich, “From Literature to Scripture: Reflections on the Growth of a Text’s Authoritativeness,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 3–25 (5).

<sup>67</sup> For many additional references, see the collections of articles in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Treballe Barrera, eds., *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books* (BETL 246; Leuven: Peeters, 2012); N. David, A. Lange, K. De Troyer, and S. Tzoref, eds., *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012); H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila, eds., *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011); and also consult R. J. Müller, J. Pakkala, and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible* (SBLRBS 75; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014).

<sup>68</sup> Tov, *Textual*. Another older, but still standard, work is Ulrich, *Dead*. For Ulrich’s most recent views see idem, “Clearer Insight into the Development of the Bible—A Gift of the Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)* (ed. A. D. Roitman, L. H. Schiffman, and S. Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 119–37; idem, “The Evolutionary Composition of the Hebrew Bible,” in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present* (ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and J. H. Newman; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 23–40; idem, “The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. S. Metso, H. Najman, and E. Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 209–25; adapted and reprinted in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila; BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 47–64; idem, “The Fundamental Importance of the Biblical Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Hebrew*

documentation of the current state of play in the field of Hebrew Bible textual criticism. Tov states: “However, one thing is clear, it should not be postulated that **MT** [the MT] better or more frequently reflects the original text of the biblical books than any other text.”<sup>69</sup> “The fact that these different texts were found in the same caves reflects a textual plurality at Qumran and in the country as a whole between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE and the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.”<sup>70</sup> “The textual variety reflected in the four groups of texts...provides a good overview of the condition of the biblical text in the Second Temple period.”<sup>71</sup> “The textual reality of the Qumran texts does not attest to three groups of textual witnesses, but rather to a textual multiplicity displaying an unlimited number of texts.”<sup>72</sup> “Most of the biblical books were not written by one person nor at one particular time, but rather over many generations.”<sup>73</sup> “The textual diversity visible in the Qumran evidence from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE onwards is probably not representative of the textual situation in earlier periods, when the text must have been much more fluid.”<sup>74</sup> “[I]t appears that the editorial process that is assumed for most biblical books presupposes previously written texts.”<sup>75</sup> “[S]ometimes the process of literary crystallization occurred more than once in different periods when additional literary developments took place after the completion of the initial composition.”<sup>76</sup> “[T]he absence of major differences between early texts of a book does not imply that greatly deviating copies did not exist at an earlier stage. It merely means that such copies have not been preserved.”<sup>77</sup> “When creating new copies, scribes altered the transmitted text, first as authors / editors-scribes, and later as copyists-scribes. Editorial freedom...is also reflected in changes in orthography and morphology.”<sup>78</sup> “The assumption of textual plurality in that period [i.e., of the Qumran scrolls] is now accepted among scholars.”<sup>79</sup>

In other words, in contrast to the modern paradigm regularly assumed by Hebrew language scholars, where a book, once published, remains in the same form, ancient books, according to the scholarly consensus, did not maintain a static form, but developed continuously over time. Critical scholarship has

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*Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. N. Dávid, A. Lange, K. De Troyer, and S. Tzoref; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 54–59.

<sup>69</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 11–12.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 166 n. 24.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 186 n. 79.

always held it to be axiomatic that the current forms of the biblical text were the result of a long process of growth and redaction, as for example with the long history of theories on the formation of the Pentateuch. What is now emphasized by textual critics is that we can see the *last* stages of the same processes hypothesized by earlier scholars in the textual evidence for multiple forms of the biblical books preserved from the last centuries B.C.E.<sup>80</sup>

The evidence comes primarily from placing the Qumran scrolls, the SP, and the LXX alongside the MT to reveal a rather startling variety of biblical texts. It must be emphasized that this startling variety is evident even given the extremely fragmentary nature of our textual evidence, with no texts older than approximately 250 B.C.E. and complete texts of biblical books generally much later than this. Despite the very fragmentary textual evidence, it is still the case that we have in our possession radically different texts of *most* books of the Hebrew Bible. A classic example is the shorter and longer editions of the book of Jeremiah. The shorter version, attested in the LXX and Qumran scrolls is a sixth (17%) shorter than the longer (MT) edition. This means that over 3,500 words of MT Jeremiah are not represented in the shorter version. Differences involve the presence or absence of some whole sections, but most commonly there is just simply more material in the parallel sections of the MT. Second, the longer and shorter editions differ in important ways in the arrangement of the common material. Most prominently, the chapters of oracles against the foreign nations, which are found near the end of MT Jeremiah, are found in the middle of LXX Jeremiah.<sup>81</sup> The extant evidence for the Hebrew Bible includes thousands of variants, both large-scale and in minor details like language. This situation leaves the language scholars' assumption, that the minor details of one text (the MT) reflect the language of authors that can be situated in a particular time and place, very unlikely. As the next section shows, the "original" text which many language scholars seem to assume they are studying is unattainable.

### 3.5.2. THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

In contrast to historical linguists' assumption that the details of the MT reflect the details of the original text composed by an original author at a locatable time, current text-critical scholarship views the quest for an original text, even in macro-features, never mind small peripheral details such as language, as an impossible task. A recent detailed review of scholarship on the question has been published by Debel.<sup>82</sup> After reviewing the opinions of a range

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<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Tov, *Textual*, 283–326; Ulrich, "Hebrew Scriptures," 85–86.

<sup>81</sup> See Tov, *Textual*, 286–94.

<sup>82</sup> H. Debel, "Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s): Exploring the Implications of a Pluriform Outlook on the Scriptural Tradition," in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second*

of scholars, he sums up the current situation in regard to the quest for the original text of the biblical books: “Textual critics are bereft of all hope to be able to reconstruct an ‘original text’,” and “[a]s a consequence, the traditional conception of textual criticism as reconstructing the ‘original’ text of the Hebrew Bible appears as an ill-fated undertaking—a vain quest for a holy grail which one can never hope to find.”<sup>83</sup>

One of the scholars discussed in Debel’s review is Tov, whose authoritative standard handbook, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, we have already extensively cited. Tov’s book is a particularly important representative of the scholarly consensus that Debel has outlined. Tov writes: “[T]he textual evidence does not point to a single ‘original’ text, but a series of subsequent authoritative texts produced by the same or different authors...the original text(s) remain(s) an evasive entity that cannot be reconstructed...Some biblical books, such as Jeremiah, reached a final state more than once...the original text is far removed and can never be reconstructed...the Judean Desert scrolls [our earliest biblical manuscripts] reflect a relatively late stage of the textual development.”<sup>84</sup> “In discussing the topic of the *Urtext*, scholars often confuse the question of the original text of the Bible with that of the original text of **MT**. However, **MT** is but one witness of the biblical text, and its original form was not identical to the original text of the Bible as a whole.”<sup>85</sup> “We disregard the *ipsissima verba* of the biblical authors and oral formulations of the biblical books since both are beyond our evidence.”<sup>86</sup> “Our definition does not refer to the original text in the usual sense of the word, since the copy described here could have been preceded by earlier literary crystallizations.”<sup>87</sup> “However, now more than ever it seems that there never was an ‘archetype’ or ‘original text’ of most Scripture books. For most biblical books, scholars assume editorial changes over the course of many generations or even centuries. If this assumption is correct, there never was a single text that may be considered *the* original text for textual criticism; rather, we have to assume compositional stages, each of which was meant to be authoritative when completed.”<sup>88</sup> In other words, the pluriformity of the textual evidence indicates the likelihood that all biblical texts in our possession are the products of previous and currently undocumented stages of literary growth.<sup>89</sup>

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*Temple Period* (ed. H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila; BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 65–91.

<sup>83</sup> Debel, “Rewritten,” 83, 84–85.

<sup>84</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 167–69.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 163 n. 19.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 364.

<sup>89</sup> “But the developmental composition of the biblical books shows that ‘the original text’ is a naïve and unattainable concept, often based on an unnuanced view of an *Urtext*” (Ulrich, “Clearer,” 124 n. 7).

It seems evident, therefore, that the Hebrew Bible comes from a world where the precise copying of texts was not the norm.<sup>90</sup> Instead, the text-critical consensus, based on solid evidence of real manuscripts, indicates that whereas some core elements remained the same, the outward form of the biblical texts was in constant flux.

In the context of a model where biblical texts were composed like modern books, at one time, and thereafter remained basically the same, it is obvious that one might expect to detect differences in the way language is used by the authors of various books at the particular times of their composition. In the context of the text-critical consensus, where texts were written and rewritten over centuries, ideas such as that there is a “date” when a single “author” wrote a biblical book and that therefore the book reflects only the language of one place and time are anachronistic. Since every biblical text contains within it a chronology of earlier and later composition, the idea that biblical books or chunks thereof represent the language of one particular time (and place) appears to be extremely unlikely.

Rather than the default position being the assumption that the language of the writings is reflective of the language of original authors, the burden of proof is in fact squarely on anyone who would claim to operate according to such a method.

### 3.5.3. EVALUATING VARIANTS IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Textual criticism involves two main procedures: the collection and the evaluation of textual evidence. It is sometimes assumed by outsiders to text-critical work that textual critics are able to use their methods to reconstruct an “original” text of the Bible. This is not the case, particularly in regard to the Hebrew Bible, where we have seen scholars more and more coming to the conclusion that the “original” text of the Hebrew Bible is not something we will ever discover. We must remember that our highly variant textual evidence still only preserves limited snapshots of a relatively late stage in the textual history of the biblical books. We quoted Tov earlier, in fact, giving his opinion that “[t]he textual diversity visible in the Qumran evidence from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE onwards is probably not representative of the textual situation in earlier periods, when the text must have been much more fluid.”<sup>91</sup> Therefore, we state again: The pluriformity of the textual evidence indicates the likelihood that all biblical texts in our possession are the products of previous and currently undocumented stages of literary growth. Given the likelihood that the further we go back the less like our current texts the ancestors of the biblical books would be, we can

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<sup>90</sup> See the literature cited in chapter 2, n. 99.

<sup>91</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 166 n. 24.

see that we really have no firm evidence of the shape of the biblical text until it begins to be evidenced by actual texts, in the earliest Qumran scrolls from the third century B.C.E.<sup>92</sup>

But if not the original, surely textual critics can discover the earlier of two or more variant readings? In fact, again, there is no certainty to any of the results of textual criticism. All that is really certain in most cases is that we have multiple texts with multiple variants. Everything beyond that point depends on constructing a reasoned argument. It is true that some cases seem more compelling than others. It is, for example, easier for most scholars to see how in MT Deut 32:8 the reading “sons of Israel” arose as a reaction to the perceived polytheism of the reading attested in the LXX and 4QDeut<sup>j</sup>, “sons of God,” than the reverse.<sup>93</sup> However, the large majority of variants are open to dispute as to what might be the earlier reading. There is no mechanical procedure that leads to a correct evaluation of such textual variants. In regard to “textual rules” such as the age of the textual witnesses, or preference for the more difficult reading or the shorter reading, Tov concludes that they “should be used sparingly and with full recognition of their subjective nature...The upshot of this analysis, then, is that to a large extent textual evaluation cannot be bound by any fixed rules. It is an *art* in the full sense of the word, a faculty that can be developed, guided by intuition based on wide experience...many arguments have differing impacts on scholars and often no decision is possible...This procedure is as subjective as can be.”<sup>94</sup> The variety of positions that scholars can take on textual variants are evident when considering the scholarly opinions recorded in the commentary on the linguistic variants between Qumran Samuel and the MT (chapter 6 and appendix 2). In fact, as we discuss, the major approaches followed by the scholars are not the only approaches to evaluating the nature of those variants.

The evaluation of linguistic variants presents special problems. First, it is not the case that if scholars consider a particular section, sentence, or phrase to be earlier or later, that the specific linguistic forms found in the earlier text are therefore original to it; this in fact depends on the scribal practice.<sup>95</sup> Consideration of the evidence we present from parallel texts, which are often

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<sup>92</sup> “Let us say that the guess in the previous paragraph is correct, and that the further we go back in time the greater is the distance of the biblical text from the MT (and other known texts). If we postulate the existence of the ancestors of some of the biblical texts in say, c.600 BCE, what would they have looked like? Would we even recognize some of them as the same texts? Although speculative, the scenario we have sketched is quite possible, and raises fundamental issues for all students of the Hebrew Bible” (Young, “Biblical Scrolls,” 126–27).

<sup>93</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 248–49.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 280–81 (emphasis original).

<sup>95</sup> We might recall the discussion of scribal practices in the composition and transmission of medieval English manuscripts in chapter 2 (2.3.3). We return to this issue in chapter 4.

identical in all features except linguistic forms, will show that language changed independently of larger-scale textual variation. Second, it is regularly the case that linguistic variants are effectively synonymous readings in terms of their effect on the meaning of a passage. What difference does it make to the meaning of a passage if in “from the” the preposition is separate to the following definite article (מן ה) or attached to it (מה)? In such cases, scholars have no basis for evaluating the variants except their prior theories as to the linguistic form which they expect to be used, based on the usage elsewhere in the composition in question, or on the supposed linguistic usage the scholar considers typical of the chronological era when they consider the composition to have been written. Since Hebrew lacks sufficient external controls to establish the forms of language used in various times and places and by different authors, we argue that such arguments are usually circular. To begin, the typical usage of a composition or chronological era is constructed on the basis of late texts that have likely been subject to change during scribal transmission; on this uncertain basis, other variant texts are judged “earlier” or “later” in regard to their linguistic usage. But if all our current texts have demonstrably been subject to large-scale change of distinctive linguistic features, as is indicated by the studies of parallel texts in the MT (chapter 5), and of MT and Qumran Samuel (chapter 6), what solid basis do we have to decide in any individual case, which linguistic form is more original? Tov’s opinion, “with regard to many small details...it is virtually impossible to ascertain at which stage they developed,”<sup>96</sup> seems particularly appropriate in regard to linguistic variants.

### 3.5.4. NEW APPROACHES TO THE NATURE OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

#### 3.5.4.1. INTRODUCTION

Much standard work on the evaluation of textual variation has proceeded on the understanding that the most common causes of textual change are accidental. This is, for example, the standard approach of the main scholars who have discussed the text of Samuel, and who we cite in the study of the MT and Qumran Samuel. Thus Cross et al. state: “most scribal errors are inadvertent.”<sup>97</sup> This is an especially revealing comment that only seems to make sense on the assumption that all textual change is an “error,” since otherwise it would be redundant to say that “errors are inadvertent,” since usually it is understood that nobody normally *intends* to make an error. Be that as it may, we regularly see scholars such as McCarter and Cross et al. explaining textual variations as

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<sup>96</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 326.

<sup>97</sup> F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, R. J. Saley, and E. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4, Volume 12: 1–2 Samuel* (DJD, 17; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 79.

mechanical errors. Thus, for example, where one text has a paronomastic infinitive absolute plus finite verb, whereas the other just has the finite verb, the typical explanation offered is that the shorter text is the result of scribal oversight (see Qumran Samuel, 4.5.1).<sup>98</sup> Other approaches to the evaluation of such minor variants are available, however. In this section we discuss recent work by two scholars whose research indicates that in ancient texts like the Hebrew Bible minor rephrasings, such as the use of different linguistic forms, were an accepted part of “accurate” transmission of the text. This sort of approach would further create the expectation that the linguistic forms of the biblical texts were fluid in ancient times, and make it even less likely that the linguistic forms of any of our late texts would preserve the language of the original authors of those writings.

#### 3.5.4.2. RAYMOND F. PERSON, JR. ON THE ORAL MINDSET OF ANCIENT SCRIBES

In a series of publications, Person, following in the footsteps of such scholars as Parry, Lord, and Foley, has pointed out the similarities between the way Israelite scribes seem to have treated the biblical text, and the way oral performers are documented to view the nature of language. Among the many implications of this, he points out that while for people (like us) with a literate mindset, a “word” usually means a graphic unit and hence “David sought God” and “David sought from YHWH” (2 Sam 12:16) are quite different groups of “words,” oral poets and people with an oral mindset see a “word” as a unit of meaning, and hence both “David sought God” and “David sought from YHWH” are not variant, but the same “word.”<sup>99</sup> This realization has profound effects on our evaluation of variants in biblical manuscripts. Person explains: “[T]he

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<sup>98</sup> In this book when we say “Qumran Samuel” followed by a section number we are referring to our commentary on language variations between the MT and Qumran Samuel manuscripts in appendix 2. A narrative summary of our general findings is provided in chapter 6.

<sup>99</sup> R. F. Person, Jr., “A Rolling Corpus and Oral Tradition: A Not-So-Literate Solution to a Highly Literate Problem,” in *Troubling Jeremiah* (ed. A. R. P. Diamond, K. M. O’Connor, and L. Stulman; JSOTSup 260; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 263–71; idem, *Deuteronomic History*, 41–68; idem, “Orality Studies and Oral Tradition: Hebrew Bible,” in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. S. L. McKenzie; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2:55–63; idem, “Text Criticism as a Lens for Understanding the Transmission of Ancient Texts in Their Oral Environments,” in *Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production in the Southern Levant: Contextualizing the Creation of Sacred Writing in Ancient Israel and Judah* (ed. B. D. Schmidt; Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming); idem, “The Ancient Israelite Scribe as Performer,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 601–9; idem, *The Deuteronomic School History: History, Social Setting, and Literature* (SBL SBL 2; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 83–101.

ancient Israelite scribes' oral mentality allowed for variation as they copied texts. That is, since their understanding of 'word' probably included what we would call phrases and lines, what they possibly understood as a faithful copy of their *Vorlagen* we would understand as containing variants."<sup>100</sup> "When they copied their texts, the ancient Israelite scribes did not slavishly write the texts word by word, but preserved the texts' meaning for the ongoing life of their communities in much the same way that performers of oral epic re-present the stable, yet dynamic, tradition to their communities."<sup>101</sup> "Rather than copying the texts verbatim in a good literate manner (what we expect of ourselves), the ancient Israelite scribes performed the texts faithfully for their communities in their act of copying, often without changing what they would understand as a 'word.' However, their understanding of 'word' and ours differ; therefore they produced texts with what we perceive as variants."<sup>102</sup> "[A]ny text that has undergone multiple occasions of such copying could diverge significantly, according to our modern perspective, from its earliest version, as what the ongoing tradition required as the meaningful context of the literature continued to change."<sup>103</sup> In line with Person's suggestions, we should not expect the linguistic details of the biblical writings to be copied exactly, but rather to be quite fluid. This expectation is fully confirmed in our studies of parallel passages in the MT (chapter 5) and of the Qumran manuscripts of Samuel and MT Samuel (chapter 6).

#### 3.5.4.3. DAVID M. CARR ON MEMORY VARIANTS

Carr has written a major study of textual transmission in the ancient world.<sup>104</sup> Building on the work of Person and others, and especially on his earlier work demonstrating the oral-written nature of ancient biblical texts,<sup>105</sup> he investigates the different ways in which traditions transmitted by memorization manifest different sorts of variation from texts transmitted by purely literary means.<sup>106</sup> In particular, he stresses the importance of "memory variants" in this sort of transmission. All examples of oral-written transmission of literary texts, whether from the Ancient Near East, the Classical world, or the medieval world, exhibit these memory variants, which especially affect the details of the text that do not impact in a major way on the meaning of the composition, thus

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<sup>100</sup> Person, "Ancient," 608.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 602.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 609.

<sup>103</sup> Person, *Deuteronomistic History*, 67.

<sup>104</sup> Carr, *Formation*, 11–149.

<sup>105</sup> D. M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

prominently involving linguistic variants. Although we use the term “variants” here, Carr points out that “[i]n cases of memory variants, the shifts probably were seen as reproductions of what was essentially the ‘same’ tradition.”<sup>107</sup> When he turns to the Hebrew Bible, Carr finds “a preponderance of exactly the sorts of variation that scholars in non-religious disciplines have explained as the result of recall of memorized texts: exchange of synonymous words, word order variation, presence and absence of conjunctions and minor modifiers, etc.,”<sup>108</sup> “syntactic variation that does not appear to be linked to diachronic shifts in the language or differences in the semantic content being expressed,”<sup>109</sup> “addition/subtraction of minor particles, exchange of semantically equivalent words or phrases, shifts in order, etc.,”<sup>110</sup> and “replacing an archaic or otherwise odd term in the given text with a more contemporary or understandable text from its parallel.”<sup>111</sup> He concludes about the biblical manuscripts that we currently have as evidence for earlier forms of the biblical text: “all biblical manuscripts in general, are a product of a centuries-long process of oral-written textual transmission that has blurred the contours of earlier recensions,”<sup>112</sup> “the documented fluidity of the textual tradition is but the tip of the iceberg of broader phenomena of scribal coordination, memory variants, and the like that occurred over centuries of transmission of biblical texts and that add a significant degree of imprecision to any attempt to reconstruct their transmission history.”<sup>113</sup> Carr is here mostly concerned with the difficulties in reconstructing earlier larger-scale stages of textual growth, but it can easily be seen that if such reconstruction is very difficult, it would likely be almost impossible to reconstruct the earlier linguistic features of the biblical texts.<sup>114</sup> On the basis of Carr’s work one would predict that the distinctive linguistic features of biblical texts would be very fluid between different manuscripts of the same composition. This expectation is completely fulfilled by the data we present

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 104; also: “Given the breadth and depth of this evidence, the burden of proof lies not on someone who sees such changes as typical of the scribal process more generally, but on one who would posit something radically different for earlier stages of development (likely even more fluid!) that are not documented” (*ibid.*, 134).

<sup>114</sup> See Carr’s remarks on language in *ibid.*, 125–32. His conclusion: “[G]iven the fluid character of scribal transmission and the ways in which literary language was interpenetrated by various dialects of Hebrew *across* the stretch of Judean and Israelite history, linguistic features are only an approximate and precarious tool in the historical placement of Hebrew texts” (*ibid.*, 132).

from parallel passages in the MT (chapter 5) and from a comparison of the MT and Qumran Samuel (chapter 6).<sup>115</sup>

### 3.6. RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM BY HEBREW LANGUAGE SCHOLARS

#### 3.6.1. INTRODUCTION

In 3.4 we introduced the view of Hebrew language scholars that the MT in effect represents the original text of the Hebrew Bible. We mentioned the examples of Rooker, Rendsburg, Kutscher, and Polzin.<sup>116</sup> In 3.5 we showed that this view is diametrically opposed to the current consensus of text-critical specialists. In this section we evaluate in more detail some recent work by Hebrew language scholars on textual criticism. We discuss the examples of Hurvitz, Holmstedt, Joosten, Polak, Zevit, and others.

At the start it is worth pointing out that this assumption—i.e., MT = original text—is reflected in a general way in that histories of ancient Hebrew—*unlike* introductions to historical linguistics or, for example, studies of the history of English (see chapter 2<sup>117</sup>)—persistently fail to discuss or even mention the nature of the sources, transmission issues, or philological analysis.<sup>118</sup> For example, the most widely-cited histories of the Hebrew language are by Kutscher and Sáenz-Badillos.<sup>119</sup> Neither has anything to say about these matters. Both authors simply assume the originality—the antiquity and reliability in a wholesale way—of the details in the MT. More recently, Schniedewind talks frequently about “textual artifacts” and “written artifacts,” which “are the products of a *scribal community*,”<sup>120</sup> and in a short discussion of

<sup>115</sup> On 4QSam<sup>a</sup> see Carr, *Formation*, 61–63.

<sup>116</sup> See chapter 4 (4.4.2.2) further on Kutscher.

<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, even on the rare occasion when an author chooses to omit such a discussion, Hock comments that “practicing historical linguists usually cannot divorce themselves from philological work” (H. H. Hock, *Principles of Historical Linguistics* [2d ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991]: 5).

<sup>118</sup> It is arguable that many of these scholars employ a crypto-synchronic or quasi-diachronic approach since they purport to discuss diachronic developments in BH language, yet for all intents and purposes, that is, in their actual method, they negate diachronic developments in the literary and textual realms of the Hebrew Bible. Many scholars working on the history of the Hebrew Bible’s language are far less historically oriented than they seem.

<sup>119</sup> E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (ed. R. Kutscher; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982); A. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. J. Elwolde; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>120</sup> Schniedewind, *Social*, 9.

“methodological problems” he mentions the limited corpus of biblical and non-biblical Hebrew literature,<sup>121</sup> but his only remark on the *nature* of those sources closely follows Kutscher’s thinking (see above), and in fact he cites Kutscher’s study of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> in support.<sup>122</sup>

### 3.6.2. AVI HURVITZ

We begin with Hurvitz, because he has directly addressed the text-critical problem in a number of publications over his long career,<sup>123</sup> and because his view on this matter has been adopted regularly by others in support of their own MT-based approach to the historical study of BH.<sup>124</sup> In his seminal 1972 monograph, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew*, the final section

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<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 21–23.

<sup>122</sup> “A main literary source, the Hebrew Bible, was largely known from medieval manuscripts, until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls provided witnesses as early as the third century B.C.E. Even the Dead Sea Scrolls come to us quite removed from the autographs and incorporate some changes in their transmission [n. 76]” (*ibid.*, 21; cf. the reference to Kutscher’s study of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> on p. 212 n. 76). What, we might ask, about changes in the (proto-)MT during its transmission? The comments above apply equally of course to (synchronic) grammars of BH (GKC, JM, etc.). An exception is the textbook on syntax by Waltke and O’Connor. They explicitly include sections on “Synchronic/Diachronic,” “History of the Biblical Text,” and “Masoretic Text” (WO §1.4–6, pp. 11–30). In particular, they remark, “The history of that language [BH] is bound together in part with the history of textual transmission...” (WO §1.3.2, p. 8), and they candidly admit, “Unless the text had been faithfully transmitted, the work of both comparative Semitic philologists and biblical scholars attempting to date the text... would be impossible” (WO §1.6.2a, p. 23).

<sup>123</sup> In addition to the works cited below see the discussions of “Objectivity,” “Masoretic Text,” “Literary Revision,” and “Linguistic Modification” in *LDBT* 1:16–18 where there are references to (and quotations from) many other of Hurvitz’s publications.

<sup>124</sup> The following large-scale contributions are several of many possible examples: R. L. Bergey, “The Book of Esther—Its Place in the Linguistic Milieu of Post-Exilic Biblical Hebrew Prose: A Study in Late Biblical Hebrew” (Ph.D. diss., Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1983), 21; G. A. Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms* (SBLMS 43; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 16–17; A. J. C. Verheij, *Verbs and Numbers: A Study of the Frequencies of the Hebrew Verbal Tense Forms in the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles* (SSN 28; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990), 12–13; R. M. Wright, *Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-exilic Date of the Yahwistic Source* (LHBOTS 419; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 13–15. Rooker’s words are unequivocal: “Another premise adopted by modern researchers in diachronic study is the accepted postulate that the Massoretic Text be accepted *in toto* in this kind of linguistic analysis” (Rooker, *Biblical*, 57; he cites A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and Its Implications [sic] for the Dating of Psalms* [Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1972], 67).

discusses these issues.<sup>125</sup> Throughout the book Hurvitz argues that a number of psalms are shown to have been composed in the postexilic period due to an accumulation of late linguistic features. The final section addresses the objection that the psalms in question could have been composed in the early period, but the late linguistic features were added in their textual transmission in the late period, or through other means such as reworking for liturgical use in the Temple. Hurvitz's major response to this is to admit that it is possible, but to argue that the burden of proof is on anyone who claims that such changes happened, since all we have are the texts in our hands, which have these features.<sup>126</sup> In a major 1982 study, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, Hurvitz again admits that an ancient text like the MT "was subject to mistakes and corruptions over the long course of its transmission."<sup>127</sup> However, he suggests that we have no alternative but to use the MT, rather than try to reconstruct a supposed early text, if our aim "is to seek facts and avoid conjectures."<sup>128</sup> In a 2006 article, Hurvitz responds to Young's argument that "Biblical Hebrew linguistic features were transmitted by the scribes with a great degree of fluidity" and that "[w]e cannot be certain that the linguistic profile of the text we have is that of the original author."<sup>129</sup> His response contains another version of the "burden of proof" argument, and is worth quoting in full:

This line of argumentation relies on circular reasoning: first it is *assumed* that "the scribes" drastically changed the original wording of the MT and then it is *concluded* that since the original wording was extensively modified, it does not reflect the actual language of the original composition. In any case, the point of departure for the theory suggesting unlimited "fluidity" of the textual tradition underlying the MT is not corroborated by factual evidence and must be viewed as a conjectural assumption.<sup>130</sup>

Arguments about the "burden of proof" can run into the objection of why one side of an argument should have more burden of proof than another, but as formulated by Hurvitz this argument is cogent. If we had no evidence that the

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<sup>125</sup> Hurvitz, *Transition*, 182–84; cf. 67.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>127</sup> A. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem* (CahRB 20; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1982), 19; cf. 18–21, 153.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>129</sup> I. Young, "Biblical Texts Cannot Be Dated Linguistically," *HS* 46 (2005): 341–51 (349, 351).

<sup>130</sup> A. Hurvitz, "The Recent Debate on Late Biblical Hebrew: Solid Data, Experts' Opinions, and Inconclusive Arguments," *HS* 47 (2006): 191–210 (210 n. 69; emphasis original).

language of biblical texts was altered (whether drastically or not), and if indeed the MT was the only linguistic form of the texts that we knew, then suggestions that the language of the MT might have been (drastically) changed in its prior scribal transmission would remain possible, but conjectural, and any such suggestion would require evidence to back it up. The problem with Hurvitz's argument is that a great deal of such evidence *actually exists*. In fact, Young's article to which Hurvitz's 2006 article is responding provides a fair amount of evidence, and makes reference to four earlier articles by Young which provide further data. Even in 1972, when Hurvitz first made this argument, much evidence of this nature was known. Under the influence of Kutscher, however, Hurvitz presumably viewed the non-MT evidence from the Qumran scrolls and the SP as "non-biblical." It is in fact Hurvitz who is caught up in a circular argument: Since the MT is *assumed* to be virtually identical to the language of the original authors of biblical compositions, it is then *concluded* that variant non-MT linguistic evidence is only evidence of late corruption of the original language.

It is evident from all his work that Hurvitz is only willing to admit that the scribal corruptions introduced into even the MT were minor. Thus, in 1972 he was willing to admit that sporadic late linguistic features could have come into early psalms, but suggested that an accumulation of such features was strong evidence of an actual composition in the late period.<sup>131</sup> It is interesting to note, however, the sort of accumulations of linguistic features which Hurvitz considers significant. He begins with Ps 145, perhaps because this is a particularly straightforward or impressive case, and discusses nine linguistic forms occurring eleven times in the 152 words of the psalm.<sup>132</sup> Among other examples he discusses just two forms in the forty words of Ps 133,<sup>133</sup> and eleven forms used a total of forty-one times in the 1,064 words of Ps 119.<sup>134</sup> Even in the psalms with what he considers a significant accumulation, therefore, we are only dealing with a very small proportion of the linguistic forms in them. This sort of approach is characteristic of Hurvitz's other work as well. For example, he considers seven linguistic forms in the 749 words of the Prose Tale of Job to provide significant evidence of the late date of the author of this composition.<sup>135</sup> These seven forms generally involve very precise details such as the use of the preposition על rather than another preposition,<sup>136</sup> אחרי זאת rather than אחרי כן

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<sup>131</sup> Hurvitz, *Transition*, 182.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 70–107.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 156–60.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 130–52.

<sup>135</sup> A. Hurvitz, "The Date of the Prose-Tale of Job Linguistically Reconsidered," *HTR* 67 (1974): 17–34; cf. Young, "Prose."

<sup>136</sup> Hurvitz, "Prose-Tale," 23, 25–26; cf. Young, "Prose," 613–15. The forms are יתפלל עליכם ("he will pray for you") rather than with בעד, and להחיצב על ("to present himself before") rather than with לפני.

for “after this,”<sup>137</sup> one item of vocabulary,<sup>138</sup> and even the vocalization of טָ rather than טֹ for “while.”<sup>139</sup>

The way that Hurvitz describes the introduction of errors and corruptions into the MT is revealing of his basic assumptions about the nature of the MT and the textual transmission of the biblical books. He concedes that “it is but natural that even the extreme holiness and outstanding care which accompanied the Book of Books could not completely prevent textual accidents.”<sup>140</sup> Hurvitz’s understanding of the whole history of the textual transmission of the biblical texts is an anachronistic projection of the situation in the medieval or more correctly modern period back to the B.C.E. period, a position in complete contrast to the consensus of scholars working on the history of the text that we sketched in 3.5. It is also contradicted by the evidence of the MT itself. We show that the less common linguistic features which are the focus of Hurvitz’s attention were almost totally stripped off the biblical texts in transmission, as is shown by the fact that very few are shared by parallel texts in the MT (chapter 5), never mind the evidence of non-MT biblical texts as exemplified in our study of Qumran Samuel (chapter 6 and appendix 2).

In his 1972 book, Hurvitz actually offers further discussion of text-critical issues which is not reproduced in his later work, in particular a discussion of the parallel texts 2 Sam 22/Ps 18.<sup>141</sup> Unfortunately, Hurvitz does not provide his own research on these texts, but rather gives his impression of other studies. He suggests that Ps 18 is later than 2 Sam 22, and that this is revealed by a few linguistic developments, such as more Aramaisms, the replacement of some rare words with more common ones, and more *plene* orthography. He takes this as indicating that even the textual transmission of an early text did not lead to an accumulation of late linguistic features in it comparable to the psalms he considers late.<sup>142</sup> We would agree with Hurvitz that textual transmission often did not involve the addition or subtraction of large numbers of what have been

<sup>137</sup> Hurvitz, “Prose-Tale,” 24–25; cf. Young, “Prose,” 614.

<sup>138</sup> “Receive” (קָבַל). See Hurvitz, “Prose-Tale,” 20–23; cf. Young, “Prose,” 609–11.

<sup>139</sup> The other two suggested “late” features (“The Satan,” and the syntax of “there was a man...and his name”) are rejected as being candidates for late linguistic forms in Young, “Prose,” 611–13, 617–18.

<sup>140</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 19.

<sup>141</sup> In another article Hurvitz examines two other closely related passages in the books of Samuel and Psalms. See A. Hurvitz, “Originals and Imitations in Biblical Poetry: A Comparative Examination of 1 Sam 2:1–10 and Ps 113:5–9,” in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 115–21. Rezetko makes a brief but pertinent comment on Hurvitz’s article in R. Rezetko, “Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel–Kings and Chronicles,” in *BHSCT*, 215–50 (242 n. 79).

<sup>142</sup> Hurvitz, *Transition*, 183–84.

considered late linguistic items.<sup>143</sup> However, a major difference is that Hurvitz assumes that the only variety of literary Hebrew that could be written in the postexilic period was “Late Biblical Hebrew” like in Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, while we have argued that the Hebrew of those books was a peripheral form of Hebrew, whereas Standard Classical Hebrew remained the usual form of literary Hebrew throughout the biblical period.<sup>144</sup> It would, furthermore, have been helpful if Hurvitz had specified which linguistic forms he judges to be late according to his criteria. In our previous investigation of these parallel texts, attempting to follow Hurvitz’s method, we found that both texts had the same number of “late” linguistic forms (six) although there was very little overlap in the specific forms between both texts.<sup>145</sup> Furthermore, six features in 382//394 words is not too dissimilar to the proportions of late linguistic forms to words in other texts that Hurvitz thinks display a significant accumulation of late linguistic features. In this current volume, in our study of this parallel passage in chapter 5, we find reason to agree with Hurvitz’s judgment that Ps 18 has less linguistic peculiarities than 2 Sam 22. However, Hurvitz’s claim that these two texts might be evidence that major linguistic changes did not occur in textual transmission is undermined by our finding that almost none of the less common linguistic features are shared by both texts. On the contrary, the language is fluid to a degree far beyond what is assumed by Hurvitz.

To this point we have discussed Hurvitz’s views on textual criticism. However, as one might expect, his ideas on textual transmission extend to the entire production history of biblical writings, including authorial, editorial, and scribal matters. In other words, contrary to contemporary historical linguistic practice which takes very seriously the careful evaluation of the sources of linguistic data (see chapter 2, 2.3), Hurvitz “deal[s] exclusively with biblical texts in the way in which they have crystallized and in the form in which they now stand—regardless of textual alterations, literary developments and editorial activities which they may or may not have undergone during their long transmission.”<sup>146</sup> Hurvitz has no regard for such matters because, he believes, “they lie in areas about which we have no direct information or actual facts,” and consequently “[o]nly after the linguistic analysis of the actual texts has been completed without interference is there room to proceed and consider the findings...in a broader, non-linguistic framework.”<sup>147</sup> Such a view, however, is

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<sup>143</sup> On IQIsa<sup>a</sup> see chapter 4 (4.4.2.2) and Young, “Loose,” 101–9.

<sup>144</sup> For example, *LDBT* 2:88–89, 96–99; Young, “Loose,” 94–96.

<sup>145</sup> *LDBT* 1:135, 137; Young, “Loose,” 110–11.

<sup>146</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 21.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

indefensible and wholly inadequate from the perspective of normal historical linguistic theory and method (chapter 2, 2.3).<sup>148</sup>

### 3.6.3. ROBERT HOLMSTEDT

Holmstedt is an example of a younger scholar who wishes to advance the field of Hebrew (historical) linguistics with the application of more sophisticated methods. In several publications he responds to arguments in *LDBT* about the nature of biblical writings. Thus he references “the nature of the texts themselves” and acknowledges “the complexities of composition and textual traditions” of the Bible.<sup>149</sup> However, it is apparent from his subsequent discussion that Holmstedt has not yet grasped the full extent of the issues involved. He argues: “The text-critical argument is sometimes set up as an obstacle to historical linguistics, in general, and to the dating of texts, in particular. Admittedly, the reconstructive process is challenging, whether the goal is textual or philological; but the challenge should not be exaggerated.”<sup>150</sup> The relationship of historical linguistics to textual criticism is one thing, but Holmstedt’s continued hope to date or sequence BH writings based on language indicates his misunderstanding of the nature of the biblical texts. His following comments indicate that he thinks that textual critics are able to sift through and sequence variants and thus reconstruct an earlier text; in fact he considers that this is what we were doing in *LDBT*.<sup>151</sup> As we have indicated, very seldom in linguistic matters, without prior opinions as to linguistic chronology (for which we do not have sufficient externally dated and localized texts), can we decide which form is earlier and later in textual evaluation (3.5.3). Even then, this does not mean we have arrived at anything like the form of the text from the time of the original author, which is what would be required for linguistic dating or sequencing. To be fair, Holmstedt does not claim to be looking for the original author’s text: “Rather, the philological text should be very much like the text-

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<sup>148</sup> In a recent article Hurvitz echoes the same views in relation to the terminology of genealogical records in Genesis–Joshua and P as a whole, concluding even that all “editorial activities and literary modifications...all these textual developments” must have been completed before the Second Temple period. See A. Hurvitz, “Terminological Modifications in Biblical Genealogical Records and Their Potential Chronological Implications,” in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources* (ed. S. E. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 108; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 105–16 (116).

<sup>149</sup> Holmstedt “Historical,” 98.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 100–101.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

critical goal of the *last redaction*.”<sup>152</sup> This is a pleasing attempt to deal seriously with the text-critical issues (he cites the then-current second edition of Tov’s *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*). However, it is difficult to see how this would work as Holmstedt wishes. As we have seen, and as Holmstedt quotes Tov as saying, not only do we have several different “last redactions” for many books, with quite different linguistic profiles in individual linguistic features but, even then, all of our current surviving texts are removed, presumably by several editions, from any forms of texts contemporaneous with the dates of the original compositions, which is what Holmstedt still hopes to find. Even if there is some sort of scholarly consensus on the date of the original composition of a biblical writing, that still does not mean we have established the date of the linguistic features in it. In other words, there is not a one-to-one correspondence between textual/literary chronology and linguistic chronology. Because of this misunderstanding of the textual situation, Holmstedt’s cautious statements are still not cautious enough. For example: “The linguist’s task is therefore not merely extracting linguistic data in a naive way but, rather, dating (relatively) the discernible layers and establishing a (relative) linguistic chronology.”<sup>153</sup> Without an adequate corpus of dated (and localized) texts, how are we meant to tell early from late in our thoroughly mixed textual evidence for the Hebrew Bible? Every biblical text is likely to contain a mixing of early and late language.<sup>154</sup> When it comes to application in his case studies, Holmstedt discusses fairly precise details and statistics of small numbers of linguistic items in whole books of the MT.

In another publication Holmstedt rightly acknowledges that “the history of the text and the history of the language are inextricably bound to each other”<sup>155</sup>—although his article seems to be framed as a language lesson of sorts for textual critics<sup>156</sup>—but here again we see a focus on some details of the kind which so easily and frequently change in the process of textual transmission. In

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 100 (emphasis original). In chapter 2 (2.3.2), we discuss Holmstedt’s view on the relationship between (historical) linguistics and philology, arguing that his philological method falls short of what is needed.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>154</sup> Compare the remarks on Middle English, anchor texts, and the fit-technique in chapter 2 (2.3.3).

<sup>155</sup> Holmstedt, “Nexus,” 473; cf. 475, 492.

<sup>156</sup> And for Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd in particular (ibid., 474–75; cf. 491–92). Note these comments: “changes in language may actually guide the reconstruction of the textual history” (ibid., 475); “linguistic changes represented by the variants may in some cases precede the identification of the earlier text” (ibid., 475); and “linguistic analysis plays a critical role in the process of reconstructing the textual relationships” (ibid., 491). And in the conclusion he cites Tov’s *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* for its lack of interaction with “Biblical Hebrew grammar” and “linguistic analysis” (ibid., 491).

this particular case he argues from the perspective of language typology that the MT (B19<sup>a</sup>) הוּא is older than the 4QLev<sup>b</sup> הוּא in Lev 1:17, and the MT (B19<sup>a</sup>) *Qere* הוּא (feminine singular) is older than the *Kethiv* הוּא (masculine singular) in Lev 25:33. The difference in the first verse is the consonants *waw/yod* whereas in the second it is the vowel *hiriq*. While Holmstedt may be correct about the ongoing yet incomplete reanalysis of pronominal syntax in BH, in our view he too easily discounts the possibility of “transmission error” or “scribal error” in minutiae of this sort.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, he overlooks other relevant text-critical data, including הוּא in 4QExod-Lev<sup>f</sup> of Lev 1:17 and הוּא/הוּא variation in the MT-group of Lev 25:33, which may not change his overall linguistic argument, but they are relevant to the actual distribution and diachronic interpretation of linguistic phenomena in BH. In any case, we agree that “textual critics and Hebrew linguists [should] work more closely with each other.”<sup>158</sup>

#### 3.6.4. JAN JOOSTEN

We now move on to discuss two authors who have not only worked on Hebrew language issues, but also have done serious work on the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Joosten and Polak.

Joosten is one of the most active scholars investigating the relationship between textual criticism and the study of the language of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>159</sup> He explicitly refers to aspects of the consensus view on the text of the Hebrew Bible. For example, he says “the text of Samuel-Kings continued to evolve for a long time beyond the original composition and edition of the Book,”<sup>160</sup> and “the texts remained fluid even after the influence of Chronicles on Kings happened.”<sup>161</sup>

Joosten may be criticized, however, for his inconsistent application of his text-critical knowledge to his language study. We have shown that the consensus views on the history of the text, outlined above, are simply incompatible with the necessary presupposition of old-style language scholars who make claims such as that the details of the MT reveal the language of original authors of biblical compositions, that is, a very high level of textual stability in detail. Joosten, however, still wishes the old approach to Hebrew language to be

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<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 478, 480.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 473.

<sup>159</sup> Joosten, like Holmstedt (3.6.3), rightly acknowledges that “there is a place to reflect further on the interplay of these disciplines” and, also like Holmstedt, he cites Tov’s *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* for failing to “contain a chapter, or even a section, on the history of Hebrew” (Joosten, “Textual Developments,” 21).

<sup>160</sup> Joosten, “Textual History,” 134.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 143; although this implies that complex intertextuality between books was limited to a definable period.

correct, and this means that regularly when he moves from textual criticism to language study, his views on the text both explicitly and implicitly become rather different to those of a modern textual critic. Indeed, Joosten's views begin to conform rather closely to the necessary presupposition of old-style language scholars that the text of the Hebrew Bible has been transmitted in detail so exactly that the current text is almost identical to the text and hence language that left the pens of the original authors.

As an example of a statement that fits much more closely with old-style language scholarship and is rather far from the modern text-critical consensus, note: "Hebraists must always be aware that the text on which they base their observations may not be a perfect *replica* of the original, but may contain errors or scribal revisions."<sup>162</sup> This makes it sound very much like Joosten's view of the text of the Hebrew Bible is that the details of the MT are basically sound, only requiring a small amount of textual work to repair blemishes. Note also, for example, "the classical corpus received occasional corrections and updates."<sup>163</sup> This is not quite as strong a belief in the originality of the MT as is shown by scholars like Hurvitz, but it does not sound too far away. One symptom that Joosten is not a great distance from Hurvitz and others in this matter is his habit of talking about how many times a linguistic form is found in "the Bible," meaning the MT alone. For example: "In the Bible, טרם + perfect is attested only twice..."<sup>164</sup>

Admittedly, Joosten is more willing than other scholars to suggest that language items (generally ones that do not fit his theory) are "text-critically doubtful," by which he means there is an attested variant at those places.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Joosten, "Textual Developments," 21. There are additional references to "the original text" (*ibid.*, 21, 22), "the original author" (*ibid.*, 26, 26), and "the original Hebrew text" (*ibid.*, 26). At the end of this article Joosten talks about "the textual multiplicity characterizing the Hebrew Bible" (*ibid.*, 31), but this concept makes very little practical impact on his approach to the details of the text, as we show here.

<sup>163</sup> J. Joosten, "Imperative Clauses Containing a Temporal Phrase and the Study of Diachronic Syntax in Ancient Hebrew," in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources* (ed. S. E. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 108; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 117–33 (131).

<sup>164</sup> Joosten, "Textual Developments," 23.

<sup>165</sup> In the article under discussion see *ibid.*, 25, 27–30. Other examples include *idem*, "A Neglected Rule and Its Exceptions: On Non-Volitive *yiqtol* in Clause-Initial Position," in *Ἐν πάσῃ γραμματικῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ: En pāsē grammatikē kai sophiā: Saggi di linguistica ebraica in onore di Alviero Niccacci, ofm* (ed. G. Geiger; SBF Analecta 78; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2011), 213–19 (217–18); *idem*, "Diachronic Aspects of Narrative *Wayhi* in Biblical Hebrew," *JNSL* 35 (2009): 43–61 (50 n. 18, 56–57); *idem*, "The Disappearance of Iterative WEQATAL in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (ed. S. E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Publication of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University 1; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2006), 135–47 (138 n. 7, 143 n. 16);

However, the assumption of textual stability is even present when he is making comments about text-critical variants: “The occasional presence of late linguistic features in pluses of the MT can be observed in the Books of Kings.”<sup>166</sup> His discussion makes it clear that he thinks that the language of the plus remained stable in its textual transmission once it was added to the rest of the text, which also remained the same in all minor details until appearing in the MT. In fact, the language of all parts of all biblical compositions varies in our textual evidence. Nevertheless, Joosten can make an astonishing statement such as “the fact that purportedly late grammatical features turn up, in the CBH corpus, precisely in passages that are to be qualified as secondary on other grounds, shows that the language-historical approach is well-founded.”<sup>167</sup> What Joosten bases this extraordinary statement on is that when he comes across a list of less common linguistic forms, *some of them* are in passages that can be called into question based on known variants. In the study that immediately precedes this statement, he points out textual variants in relation to 4 of 6 of the exceptional linguistic forms he is discussing (“non-volitive *waw* + YIQTOL”<sup>168</sup>). However, in his earlier case study in the article, he lists eighteen cases of “*waw* + imperfect expressing a non-volitive meaning.” Of these, he notes that four of these are “text-critically uncertain.”<sup>169</sup> Given how fluid the text of the Hebrew Bible is in our earliest textual witnesses, the fact that he can *only* find four cases involved in a textual variant (22%) seems surprising. The fact that a small proportion of these exceptions turn up in known textual variants is only what we would expect given the state of the text. Even the more impressive case study, where 4 of 6, or two thirds of the forms are involved in variants, is not out of the bounds of the rates of variation of some forms we discuss *when just comparing the MT with Qumran Samuel*. Joosten’s further implication that supposedly “late” language forms *only* turn up in text-critically dubious passages (“precisely in passages that are to be qualified as secondary on other grounds”) and that this proves the old chronological approach right is also not based on actual data. Our earlier study showed the appearance of supposedly “late” linguistic forms in every one of a variety of passages across all types of Hebrew,<sup>170</sup> which surely cannot all be found in known variants to the text, which is what Joosten seems to mean by “secondary.” Here the assumption that old-style language scholarship is correct seems to drive Joosten’s conclusions. This is the only way it seems possible to understand those places where Joosten claims that the conclusions of

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idem, “The Distinction between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as Reflected in Syntax,” *HS* 46 (2005): 327–39 (330).

<sup>166</sup> Joosten, “Textual Developments,” 28.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 29–30.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>170</sup> *LDBT* 1:132–36.

the old-style language approach provide a reliable reference point for deciding textual matters, as for example: “Fortunately, where redaction-historical considerations remain inconclusive, historical linguistics provides some firmness.”<sup>171</sup>

The suspicion that Joosten thinks that the MT preserves in detail the language of the original authors of biblical compositions seems confirmed by the fact that the focus of much of Joosten’s work on the Hebrew language is on the same sort of small details which other scholars have focused on, and which we have found are highly changeable in all our textual evidence, both in the MT and in non-MT biblical texts. To be fair, not all of Joosten’s work deals with these features,<sup>172</sup> however our focus in this section is on his understanding of the text of the Hebrew Bible, and it is the various examples of his concentration on small details that are particularly revealing in this matter. As one example, we continue a quote from earlier, where Joosten says: “In the Bible, טרם + perfect is attested only twice, but in Qumran Hebrew it is found eight times.”<sup>173</sup> Such a remark views the specific distribution of a very small number of forms as significant. In another context, Joosten discusses a total of nine verbal forms in the roughly 63,000 words of the core LBH corpus as evidencing a significant linguistic change.<sup>174</sup> He states that the appearance of three linguistic forms would be enough for him to be sure the Peshet Habakkuk text is postexilic.<sup>175</sup> Or, Joosten sees significance in five examples of the unusual word order temporal phrase–imperative.<sup>176</sup>

In another article, Joosten attempts to tie in his linguistic study with the issue of the multiple editions of Jeremiah we mentioned earlier (3.5.1), by pointing to some “late” linguistic elements in additional material in the MT.<sup>177</sup> However, even this study is disappointing. In regard to his main argument that the extra material in MT Jeremiah is particularly marked by “late” linguistic

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<sup>171</sup> Joosten, “Textual History,” 138.

<sup>172</sup> For example, he discusses the directive *he*, which is used 752 times in his early corpus and ninety-seven times in his late corpus, although admittedly he soon turns to much rarer sub-categories of this large data-set to press home his point. See Joosten, “Distinction,” 337–38.

<sup>173</sup> Joosten, “Textual Developments,” 23.

<sup>174</sup> Joosten, “Distinction,” 330. Actually, however, there are only eight examples, and these are concentrated in five verses. See Ehrensverd, “Diachronic,” 181–83.

<sup>175</sup> J. Joosten, “The Evolution of Literary Hebrew in Biblical Times: The Evidence of Pseudoclassicisms,” in *DBH*, 281–92 (284–85).

<sup>176</sup> Joosten, “Imperative,” 123.

<sup>177</sup> J. Joosten, “L’excédent massorétique du livre de Jérémie et l’hébreu post-classique,” in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey; STDJ 73; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 93–108.

features, the small number of features he discusses (matched by “late” features in the common text) and their peripheral nature (hardly any feature he cites being commonly mentioned in standard discussions of LBH) do not appear to make a very successful case. For our present discussion of Joosten’s text-critical assumptions when dealing with language, it is important to note how rare the linguistic items he cites really are in all the sources. For example, his first example is the use of יום as a noun “day,” which only occurs in the Bible, according to him, in Jer 33:20 and Neh 9:19. In regard to his overall argument, since every biblical text seems to contain at least a sprinkling of LBH features,<sup>178</sup> it is unsurprising that extra sections of MT Jeremiah have some LBH features, just as does the common text of Jeremiah—which is itself, in any case, hardly to be assumed to be the “original text” of Jeremiah! A more realistic impression is gained by noting how the additional text in Jeremiah contains the usual mixture of SCH and PCH features. For example, in Jer 27:1–10,<sup>179</sup> alongside the addition of a typical PCH feature (theophoric ending on name-*yah* [v. 1]), we find the prominent addition of typical SCH features (ממלכה [“reign”; v. 1]; אנוכי [“I”; v. 6]; את plus suffix [vv. 7, 8; v. 10 is forced]; והיה [“and it will be”; v. 8]). In other words, the additions in MT Jeremiah seem to share the same language style as the common text, in the sense that their language is a mixture of mostly Classical Hebrew with a few supposedly late Hebrew elements.<sup>180</sup> Again, we notice the way that Joosten focuses on small details in the MT, and how his conclusions are dictated by his presuppositions.

On occasion, Joosten becomes so embroiled in the old-style language approach to the text of the Bible that he, *without discussion*, cites non-MT biblical texts as evidence of late, postclassical Hebrew developments, for example as with his citation of 4QGen<sup>g</sup> and the SP as evidence of postclassical use of the noun יום.<sup>181</sup> Or note his bald statement: “The Samaritan tradition, as

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<sup>178</sup> *LDBT* 1:132–36.

<sup>179</sup> Conveniently presented by E. Ulrich in S. White Crawford, J. Joosten, and E. Ulrich, “Sample Editions of the Oxford Hebrew Bible: Deuteronomy 32:1–9, 1 Kings 11:1–8, and Jeremiah 27:1–10 (34G),” *VT* 58 (2008): 352–66 (363–64).

<sup>180</sup> This is not to deny that certain linguistic forms might be characteristic of the extra material in Jeremiah, just to deny that the extra material is notably characterized by the usual features considered typical of PCH. For the linguistic profile of the extra material see, for example, H.-J. Stipp, “Linguistic Peculiarities of the Masoretic Edition of the Book of Jeremiah: An Updated Index,” *JNSL* 23 (1997): 181–202. More recently, see Hornkohl, *Ancient*, and the interaction with this publication in Rezetko, “(Dis)Connection.”

<sup>181</sup> Joosten, “L’excédent,” 96.

reflected in both the written text and the oral reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, goes back to roughly the same period as the [Qumran] scrolls.”<sup>182</sup>

In summary, Joosten seems to struggle to bring together successfully his work in the two fields of textual and language study. His apparent unwillingness to call into question the old-style chronological approach to BH leads him, on occasion, to abandon what he knows about the text of the Bible in favor of presuppositions of textual stability in extreme tension with the consensus view of Hebrew Bible textual critics.<sup>183</sup>

#### 3.6.4.1. EXCURSUS: JOOSTEN ON “PSEUDOCCLASSICISMS”

In a number of publications Joosten has suggested that he can identify instances of “pseudoclassicism” (or “artificial recycling”) in late biblical or postbiblical texts. By this he means cases where late authors studied old texts and tried to imitate their classical language, but they unconsciously stumbled on small details, using old words or constructions in a different sense than the earlier writers.<sup>184</sup> For Joosten this shows that Classical BH was not a native language for them, but rather an acquired language.<sup>185</sup> This is already a strange beginning, since it is widely considered that BH was always a High dialect or standard literary language that nobody spoke (at least in that form) throughout most of the biblical period, whether early or late.<sup>186</sup> Nevertheless, this apparently is Joosten’s working framework: Assuming that early biblical authors were native speakers of BH, while late authors were not, the errors of late authors are due to their lack of native “feel” for the language.

When Joosten looks at the data, it is clear that this framework has already determined what he will find and how he will explain it. Thus, for example, he

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<sup>182</sup> J. Joosten, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint in Mutual Illumination,” in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, M. Vervenne; BETL 224; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 245–52 (246).

<sup>183</sup> Additional remarks on Joosten’s text-critical work in relation to historical linguistics are given in *LDBT* 1:78–80; 2:158 n. 84; Rezetko, “Qumran.” Note especially our discussions of directive *he*, an example to which Joosten persistently returns, notwithstanding specific corrections of his data and criticisms of his arguments. Again, in this volume see chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.1), chapter 9 (9.4), and Qumran Samuel (5.2).

<sup>184</sup> J. Joosten, “Pseudo-classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew,” in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, Held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 146–59 (150).

<sup>185</sup> Joosten, “Evolution,” 286. By this he means not that Hebrew itself was foreign to them, but that their native Hebrew was a late, postclassical form of the language, so that they were unfamiliar with some of the earlier, classical language items.

<sup>186</sup> *LDBT* 1:173–79; Young, “Peshier Habakkuk.”

discusses the appearance of the word עָרִיץ (“violent”?) in the Peshet Habakkuk, which Young uses as part of a demonstration that Peshet Habakkuk writes in a very classical style of Hebrew, much closer to Standard Classical Hebrew than the so-called Late Biblical Hebrew books. Joosten labels this a pseudoclassicism because in the genuine Classical Hebrew of the biblical writings, the word is only found in poetry. “The use of a poetic word in a prosaic context seems to reflect artificial reuse.”<sup>187</sup> The first point we would raise is the problem that Joosten considers that this word was used as a native idiom by biblical authors, and he also considers that it was not, since it was only used in poetic style. If this word was part of the native language repertoire of early writers, then presumably it could also be used in prose as well as poetry. Peshet Habakkuk’s use of it in less elevated prose, rather than just the elevated style of poetry, would seem to be an argument, if anything, that this linguistic feature was a feature of the writer of Peshet Habakkuk’s natural language. Only Joosten’s presuppositions prevent this obvious conclusion.

The second point is more important, since it relates to all of Joosten’s cases of pseudoclassicism. Joosten’s basic observation is simply that a writer has used an idiom differently to anything we find in the Hebrew Bible, or at least in what Joosten considers “early” Hebrew. It is only Joosten’s prior commitment to his theory that late authors made mistakes in their “classical” Hebrew because they were not native users of the language that leads him to describe this different usage as a mistake, a pseudoclassicism. Let us, however, apply Joosten’s method to the preexilic Hebrew inscriptions, our earliest evidence for Hebrew, and sources definitely from the period when Joosten thinks that Classical Hebrew was being used as a native idiom. Here we find in the Arad ostraca the use of עוֹד as a noun, “remainder.” In BH, the word is only used as an adverb, “still, yet, again.”<sup>188</sup> There seems no reason (except that we know that it is absurd because of the date of the sources) that we should not equally apply Joosten’s arguments to this linguistic item. Because the author of the Arad ostraca did not use the word עוֹד in the same way as in BH, he clearly misunderstood the BH form, which he was obviously trying to imitate, and therefore produced this pseudoclassicism. This example makes it evident that Joosten’s presuppositions about the usage of literary Hebrew in various eras dictate the conclusion that he draws that differences from BH in non-biblical texts are errors produced by the failure of late authors to successfully imitate BH. There seems no reason why we could not otherwise argue that different uses of language show that the late authors too were masters of literary Hebrew and were confident enough to use it on occasions differently to earlier writers.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Joosten, “Evolution,” 285–86.

<sup>188</sup> *LDBT* 1:162.

<sup>189</sup> See Young, “Peshet Habakkuk.”

As an additional example of “pseudoclassicism,” in several articles Joosten has studied מלא Piel + יד אה + X (“to fill one’s hand”) in Chronicles.<sup>190</sup> He argues: “Two of the Chronicles passages [1 Chr 29:5; 2 Chr 29:31] have nothing whatsoever to do with consecration or induction to a priestly office,” and, “In the third passage [2 Chr 13:9], the notion of ordination does come up, but it is doubtful whether the idiom ‘to fill the hand’ expresses it.”<sup>191</sup> These passages, he claims, are concerned with donations, giving, generosity. Thus:

We may conclude that the meaning of the expression “to fill the hand” is different in Classical BH and Late BH. While in CBH it means “to ordain to a priestly office”, in LBH it means “to bring an offering”. The latter meaning probably reflects interpretation on the basis of the component parts. By the time of the Chronicler, the old idiomatic expression had fallen into disuse and its global meaning had been forgotten, at least by some readers of the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>192</sup>

There are numerous problems with Joosten’s argumentation. First, even if Joosten’s analysis of the language were correct, why must the difference be interpreted as a chronological development rather than a synchronic variation in usage?<sup>193</sup> Second, Joosten (following Paran) offers an interpretation of these passages that many other translators, lexicographers, and commentators would disagree with. For example, Snijders examines the various texts, including 2 Chr 13:9, and concludes: “The conclusion must be that [מלא אה יד] is either a general designation for the ordination of priests or constitutes an integral part of such ordination... The rite of hand-filling refers *pars pro toto* to the consecration of priests.”<sup>194</sup> Third, Joosten cites Hurvitz’s four late-dating criteria of distribution, opposition, extra-biblical attestation, and accumulation,<sup>195</sup> but his analysis of מלא Piel + יד אה + X disregards two of these criteria. As for opposition, the question arises, how then do late writers express “to ordain to a priestly office”? Presumably if this construction lost this meaning then some other expression replaced it. What is that expression? Joosten’s treatment is incomplete without this information. Turning to extra-biblical attestation, Joosten mentions the much later targums,<sup>196</sup> but in an article largely dealing with

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<sup>190</sup> First in Joosten, “Pseudo-classicisms,” 150–59, and more recently in idem, “Evolution,” 288–90.

<sup>191</sup> Joosten, “Evolution,” 288, 289.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>193</sup> We are not the first to ask this question. See, for example, V. A. Hurowitz, review of M. Paran, *Forms of the Priestly Style in the Pentateuch*, *HS* 32 (1991): 156–62 (161).

<sup>194</sup> *TDOT* 8:297–308 (304; cf. 301–7).

<sup>195</sup> Joosten, “Evolution,” 284.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.

QH<sup>197</sup> he overlooks the occurrences of this construction in the scrolls. The language of the few (partially) attested examples in the biblical scrolls has not been updated to avoid the “fallen into disuse” or “forgotten” expression (Exod 29:33, 35; Num 3:3; cf. Exod 28:41). More significantly, the Temple Scroll uses the construction with the “early” or “classical” meaning (11Q19 15:15–16; 35:6–7).<sup>198</sup> Ben Sira also retains this usage (45:15).<sup>199</sup> The evidence is sparse, but these extra-biblical examples make it very unlikely, though not impossible, that the earlier writers(s) of Chronicles misunderstood the expression.

In conclusion, we cite Joosten’s own cautions about his work on pseudoclassicisms: “[D]efinitive demonstration of the pseudo-classical character of a given usage will often prove difficult, or even impossible. Alternative explanations are almost always feasible...”<sup>200</sup>

### 3.6.5. FRANK POLAK

Polak is more successful than Joosten in indicating how his language study can fit with the nature of the biblical writings. Polak’s research on dividing biblical texts into “elaborate” and “lean” styles is based on such factors as syntactic complexity over large stretches of text, rather than just sporadic details. He is aware that details of the text are variant in our textual witnesses. For example, he says “many ancient lexemes have been lost in the transmission process.”<sup>201</sup> He argues, however, for the stability of the linguistic features that are the focus of his study on the basis of the transmission history of the Roman Law of Twelve Tablets. He says:

Originating in the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., this text has been transmitted to us in quotations in later legal literature. Although the morphology shows that the text has been subject to various transformations, the syntactic structure, which often tends to parataxis, has largely been preserved, in spite of the fact that later Latin literature manifests a clear preference for complex hypotactic structures.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 283–88.

<sup>198</sup> *TDOT* 8:307; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead*, 2:1236–37, 1254–55; J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation & Commentary* (JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press, 1985), 35; cf. 24. Other possible examples are 1Q28b 5:17 and 4Q401 22:2.

<sup>199</sup> The issues and data that Joosten fails to consider are an example of neglect of the principle of accountability that we discuss in chapter 7.

<sup>200</sup> Joosten, “Pseudo-classicisms,” 151.

<sup>201</sup> F. H. Polak, “The Book of Samuel and the Deuteronomist—A Syntactic-Stylistic Analysis,” in *Die Samuelbücher und die Deuteronomisten* (ed. C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger; BZAW 188; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010), 34–75 (69).

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 69.

Our aim here is not to engage Polak's suggestion,<sup>203</sup> but rather simply to note this argument as an example of a scholar offering a suggestion that takes seriously the actual state of the texts of the Hebrew Bible. Realizing that the linguistic details of the text are not reliable indicators of the language of earlier stages in the textual history of the biblical books, Polak has attempted to identify larger structures that, even if in individual features vary, might be argued to persist during scribal transmission.

### 3.6.6. ZIONY ZEVIT

Zevit has offered a detailed critique of the relevance of the current consensus on the history of the BH texts for the study of the language of the biblical texts.<sup>204</sup> It should be immediately noted that Zevit himself views what he offers in this section in a different way, since he does not show an awareness of the consensus we sketched in 3.5, and he persistently claims that what we, for example, say about that consensus simply reflects our own views. For example, he takes us to task for saying: "[F]or the purpose of linguistic dating there is no basis for privileging the MT of biblical books over other texts of those books."<sup>205</sup> It can be seen from what we have already discussed that this is merely a routine statement of the consensus of text-critical specialists on the texts of the Hebrew Bible, which we indicated by citing scholars such as Tov and Ulrich earlier in that chapter of *LDBT* which Zevit is criticizing. However, Zevit labels this our own view, and chides us for not understanding the significance of the Qumran discoveries! Elsewhere Zevit gives advice on how we could approach the study of linguistic variation in non-MT manuscripts.<sup>206</sup> It is interesting that he never refers to the data on this we present in *LDBT*, nor to our own various publications on textual criticism, the Qumran biblical manuscripts in general, and specific linguistic studies of linguistic variation in Qumran texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch.<sup>207</sup> Instead, he states: "They provide no evidence, however, to indicate that what could have happened in theory did occur in fact."<sup>208</sup> This appears to be another version of the "burden of proof" argument

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<sup>203</sup> However, we do engage his suggestion at several points in chapters 4–9.

<sup>204</sup> Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 460–61, 465–76. In addition to the remarks below, see the other related comments in Rezetko, "Qumran," and in appendix 3.

<sup>205</sup> Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 471, citing *LDBT* 1:359.

<sup>206</sup> Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 469 n. 9.

<sup>207</sup> We immodestly cited about a dozen of them in *LDBT* 1:343 n. 6 and 1:348 n. 18, and more are available in the bibliography.

<sup>208</sup> Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 466.

we discussed in regard to Hurvitz,<sup>209</sup> but Zevit's version is lacking even more in substance given that we have in fact provided so much evidence.

Zevit deals with the variations in parallel texts that we had already cited as evidence of textual and linguistic fluidity. He asserts: "2 Samuel 22/Psalm 18 reflects textual variations tolerated within the preexilic period."<sup>210</sup> He provides no evidence for this claim, and it seems to arise simply from the necessity for the MT copies of these texts to accurately reflect the details of preexilic Hebrew. We wonder whether Zevit would follow his own logic and assert that all the other variants attested for these texts, in Qumran Samuel and elsewhere, stem likewise from the preexilic period? If so, the text was already very fluid in the preexilic period and, regardless of when it happened, the less common language details of the text dramatically changed so that we cannot know what the language of the original authors looked like. We suspect that if it was really Zevit's idea that the texts were very variant in the preexilic period, but were then copied exactly during the postexilic period, this would be seen as rather bizarre by text-critical scholars.

Zevit then gives his own history of the biblical text, which seems to be his own construction based on the impressions gathered during his reading. It is interesting that most of his citations of Tov's work are from his book *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*,<sup>211</sup> and not directly from his work on textual criticism (which he cites only once), and what he gets out of Tov's work is rather far from Tov's own views, cited above. Ulrich's work is only cited in a footnote where he acknowledges that Ulrich has "a different opinion."<sup>212</sup> Zevit considers that the stage of "the composition and final production of the biblical texts" is not documented in any manuscripts.<sup>213</sup> This is already in dramatic contrast with the views of textual critics such as Tov and Ulrich who we cited in 3.5.1 as considering that the DSS, the SP, and the LXX provide evidence for the last stages of this literary formation.

When we get to the period when texts are attested, Zevit's view is that "by the time of their attestation, the proto-Masoretic texts reflect a stable type, the wording and orthography of which were set, for all practical purposes."<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Notice the very similar wording in *ibid.*, 467 (emphasis original): "The theoretical possibility of what might/could have happened in the *compositional* process is first deemed probable, and then actual for the subsequent *copying* process."

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 467.

<sup>211</sup> E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>212</sup> Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 471 n. 13. He thanks Ulrich for email communication and for referring him to one of his articles.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 468.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 471.

“[T]hey were copied with greater care than other types of biblical manuscripts.”<sup>215</sup> Unfortunately, one of the two manuscripts that Zevit cites as examples of proto-MT manuscripts is 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. Presumably he has misread Tov’s book on scribal practices to mean that since 4QSam<sup>b</sup> has a very conservative orthography, similar to but slightly more archaic than the MT, this means that it is the same as the MT in other details as well. In fact, as is clear from any publication on the text of 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, its text varies at a high rate from the MT. We show in chapter 6 (6.4.2) that 4QSam<sup>b</sup> differs from the MT in a non-orthographic variant about once every 5–6 words. This cannot be what Zevit means by a stable type of text.

Overlooking this error, it is difficult to know what Zevit views as the significance of the relative stability of the proto-MT manuscripts among themselves. It will be understood by now that even if Tov views the emerging proto-MT group of texts as commonly carefully copied in the late Second Temple period, this does not imply that they are necessarily better representatives of earlier stages of the text. Rather it tells us how this type of text, which Tov in this period relates to the Jerusalem Temple,<sup>216</sup> was treated in this late period when it had, according to Tov, achieved some sort of status.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 471.

<sup>216</sup> For his view of Temple-related (proto-MT) and Temple-unrelated (biblical DSS) texts, see *ibid.*, 469–71, 475–76.

<sup>217</sup> For the connection between the proto-MT and the Temple, see Tov, *Textual*, 30–31. Note also other remarks by Tov on the matter of “preference” and especially “preference for MT”: “When evaluating the quality of **מ**, one should realize that the preference for **מ** within Judaism does not necessarily imply that it contains the best (earliest) evidence of the Scripture text; both the Hebrew parent text of **ש** [the LXX] and several Qumran manuscripts reflect excellent texts, often better and/or earlier than **מ**” (*ibid.*, 26–27). “Readings of **מ** are often preferable to those found in other texts, but this statistical information should not influence decisions in individual instances, because the exceptions to this situation are not predictable. When judgments are involved, statistical information should be considered less relevant, although it certainly influences scholars unconsciously. Furthermore, **מ** is no more reliable than **ש** or certain Qumran texts. The application of this rule reflects an inappropriate preference for **מ**” (*ibid.*, 273). Elsewhere he says: “At that time [3rd–2nd centuries B.C.E.], the MT manuscripts were embraced by certain circles only, while others used different, often older, manuscripts. [n. 64] My own intuition tells me that more often than not the LXX reflects an *earlier* stage than MT both in the literary shape of the biblical books and in small details” (E. Tov, “The Nature of the Large-Scale Differences between the LXX and MT S T V, Compared with Similar Evidence in Other Sources,” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* [ed. A. Schenker; SBLSCS 52; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003], 121–44 [143]). Tov’s view about the connection between the MT and the Temple is shared by van der Kooij, van der Woude, and also Young, which is ironic since Zevit is criticizing the text-critical views of Young and Rezetko. Zevit either is unaware of or

Does Zevit, however, view it as evidence that the MT is a carefully copied exemplar of what is virtually the original text of the Bible? He goes so far as to say that the proto-MT “reflects a very conservative manuscript tradition vis-à-vis other biblical text types at Qumran,”<sup>218</sup> and so this may be what he is implying. Indeed it is difficult to know what other position would help his implicit argument that the MT preserves in detail the language of original authors, since the idea that biblical compositions may be dated on the basis of their language, which he holds, requires this sort of view. If any significant changes have happened to the linguistic details of the text during its transmission, the use of a few details to describe the language and hence date of a biblical author is impossible. However, Zevit does not actually say this, and offers other qualifications such as that some non-MT witnesses “reflect less conservative or different scribal traditions that must be accounted for by scholars because they too reflect old editions.”<sup>219</sup> The fact that Zevit floats the idea that non-MT manuscripts might reflect “old and different” traditions is an interesting concession, but perhaps it is not wrong to infer that “old and less conservative” is the more significant part of the quote for Zevit’s actual views.

Whatever Zevit might be trying to say in his reconstruction of the history of the biblical text, he immediately returns to his prior claim that no evidence has

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chooses to ignore Young, “Stabilization,” 369–70, 382–90. Others do not accept the connection between the proto-MT and the Temple. See, for example, Ulrich, “Clearer,” 124–26; idem, “Fundamental,” 56–58. In the latter, note especially his remarks on Josephus and Chronicles, both of which were, presumably, associated with the Jerusalem temple, but in many ways did not use the (proto-)MT. Furthermore, literary and textual critics frequently and cogently argue that the current MT in many details reflects editorial revision in the last centuries B.C.E. around the turn of the era. For several specific examples dealing with 1 Sam 1–2 see A. Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction? Textual Development in the MT of 1 Samuel 1,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutensis* (ed. A. Piquer Otero and P. Torijano Morales; JSJSup 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–17; idem, “Hannah’s Psalm in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,” in *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (ed. P. Hugo and A. Schenker; VTSup 132; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 23–37; idem, “Hannah’s Psalm: Text, Composition, and Redaction,” in *Houses Full of All Good Things: Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola* (ed. J. Pakkala and M. Nissinen; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 95; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 354–76. More generally and with references to further literature see Carr, *Formation*, 166–78; A. Schenker, “Der Ursprung des massoretischen Textes im Licht der literarischen Varianten im Bibeltext,” *Textus* 23 (2007): 51–67. We return to this issue and the book of Samuel in chapter 6. In summary, even if the proto-MT had, in a certain period, a special status in connection with the Jerusalem Temple, this does not mean that it is the “best” text or never changed.

<sup>218</sup> Zevit, “Not-So-Random,” 471.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 471.

been presented by us: “Despite this, no evidence has been presented illustrating that the language in the texts reflecting these different editions differs linguistically in significant ways from the proto-Masoretic texts.”<sup>220</sup> This is quite an extraordinary claim, given what Zevit must know about 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and the SP at least, even if he has not read other studies, such as Young’s study of 4QCant<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps “differs linguistically in significant ways” is what is at issue for Zevit. Perhaps he means, quite rightly as we argue in this book, that the basic features of BH do not significantly change during scribal transmission, so that, for example, Classical Hebrew does not change into Rabbinic Hebrew? However, Zevit’s work on language, in line with other scholars who try to date writings on linguistic grounds, finds great significance in the less common linguistic features of the texts,<sup>221</sup> and as we have shown elsewhere and demonstrate extensively again in this book, those linguistic forms do change a lot. Therefore, it is not correct for Zevit to claim that there is no evidence of such significant changes.

One final comment worth noting occurs toward the end of the section describing the inadequacy of our understanding of the history of the text.<sup>222</sup> Zevit marvels that *LDBT* “does not undertake to bolster its claim with irrefutable examples based on Qumran data.”<sup>223</sup> We did in fact present data from the DSS and the SP where the MT had what Zevit would probably consider “late” language features where the non-MT texts had the “early” equivalents. Indeed, we presented the majority of the data preserved in Qumran Samuel for the directive *he*.<sup>224</sup> It is difficult to know why Zevit is unimpressed by this data. Surely, the fact that the non-MT texts have “earlier” Hebrew in them should be good evidence for Zevit to take their witness seriously. Perhaps, though, the important issue is Zevit’s use of “irrefutable.” Perhaps Zevit assumes that textual critics are able to irrefutably prove which of two variant texts is earlier and which later? We have already noted the difficulties with evaluation of variants (3.5.3), and pointed out that unless one has a prior idea of what direction linguistic changes were going, based on dated and localized evidence, it is even more difficult to decide in cases of linguistic variation. We would have thought that the forms we discussed fitted that last criterion for Zevit at least, but perhaps he has a different view of the possibilities for textual evaluation.

In conclusion, Zevit has not made a cogent case for his approach to textual criticism. What he does present as a defense of the old approach to BH is in

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 471.

<sup>221</sup> See, for example, his appeal to eight items of “late” vocabulary, and to the relative frequency of *matres lectionis* in Z. Zevit, “Dating Ruth: Legal, Linguistic and Historical Observations,” *ZAW* 117 (2005): 574–600 (592–94).

<sup>222</sup> Actually, the understanding of the leading scholars in the field such as Tov and Ulrich.

<sup>223</sup> Zevit, “Not-So-Random,” 472.

<sup>224</sup> *LDBT* 1:350–51.

direct contradiction to the consensus views of experts on the history of the text of the Bible, and it is completely incongruous with the data of the surviving witnesses to the text of the Bible.

### 3.6.7. OTHER AUTHORS IN *DIACHRONY IN BIBLICAL HEBREW*

The recently-published book *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* is intended to be a state-of-the-art presentation of historical linguistic research on BH. It should therefore have included, we would argue (cf. chapter 2, 2.3), serious interaction with and evaluation of the written sources of ancient Hebrew. Unfortunately, there is very little mention of literary-critical and text-critical issues in the volume as a whole. In this section we look at those few times the subject of textual criticism is mentioned or relevant, apart from those authors dealt with elsewhere in this chapter.

Miller-Naudé makes a couple of statements on the relevance of the topic, without going further into detail.<sup>225</sup> It is at least welcome to see the issue on the agenda for leading language scholars.

Dresher seems to agree that “the biblical books appear to have been revised heavily, and the language of the original composition of the early books may have been updated,”<sup>226</sup> and that this textual fluidity may make dating texts not only difficult, but indeed, citing us, “anachronistic and irrelevant.”<sup>227</sup> This is certainly a major improvement on the idea that the MT is the original text, although when it comes to application Dresher still cites percentages of small details with the defense of the Labovian dictum “we have to make the best of very bad data.”<sup>228</sup> This raises the question of when we should ask whether the data are simply too bad to do some of the things Dresher attempts to do with them.

Givón’s article is an example of a piece that is strong on linguistic theory, but weak on understanding the nature of the sources.<sup>229</sup> Apart from the problematic issue of which compositions Givón chooses for the construction of his linguistic continuum, it is clearly a fundamental assumption that the language of the MT of these compositions presents reliable information in detail about the language of the original authors. We do not mean to single Givón out here, since this approach is so pervasive among Hebrew language scholars.

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<sup>225</sup> Miller-Naudé, “Diachrony,” 10, 12.

<sup>226</sup> Dresher, “Methodological,” 22.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>229</sup> T. Givón, “Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum,” in *DBH*, 39–59.

Naudé first discusses the stabilization of the biblical text in the context of a single writer finishing his text,<sup>230</sup> which has nothing to do with the actual historical issue of when and how the textual fluidity of the B.C.E. period became the textual stability of the C.E. period. Later he acknowledges: “The problem with biblical texts is that they are so heavily mediated: they were transmitted through multiple editors and copyists.”<sup>231</sup> It is good to see Hebrew language scholars becoming aware of such issues, but it is unclear that Naudé has come to a satisfactory conclusion as to how this fact impacts his scholarship, since the following paragraphs do not relate clearly to this statement and a few pages later he cites a Qumran *biblical* text as a contrast to “BH” (= the MT)!<sup>232</sup>

Cook is another good example of a language scholar seriously trying to grapple with the linguistic data.<sup>233</sup> He does not dispute the text-critical evidence we have provided and tries to get around the problem by using “diachronic typology,” in other words, common directions of grammatical development documented cross-linguistically. This is a positive approach, and it appears to hold more promise than Holmstedt’s approach, since it need not be based on some perceived chronology of the biblical writings, although it is disappointing when, in application, the data from biblical texts (meaning the MT) consist of relatively small numbers of biblical forms that are analyzed for their frequency and remarks are made about the supposed date of these books. This still implies that Cook thinks that the distribution of small details in the MT is significant evidence of the language of original authors. Contrast this with large-scale variations in frequency of linguistic forms such as are found in MT and Qumran Samuel, or in other non-MT biblical texts.

Forbes and Andersen’s article receives attention in the context of our discussion of the spelling of “David” in Qumran Samuel (2.1), since this is one of the major case studies in their article, which deals with the spelling patterns of the MT. It is a puzzling article for a number of reasons. First, it constructs a theoretical model of how spelling might have changed in the textual transmission of ancient texts, rather than observing the actual data. Because it is totally theoretical, the article assumes that orthographic change is due to the gradual introduction of “copying errors.”<sup>234</sup> Total replacement of one spelling by another in non-MT texts, as seems to be evidenced in the case of “David,” which the article discusses only in light of the MT, is hardly a case of error, but rather of systematic spelling change. Second, in light of the consistent changes of spelling of “David” in different manuscripts of Samuel, their suggestion that on

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<sup>230</sup> J. A. Naudé, “Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew and a Theory of Language Change and Diffusion,” in *DBH*, 61–81 (64–65).

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>233</sup> Cook, “Detecting.”

<sup>234</sup> See, for example, A. D. Forbes and F. I. Andersen, “Dwelling on Spelling,” in *DBH*, 127–45 (129–32).

the basis of a statistical analysis of the spelling in MT Samuel “one might have considerable confidence in the assertion that ‘the composer(s) of Samuel likely never spelled “David” plene,’” sounds strange. Presumably a statistical analysis of the consistent spelling in 1QSam/4QSam<sup>a</sup> or 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> would lead to an equally confident conclusion that the composers *always* spelled “David” *plene*. A final puzzling feature of the article is the impression it conveys that orthography is relevant to the main discussion of the volume in which it appears, *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, about whether one can use linguistic criteria to tell the difference between an early preexilic Hebrew and a late postexilic Hebrew. Nowhere in the article is there mention of the fact, clearly stated in Andersen and Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*, that *all* MT orthography is postexilic.<sup>235</sup>

Bloch shows some awareness of variant texts, discussing for example a variant in Isa 14:8.<sup>236</sup> However, the article is mainly a discussion of the distribution of unusual forms in the MT. For example, he lists the occurrences of the suffix *-mw* in the MT of Exod 15 and Deut 32 without even mentioning the divergent distributions of these forms in 4QExod<sup>c</sup> and the SP.<sup>237</sup>

Fassberg begins his article by stating: “The *Kethiv/Qere perpetuum* אָוֶה of the 3fs independent pronoun is attested 120 times in the Pentateuch, as well as 3 times in the Prophets and Writings.”<sup>238</sup> By “Pentateuch” he means of course the MT Pentateuch. Although he mentions the theory that this is a peculiarity of the manuscript tradition lying behind the MT,<sup>239</sup> he never discusses the considerable non-MT textual evidence from Qumran and the SP that is relevant to the question, even though he cites references that discuss it, and hence must have been aware of it. This would seem to indicate that Fassberg only considers the MT as evidence of BH.

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<sup>235</sup> F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible: Dahood Memorial Lecture* (BibOr 41; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1986), 312. Andersen and Forbes argue that spelling patterns of the MT could reflect a relative chronology of *canonization*. For example, the Torah is more defective than other works, and hence this might be evidence that it was canonized earlier (*ibid.*, 313–16). However one assesses this claim, we should be clear that Andersen and Forbes’s work is not claiming that the biblical orthography in general is anything but “late.”

<sup>236</sup> Y. Bloch, “The Third-Person Masculine Plural Suffixed Pronoun *-mw* and Its Implications for the Dating of Biblical Hebrew Poetry,” in *DBH*, 147–70 (156).

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 156 n. 20; and for the textual evidence see I. Young, “The ‘Archaic’ Poetry of the Pentateuch in the MT, Samaritan Pentateuch, and 4QExod<sup>c</sup>,” *AbrN* 35 (1998): 74–83.

<sup>238</sup> S. E. Fassberg, “The *Kethiv/Qere* אָוֶה, Diachrony, and Dialectology,” in *DBH*, 171–80 (171).

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 172, and his caricature of the argument on p. 177.

Notarius only makes vague references to “some textual and linguistic fluctuations” in the complex poetic texts she discusses.<sup>240</sup> As is common with older-style Hebrew language study, she treats the details of the MT as reliable evidence of the language of the archaic period when she understands these texts to have been composed.

Bar-Asher Siegal only mentions issues of variant texts as interesting sidelights,<sup>241</sup> however this is probably not a major problem for his argument which relies rather on large-scale variations between BH and Rabbinic Hebrew, rather than on the details which vary in the manuscripts.

Pat-El makes no references to issues of textual variation, although she indirectly does in her suggestion that many northern linguistic features of the text were leveled by southern scribes.<sup>242</sup> Instead, as is common with old-style Hebrew language scholars, she considers minor details of the MT to be significant evidence of the language of original authors, including details of vocalization.<sup>243</sup>

Paul is explicit that he considers the collection of minor linguistic details of the MT that he presents as evidence of the original language of Second Isaiah. “They are important because their attestation in the prophecies of Second Isaiah provides scholars of the history of Hebrew with a date.”<sup>244</sup>

Rendsburg discusses many specific details of language, which he takes as evidence of the language of original authors or indeed their northern, Israelian sources, with no reference to non-MT biblical texts.<sup>245</sup>

Cohen’s article is the only one included under the sub-heading “Text-Critical Considerations” in the volume’s “Contents.” Cohen’s openness to text-critical considerations in this and other publications is commendable. That said, however, a criticism of Cohen is that his understanding of textual criticism is rather far from the view of the text held by scholars like Tov and Ulrich mentioned above (whom he does not reference), and rather close to the idea that the MT is the “original” text of the Bible. His opening sentence mentions “proper textual analysis including occasionally, when absolutely justified, minor textual emendations of the MT.”<sup>246</sup> This sounds very much like the position of

<sup>240</sup> T. Notarius, “The Archaic System of Verbal Tenses in ‘Archaic’ Biblical Poetry,” in *DBH*, 193–207 (194).

<sup>241</sup> E. Bar-Asher Siegal, “Diachronic Syntactic Studies in Hebrew Pronominal Reciprocal Constructions,” in *DBH*, 209–44 (226 n. 34, 227 n. 36).

<sup>242</sup> Pat-El, “Syntactic,” 257 n. 37.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 254 n. 28.

<sup>244</sup> S. M. Paul, “Signs of Late Biblical Hebrew in Isaiah 40–66,” in *DBH*, 293–99 (294).

<sup>245</sup> G. A. Rendsburg, “Northern Hebrew through Time: From the Song of Deborah to the Mishnah,” in *DBH*, 339–59.

<sup>246</sup> C. Cohen, “Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography and Its Ramifications for Textual Analysis,” in *DBH*, 361–75 (361).

Hurvitz that the MT is the original text of the Bible, but has very occasional textual blemishes. Contrast this with the text-critical consensus that the MT should be thought of as just another text, and is certainly not to be assumed to be the original text of the Bible. Cohen's assumptions about the nature of the biblical text come through in all his discussions. Thus, for example, he states that the second person singular feminine suffix *-tî* is attested "especially in the much later books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel,"<sup>247</sup> ignoring the regular appearance of this form in the SP. If it were not for the belief that the MT is the original text, it would be obvious that the simplest solution would be that this typologically older form has been lost elsewhere through textual updating in the MT. At the very least, this possibility would be explored. The article focuses on details of the MT. He concludes: "[T]he positive results of this example clearly demonstrate the need for a proper diachronic perspective in BH textual analysis, especially as an additional justification for textual emendations of the MT (even for minor textual emendations)."<sup>248</sup> But most of the "facts" about diachronic developments in BH were constructed from the details of the MT, which we have indicated are very fluid. They are not fluid for Cohen, who pays attention to the text only within the constraints of a conviction that the MT is almost completely in all its details the language written by the original authors.

The authors of the three articles in the section "Comparative Semitic Perspectives on Diachrony" all make important points about the problems that the textual history of the *biblical writings* make for historical linguistic study, in contrast to the sources for the languages they study. Sokoloff points out:

Apart from literary texts such as the *Proverbs of Ahiqar*, preserved in a fifth-century B.C.E. copy of an earlier text, and the Aramaic material in the biblical books of Ezra and Daniel, all of the first millennium B.C.E. texts are original and can be dated definitely either on internal or external grounds. Hence from the point of view of a diachronic study, questions of textual transmission are irrelevant.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 362–63 n. 6.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 371.

<sup>249</sup> M. Sokoloff, "Outline of Aramaic Diachrony," in *DBH*, 379–405 (379). Compare Pat-El's statement to the same effect: "In order to show the merits of historical syntax for comparative Semitic linguistics, I have chosen Aramaic as the main source of data. This choice is not random...Aramaic has a large number of attested dialects spread over a vast geographical area. *Unlike some other languages (Classical Arabic and Biblical Hebrew), texts in Aramaic were not harmonized to a point where their original features were blurred.* Thus, this language is suitable for syntax reconstruction. It has a long documented history (circa 3,000 years)..." (N. Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic* [Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 1; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2012], 7–8 [emphasis added]).

And in his conclusion he says: “Because the provenience and date of nearly all of the first-millennium B.C.E. sources are known, the diachrony of these [linguistic] items can be followed.”<sup>250</sup> Lam and Pardee say:

It may appear obvious, but the discrete nature of the Ugaritic corpus is an important factor in relation to diachronic analysis. The Hebrew Bible comes to us as a single composite text, shaped through layers upon layers of redaction, and further mediated through centuries of scribal transmission. Thus, the identification and isolation of distinct text-stages (or sources) for diachronic analysis is itself hypothetical. By contrast, the Ugaritic data consist of distinct tablets (approx. 2000 texts at last count), each of which (more or less) represents a single event of inscription in antiquity. In theory, then, it ought to be possible to arrange them in a chronological sequence. To put it another way, the “sources” have already been delineated.<sup>251</sup>

Kouwenberg notes: “Thus, generally speaking, Akkadian texts are easy to date on the basis of both linguistic and nonlinguistic criteria. This does not apply, however, to literary texts.”<sup>252</sup> All the biblical texts we have are of course late copies of literary writings. It is interesting that these three articles have such a clear idea of the problems with using the biblical writings for historical linguistic analysis, whereas the bulk of the articles directly about BH itself struggle with coming to terms with such issues. Presumably this is because such a radical reorientation is required to get away from the manner in which Hebrew language scholarship has previously been undertaken. Finally, we wonder why in this regard the editors of *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* did not seek to compare the three “comparative Semitic perspectives on diachrony” with perspectives on “diachrony in Biblical Hebrew,”<sup>253</sup> seeing that the issue of sources is taken very seriously in non-BH historical linguistic research (see chapter 2, 2.3).

### 3.7. DISCUSSION

All of the evidence currently available paints the same picture: while the basic features shared by almost every BH writing are quite stable in their textual transmission, the specific linguistic details of the biblical compositions were fluid, in particular the less common linguistic forms.

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<sup>250</sup> Sokoloff, “Outline,” 401.

<sup>251</sup> J. C. P. Lam and D. Pardee, “Diachrony in Ugaritic,” in *DBH*, 407–31 (409).

<sup>252</sup> Kouwenberg, “Diachrony,” 437. See the discussion of Akkadian in chapter 2 (2.3.4).

<sup>253</sup> See Miller-Naudé, “Diachrony,” 11–12.

The basic features shared by almost every BH text are quite stable, so that our surviving texts give us no reason to doubt that the basic features of BH were characteristic of earlier compositional stages of the biblical books. Examples of basic features include the use of *wayyiqtol* in narrative,  $\text{וְשֵׁנִי}$  as the relative pronoun, or  $\text{זֹאת}$  as the feminine singular demonstrative pronoun, as opposed to the situation in Rabbinic Hebrew where we find the absence of *wayyiqtol*, and common use of the relative  $\text{שֶׁ}$  and the feminine singular demonstrative  $\text{זֹאת}$ .

The specific linguistic details of the biblical compositions were fluid, in particular the less common linguistic items. As we have documented, there is a very large amount of work that has been done on BH which has attempted to find significance in small differences in the linguistic usage of, say, Ezekiel, and to consider that MT Ezekiel preserves linguistic peculiarities of the prophet himself. Very prominent examples of this are the many attempts to argue for the date of a biblical composition on the basis of its language in its MT form.<sup>254</sup> The data from the MT parallel passages and non-MT biblical manuscripts (chapters 5–6 and appendixes 1–2), viewed in light of the consensus of textual critics about the text of the Hebrew Bible, indicates that such attempts at precision are undermined by the fluidity of just this sort of “distinctive” data in the textual transmission of the biblical books.

In fact, all scholars that we are aware of agree that preexilic biblical writings have undergone fundamental updating. It is universally agreed that the script and orthography of preexilic inscriptions give evidence of the script and orthography in which preexilic texts would have been written. Most scholars consider that many biblical writings have their ultimate origin in the preexilic period. However, no attested biblical text, not even the earliest from Qumran, reflects preexilic script and spelling. The orthography of all known biblical manuscripts evidences a later stage than the spelling of the preexilic Hebrew inscriptions<sup>255</sup> and must reflect systematic scribal reworking of the biblical texts. If one were to take the forms of orthography of our current texts as evidence of the original date of their authors, we would have fairly solid proof that no biblical composition dates earlier than the Persian period. However, most scholars acknowledge that the current form of the biblical text is irrelevant for the date of the original composition.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> See the thorough documentation of this point in *LDBT* 2:1–71.

<sup>255</sup> I. Young, “Late Biblical Hebrew and Hebrew Inscriptions,” in *BHSCT*, 276–311 (308–9); *LDBT* 1:150–52. For the very rare traces of earlier spelling practices see, for example, I. Young, “Observations on the Third Person Masculine Singular Pronominal Suffix *-H* in Hebrew Biblical Texts,” *HS* 42 (2001): 225–42.

<sup>256</sup> We noted above the statement by Andersen and Forbes: “The spelling in the *textus receptus* still reflects a stage in the transmission of the text that is later than pre-exilic times” (Andersen and Forbes, *Spelling*, 312).

Other cases where systematic reworking of early biblical texts is presupposed by many scholars may be added to this one. For example, many scholars think that at least some biblical writings date back in some form to the second millennium B.C.E. However, despite a very few possible archaisms, even a text so widely cited as archaic as the Song of the Sea in Exod 15, is still characterized by numerous linguistic forms that do not match with our other evidence for second millennium B.C.E. Northwest Semitic.<sup>257</sup> If these texts (or any other Pentateuch writings) are indeed very early, the most obvious appraisal of their linguistic form is that they have undergone a comprehensive linguistic revision.

Another example is the complete absence from the Hebrew Bible of what are usually considered distinctive features of preexilic Israelian (northern) Hebrew as evidenced in inscriptions. It is regularly assumed that (many) writings in the Bible have their ultimate origin in the north.<sup>258</sup> The complete absence of traces of the features known from inscriptions such as the theophoric ending on personal names יו rather than יהו, or the form שנה rather than שנה for “year” would seem to indicate linguistic revision on a large scale.

Where does this leave historical linguistic study of the biblical writings? We can still do linguistic analysis on the biblical texts, but we need to be clear about what we are doing. Only large-scale and basic features of the language of the biblical compositions are likely to go back to earlier stages of their literary composition. We may also offer linguistic analyses of less common features, but we must not imagine that if such features appear say, in the MT of Jeremiah, we are likely talking about the actual details of the language of the prophet Jeremiah himself.

An interesting question is whether there are cases of “deviant” (less common) language about which we can still have some degree of confidence that they go back to the earliest compositional stages of the biblical book in question? We suggest that an argument can be made for such in exceptional circumstances. In particular, it seems to us that a case can be made that the pervasively different language of Qoheleth and the Song of Songs was always a feature of those books. Certainly this would not apply to the details of the

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<sup>257</sup> An obvious example is the absence of the second millennium B.C.E. case system on nouns, even from the consonantal skeleton of the text, as evidenced in feminine singular nouns ending with *he* instead of *taw*. On “Archaic Biblical Hebrew” see *LDBT* 1:312–40 (on Exod 15 see especially 334–38); R. C. Vern, *Dating Archaic Biblical Hebrew Poetry: A Critique of the Linguistic Arguments* (Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 10; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2011), 81–129.

<sup>258</sup> See, for example, G. A. Rendsburg, “A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon,” *Orient* 38 (2003): 5–35; idem, *Evidence*; idem, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, Cornell University, 5; Bethesda, MD: CDL, 2002); idem, “Northern”; Noegel and Rendsburg, *Solomon’s*.

language of MT Qoheleth or MT Song of Songs. The Qumran evidence indicates that there were texts with different linguistic profiles in details of each of these books.<sup>259</sup> What we mean, however, is that there is a case that can be made that the overall “non-classical” (or PCH) linguistic forms of these books can be traced back to their earliest composition.

Another interesting question relates to the status of the so-called “Late Biblical Hebrew” books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. We have agreed with earlier scholars such as Hurvitz that these five books in the form we know them are distinguished by their quantifiably higher accumulations of some linguistic features that are less common in most other MT biblical books. We do not have access to significant non-MT evidence for the text of these books, but a general question is whether these accumulations of less common linguistic features are sufficiently large-scale to make the case that the distinctive linguistic profiles of these books in their MT form go back to their earliest compositional stages. Young has a couple of times speculated on the basis of what he described as an “optimistic” text-critical position that took it that these linguistic profiles could possibly be traced back to the earliest compositional layers.<sup>260</sup> It seems to us now that there is even less reason for Young’s optimism. First, even in the late, fragmentary evidence in our possession, there are isolated cases where a large accumulation of “late” linguistic features is added to a section of a manuscript, which raise the possibility that such accumulations in the LBH books could be due to textual processes, not original composition.<sup>261</sup> Second, we are still talking about accumulations of individual details, the very details which are so fluid in textual transmission. While we could argue that it is the overall openness to linguistic variety that is the large-scale and pervasive feature of these texts, alternative

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<sup>259</sup> In particular 4QCant<sup>b</sup> has a high proportion of linguistic variants, including distinctively different distributions of some linguistic features. See I. Young, “Notes on the Language of 4QCant<sup>b</sup>,” *JJS* 52 (2001): 122–31.

<sup>260</sup> Young, “Concluding,” 315–16; *idem*, “What,” 263.

<sup>261</sup> Young, “Loose,” 109–10. See also the sample selected from 1 Chr 13, 15–17, which is parallel to a sample from 2 Sam 6–7, discussed in *LDBT* 1:133–34. Samuel has six PCH features, whereas the Chronicles parallel in this case has a significantly higher accumulation of twelve PCH features. While at first glance this amounts to adding only six PCH features to the total, when we look closer, we find a lack of overlap between many of the PCH forms. This lack of overlap in parallel texts is further evidence that the linguistic forms in the text, specifically here the PCH forms, are due to the scribal transmission of the texts, not the chronological position of the “original author.” Only three PCH forms are shared between both texts, which means that actually Chronicles has nine unique PCH forms which are unparalleled in Samuel. This text shows it is theoretically possible to add enough PCH forms to change the profile of a text from SCH to PCH.

explanations of what amount to, at the end of the day, not very many linguistic features, are perhaps equally possible. Thus Carr

raises the question of whether part of the late linguistic profile of books such as Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, Song of Songs, and other relatively marginal books in the Hebrew Bible results from the freer way that they were transmitted, while the relative lack of late linguistic isoglosses in the Pentateuch might result from the extra care taken in its textual transmission.<sup>262</sup>

We must remind ourselves that varied as our textual evidence is for the Hebrew Bible, it is still only very late and very fragmentary. We recall Tov's opinion: "The textual diversity visible in the Qumran evidence from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE onwards is probably not representative of the textual situation in earlier periods, when the text must have been much more fluid."<sup>263</sup> Without an adequate corpus of dated extra-biblical texts and, more importantly, early biblical manuscripts situated in time and place, we can only speculate about how much the language of our current texts varies from that of the putative preexilic originals of some of the books. We offer one such speculation in chapter 9 (9.4).

All of the evidence from parallel texts in the MT indicates that the current texts of the biblical books are late, thoroughly revised and reworked versions of earlier texts whose distinctive linguistic features are lost to us. The evidence

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<sup>262</sup> Carr, *Formation*, 128. Carr's suggestion receives circumstantial support from Trebolle's description of different books and groups of books which were processed differently: "differently copied and preserved...transmitted...composed and edited...translated...quoted...ordered...interpreted...authorized." See J. C. Trebolle Barrera, "A 'Canon Within a Canon': Two Series of Old Testament Books Differently Transmitted, Interpreted and Authorized," *RevQ* 19 (2000): 383–99; idem, "Qumran Evidence for a Biblical Standard Text and for Non-Standard and Parabiblical Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. T. H. Lim, L. W. Hurtado, A. G. Auld, and A. Jack; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 89–106. To these discussions one can add observations on linguistic choices in E. Ben Zvi, "The Communicative Message of Some Linguistic Choices," in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics and Language Relating to Persian Israel* (ed. E. Ben Zvi, D. V. Edelman, and F. H. Polak; Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 5; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 269–90; and also observations on language variations in relation to ritual texts, especially with reference to the Pentateuch, in Hobson, *Transforming*. As for Young's theory, admittedly it was a little more sophisticated than, for example, simply relating the language of the book of Ezekiel to the prophet Ezekiel himself. He stated that it was "related not just to the outlook of the original authors of these works but also to the groups who nurtured the original traditions" (Young, "Concluding," 316). Thus, even if the current linguistic profiles cannot be traced back to the earliest compositional layers, the accumulation of uncommon linguistic features could be evidence at least of the scribal history of the current text of these books, in line with Carr's suggestion just quoted.

<sup>263</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 166 n. 24.

indicates that the most basic features of BH remained textually stable over the corpus as a whole. However, no reliance can be placed on any of the manuscripts currently in our possession that they provide us specific information about the particular linguistic usage of any of the authors of the individual compositions in the corpus.

### 3.8. CONCLUSION

Finally, returning outside textual variation and transmission matters to the broader issues of sources and philology, we are met nearly across the board by a deafening silence in BH historical linguistic and linguistic dating literature. A review of scholarship shows undeniably that there is almost a complete absence of assessment of the nature of the sources of data and philological analysis in the sense of the full panoply of critical scholarship on written documents. In this chapter we have mentioned many of the major language “players” and publications in the field and we have found no reason to change our appraisal of the state of research.<sup>264</sup> In the vast majority of cases scholars go no farther than citing Kutscher’s study of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> in support of the antiquity and reliability of the MT or Hurvitz’s proposal that historical analysis of BH should be based on the MT. (Hurvitz, of course, was a student of Kutscher.) We have commented on Kutscher’s work above (3.4 and 3.6.1) and we return to it in chapter 4 (4.4.2.2). When all is said and done, however, given conventional historical linguistic theory and method related to matters such as the ones we have discussed in this chapter (cf. chapter 2), we think it is ironic that several scholars have chided Tov’s *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* for its lack of interaction with “Biblical Hebrew grammar” and “linguistic analysis” and for failing to “contain a chapter, or even a section, on the history of Hebrew,” when in fact the far more egregious error is the virtual absence of any philological (literary, textual, etc.) considerations whatsoever in almost the entirety of BH historical linguistic and linguistic dating literature. In conclusion, just as “it should not be postulated that **MT** better or more frequently reflects the original text of the biblical books than any other text,”<sup>265</sup> so also it should not be postulated that the language of

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<sup>264</sup> In order of appearance in this chapter, we have mentioned or discussed some writings of Rooker, Rendsburg, Kutscher, Polzin, Sáenz-Badillos, Schniedewind, Hurvitz, Bergey, Wright, Holmstedt, Joosten, Polak, Zevit, including articles and books, noteworthy histories of the Hebrew language, the major set of articles in the recently published *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, and so on. And in our reading of the *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, which we have cited at various points above, we have found no significant discussions of these issues, even when such discussions might be expected given the recent debate about the history of ancient Hebrew.

<sup>265</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 11–12.

the MT better or more frequently reflects the “original” language of the biblical authors than any other text.<sup>266</sup> In the following chapters we aim to explore some facets of BH language in light of the issues we have raised in these first three chapters of this book.

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<sup>266</sup> We stress that we are not simply MT “bashing” or jettisoning the general “antiquity” and “reliability” of the MT, nor for that matter *any other text*. However, descriptive words like these must be qualified in accordance with the issues related to MT and non-MT texts which we discuss in this chapter. Furthermore, it is entirely expected that ancient scribally-created writings like those of the Hebrew Bible, individually and collectively, will contain various kinds of archaisms and innovations, relics and updates, antique and “modern” elements, and so on. The anchor-drag development of such writings naturally relates to both their linguistic and non-linguistic content, the latter including such matters as cultural, historical, political, and religious phenomena. For example, with regard to the book of Samuel, see the references in point 5 on “synchronisms” in Rezetko, *Source*, 10–12 n. 24. Moreover, what we are describing here naturally applies also to the different copies of those writings (i.e., MT and non-MT alike) when they have been transmitted in multiple copies, such as we find with the variety of (albeit many fragmentary) copies of individual biblical books. Therefore, again, our objective is not to discard the MT, but rather, to deprivilege it in historical linguistic research, in accord with modern text-critical practice (above) and normative historical linguistic theory and method (chapter 2, 2.3).

## Chapter 4

### Cross-Textual Variable Analysis: Theory and Method

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we aim to accomplish the following objectives. We begin by introducing three common procedures for the capture and analysis of linguistic variables in written sources, intra-, inter-, and cross-textual analysis, with a special focus on the latter (4.2). Then we give some illustrations of cross-textual variable analysis in English, French, and Spanish writings (4.3). Next we give a synopsis of past research on parallel texts in the MT Bible and on biblical writings that have survived in multiple manuscripts, in particular the MT, DSS, and LXX (4.4). Finally we summarize several additional issues, including the kinds of variants that are observable between parallels and manuscripts, and scribal practices related to biblical manuscripts (4.5).

#### 4.2. SKETCH OF CROSS-TEXTUAL VARIABLE ANALYSIS

In an article on grammatical variables<sup>1</sup> Auer and Voeste describe three methods of “data capture” for the analysis of variants in a historical perspective.<sup>2</sup> The first method, “*intra*-textual” variable analysis, “examines the frequency and range of variants in one text or a corpus of texts that has been compiled for this purpose and is treated as a single text,” such as the Nuremberg chronicle or a corpus of texts such as the *lettres provinciales*.<sup>3</sup> The second method, “*inter*-

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<sup>1</sup> A variable, we recall, is a set of two or more variants that may be used alternatively to say the same thing (cf. chapter 2, 2.4).

<sup>2</sup> A. Auer and A. Voeste, “Grammatical Variables,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 253–70 (259–61).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 259; cf. the remark on “*intra*-textual variation” in the section “Authenticity (purity in texts)” in Hernández Campoy and Schilling, “Application,” 68.

textual” variable analysis, compares “the results of two or more intra-textual investigations,” such as the Nuremberg chronicle and other incunabula, “thereby changing the external determinants such as time or place.”<sup>4</sup> The third method, “cross-textual” variable analysis, “compares the variants in different versions of the same text.”<sup>5</sup> On this last method they add:

The main purpose of this method is to focus on the alterations from one version to another in order to detect a pattern of deliberate changes. As a precondition, it requires successive textual records, such as concept, draft, first manuscript, and fair copy, or different copies or editions of the same text. This method is favored by scholars such as those working on the tradition of the Bible or on European legends like *Melusine* or *Tristan and Iseult* which were retold in numerous sources. In contrast to an intra- and inter-textual analysis, this method seeks to compare the variants as single items in different versions line by line and paragraph by paragraph...This approach, comparing different versions, is particularly suited to uncovering differences and similarities between texts when such differences are not evident in an inter-textual examination.<sup>6</sup>

So, for example, Auer and Voeste give the following illustration of variants of the German preterite form in third person singular and plural in two manuscripts of the *Melusine*:<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Auer and Voeste, “Grammatical,” 260.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 260; cf. the remark on “variation...across manuscripts” in the section “Invarianation” in Hernández Campoy and Schilling, “Application,” 68.

<sup>6</sup> Auer and Voeste, “Grammatical,” 260–61. Apparently Voeste coined the name “cross-textual variable analysis” (personal communication from Anja Voeste). She used “crosstextuelle Variationsanalyse” in her article A. Voeste, “Den Leser im Blick: Die Professionalisierung des Setzerhandwerks im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Orthographie der Druckausgaben der »Melusine«,” in *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit: Die »Melusine« des Thüring von Ringoltingen* (ed. U. Rautenberg, H.-J. Künast, M. Habermann, and H. Stein-Kecks; Munich: de Gruyter, 2013), 129–50. A similar phrase appears in “the crucial importance of analyzing textual and cross-textual *W[ord]O[order]* variations in synchrony and diachrony for understanding change” (R. Sornicola, E. Poppe, and A. Shisha-Halevy, “Introduction,” in *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns Over Time* [ed. R. Sornicola, E. Poppe, and A. Shisha-Halevy; CILT 213; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000], ix–xxxix [xix; emphasis added]).

<sup>7</sup> Auer and Voeste, “Grammatical,” 261; cf. Voeste, “Leser,” 137. The details of the manuscripts are in Auer and Voeste, “Grammatical,” 268 n. 4; Voeste, “Leser,” 137.

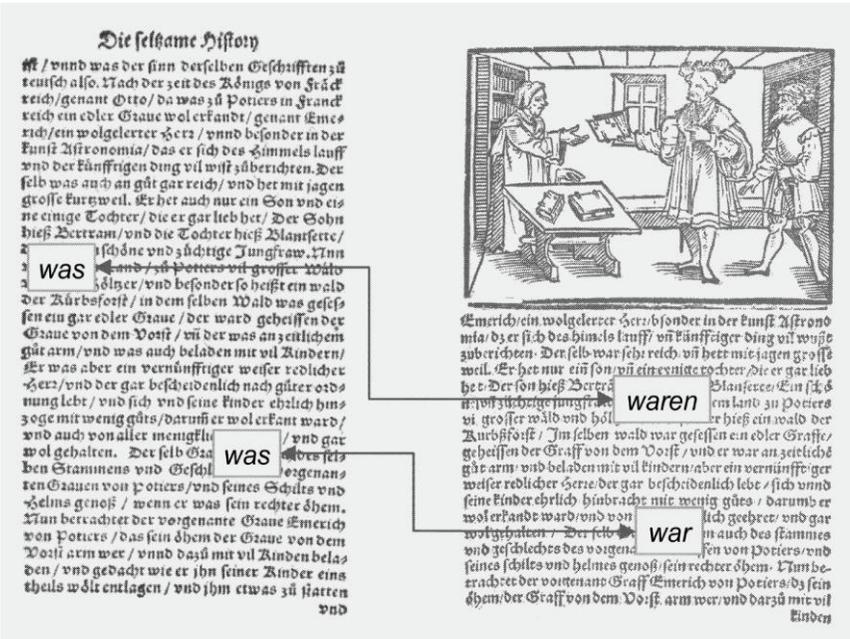


Figure 4.1  
 Reproduced by permission of Blackwell Publishing Ltd

In this book the quantitative approach of variationist historical sociolinguistics, which we are calling variationist analysis, and which we develop in chapters 7–9, is an application of *intra*-textual variable analysis, since we treat the Hebrew Bible and Classical Hebrew more generally as a single (complete and closed) corpus of writings, though the individual constituents obviously do not come from the same time and place. Cross-textual variable analysis (or cross-textual comparison), the focus of this chapter and chapters 5–6, focuses on different texts or manuscripts of the individual writings within this corpus, such as the MT and Qumran scrolls of Samuel. The method is applied analogously to parallel or synoptic writings in the Hebrew Bible (MT), since in the case of such writings it is relatively certain that one was originally dependent on another, unless both were dependent on a common source. The essence of CTVA is that divergent texts or manuscripts of the same composition, which we call *multiversion literature*, can be used by the historical linguist, or historical sociolinguist, to explore, classify, and count individual variations, groups of variations, and, if any, patterns of variation, and these in turn can be used as a foothold to gain insight into the reasons behind those variations, including diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, diasituative, and/or other sociolinguistic determinants of variation (see chapter 2, 2.4). In our case, we are mainly interested in *changes in manuscripts* and *possible (ongoing or*

completed) changes in language which they may represent, and ultimately we seek a deeper comprehension of the contours of language variation and change in the scribally transmitted literature of the Hebrew Bible. Our hope is that our application of CTVA will be received as a way to begin to deal with the “very bad data” problem of Biblical/Classical Hebrew, while avoiding two extremes: emphasizing the extensive manuscript variation so much that we despair and admit defeat or, conversely, overlooking, neglecting, and dismissing it as if it were imagined or irrelevant.<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.3. EXAMPLES FROM ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND SPANISH

##### 4.3.1. ENGLISH

The comparison of chronologically or diatopically different versions of the same writing (CTVA) is quite a traditional method in historical linguistic research. An especially noteworthy source of data is Bible translations. Thus both Campbell and Hock, for example, use Bible translations in English to introduce and illustrate language variation and change, giving a Bible passage in a translation from each of the conventional periods of English (OE, ME, EModE, ModE) and discussing various orthographical, phonological, grammatical, and lexical differences between them.<sup>9</sup> German and Spanish Bible translations also have been the object of in-depth historical linguistic research.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> “True, historical data can be characterized as ‘bad’ in many ways, but we would rather place the emphasis on making the best use of the data available....This requires systematicity in data collection, extensive background reading and good philological work, in other words, tasks that are demanding and time-consuming but by no means unrealizable” (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 26).

<sup>9</sup> Campbell, *Historical*, 5–8; Hock, *Principles*, 2–8. Indeed citations from English Bible translations are ubiquitous in historical linguistic publications. For a general survey of English Bible translations in the framework of English historical linguistics, focusing mainly on language standardization in the history of English, see T. Kohnen, “Standardization: Bible Translations,” in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (ed. A. Bergs and L. Brinton; 2 vols.; HSK 34; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 1:1039–50.

<sup>10</sup> On German see, for example, H. Günther, “...und hält den Verstand an”—Eine Etüde zur Entwicklung der deutschen Interpunktion 1522–1961,” in *Deutsche Grammatik in Theorie und Praxis* (ed. R. Thieroff, M. Tamrat, N. Fuhrhop, and O. Teuber; Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000), 275–86; F. Simmler, “Zur Entwicklung der Stellung des Prädikats in Aussagesätzen in biblischen Textsorten vom 9. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Historische Textgrammatik und Historische Syntax des Deutschen: Traditionen, Innovationen, Perspektiven* (ed. A. Ziegler; Unter Mitarbeit von Christian Braun 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 33–54. On Spanish see, for example, A. Enrique-Arias, “On the Usefulness of Using Parallel Texts in Diachronic Investigations: Insights

But CTVA studies of this kind are not limited to Bible translations, since many other works have been translated multiple times, such as translations into English of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* (*Consolation of Philosophy*).<sup>11</sup> In this section, however, we will use a handful of other examples from writings in English, French, and Spanish to illustrate some aspects of CTVA.

Multiple manuscripts of a single writing, and changes in time and/or place and/or between scribal practices, combine to allow many possible explanations of differences between the manuscripts, encompassing synchronic and/or diachronic linguistic factors among others. Here we summarize three studies in order to give a feel for some of the relevant issues.<sup>12</sup> For our first illustration we

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from a Parallel Corpus of Spanish Medieval Bible Translations," in *New Methods in Historical Corpora* (ed. P. Bennett, M. Durrell, S. Scheible, and R. J. Whitt; CLIP 3; Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2013), 105–16; idem, "Ventajas e inconvenientes del uso de *Biblia medieval* (un corpus paralelo y alineado de textos bíblicos) para la investigación en lingüística histórica del español," in *Diacronía de las lenguas iberorrománicas: nuevas aportaciones desde la lingüística de corpus* (ed. A. Enrique-Arias; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2009), 269–83. There are many surviving translations of the Bible into Spanish, beginning with the *Biblia alfonsina* in c. 1280. An excellent resource is the online *Biblia Medieval* (<http://bibliamedieval.es>; direct link to the corpus: <http://corpus.bibliamedieval.es>). Undoubtedly there are many other studies of language variation and change in biblical texts in many other languages. Currie, for example, uses examples from Welsh Bible translations and other documents, and Janse from Greek New Testament manuscripts. See O. Currie, "Word Order Stability and Change from a Sociolinguistic Perspective: The Case of Early Modern Welsh," in *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns Over Time* (ed. R. Sornicola, E. Poppe, and A. Shisha-Halevy; CILT 213; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 203–30; M. Janse, "Stability and Change of Word Order Patterns Over Time," in *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns Over Time* (ed. R. Sornicola, E. Poppe, and A. Shisha-Halevy; CILT 213; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 231–58. Zeldes compares two digitized versions of the Gospel of Matthew in Polish, taken from the Gdansk Bible, originally printed in 1606, and the Warsaw Bible, first published in 1975 (A. Zeldes, "Data-Based Methods for Historical Grammar and Lexicon Extraction in a Diachronic Corpus" [M.A. thesis, Humboldt University of Berlin, 2007]).

<sup>11</sup> See the layout and commentary on the parallel texts of this work in Millward and Hayes, *Biography*, 429–37.

<sup>12</sup> Many other publications could be discussed here. Larger-scale items which we have consulted include L. M. D. Caon, "Authorial or Scribal? Spelling Variation in the Hengwrt and Ellesmere Manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales*" (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University, 2009); C. Elsweiler, *Layamon's Brut between Old English Heroic Poetry and Middle English Romance: A Study of the Lexical Fields 'Hero', 'Warrior' and 'Knight'* (MUTUEP 35; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011); D. P. O'Donnell, "Manuscript Variation in Multiple-Recension Old English Poetic Texts: The Technical Problem and Poetical Art" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996); S. N. Sandvold, "Scribal Variation in a Legal document: A Study of the Bounding of Barmston" (M.A. thesis, University of

return to *LAEME*.<sup>13</sup> Laing discusses early ME writings surviving in more than one version, giving a selection of examples and explaining their value as a whole.<sup>14</sup> Then she selects a single writing for closer inspection, the *Poema Morale*. This sermon was written c. 1170–1190 and due to its continuing popularity it survives in seven manuscripts dating from c. 1175–1300. Laing gives a parallel layout of six lines (61–66) from the seven manuscripts—there are between 270 and 400 lines in total, depending on the manuscript—which display a considerable degree of linguistic variation in lexicon and grammar (e.g., case, number, and gender distinctions). Among other things she shows that linguistic differences may be the result of diachronic and/or diatopic variation; older exemplars may be less conservative linguistically than newer ones and vice versa; copied texts may be linguistically mixed for reasons other than diachrony; and she calls attention to the importance of documentary texts of known dates and places for sorting out diachronically and/or dialectally mixed language (cf. chapter 2, 2.3.3).

Our second English example is Nevalainen's analysis of two EModE editions of *The Book of Common Prayer*, the Second Edwardine Book of Common Prayer (1552) and its revision under Charles II in 1661, the Book of Common Prayer (1662).<sup>15</sup> She discusses five types of morphosyntactic revision: the third person singular present indicative endings *-th* and *-s*,<sup>16</sup> the personal pronouns *thou/thee* and *ye/you*, the definite article, the nominative relative pronouns *which* and *who*, and the indicative plurals *be* and *are*. The latter two illustrations are treated in more depth and consideration is given to a variety of possible conditioning factors. What Nevalainen shows is that revision of the

Stavanger, 2010); M. Swan and E. M. Treharne, eds., *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); O. M. Traxel, *Language Change, Writing and Textual Interference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts: The Evidence of Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33* (MUTUEP 32; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004); D. Yerkes, *The Two Versions of Werferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues: An Old English Thesaurus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

<sup>13</sup> The remarks on the prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (chapter 2, 2.3.1) and ME manuscript dating/localization (anchor texts and fit-technique) and scribal practices (chapter 2, 2.3.3) are background to the present discussion.

<sup>14</sup> M. Laing, "A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English: The Value of Texts Surviving in More than One Version," in *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics* (ed. M. Rissanen, O. Ihalainen, T. Nevalainen, and I. Taavitsainen; TEL 10; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 566–81.

<sup>15</sup> T. Nevalainen, "Change from Above: A Morphosyntactic Comparison of Two Early Modern English Editions of *The Book of Common Prayer*," in *A Reader in Early Modern English* (ed. M. Rydén, I. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, and M. Kytö; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), 165–86.

<sup>16</sup> We illustrate this change in chapter 7 (7.4).

Book of Common Prayer could be regressive, reverting to an older standard of usage, or largely up-to-date and in keeping with contemporary usage, or in some rare cases even moderately progressive if compared with other literary varieties, and furthermore some internal changes can involve a fair amount of systematic internal variation or heterogeneity and need not always agree with the latest standard developments.<sup>17</sup> Another aspect of Nevalainen's study anticipates our discussion of change from above vs. below in chapter 7 (7.3.3). The changes she describes are illustrations of "learned change," or "conscious implementation of change in a prestigious area of language use. In other words, attention is directed to the role of conscious selection in shaping a prestigious functional variety, as opposed to the natural selection that is taking place in the more inclusive spoken standard of the time."<sup>18</sup> "Change from above" is non-natural change and it can reverse the natural direction of change in a given grammatical system.

Our final English illustration is Grund's study of the *Mirror of Lights*, a ME alchemical text from the fourteenth century that survives in nine more or less complete copies from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> He argues that, for this writing and others,

The variation among the manuscripts obviously opens up a number of tricky questions and provides challenges for text editors as well as historical linguists. Among the most fundamental issues are whose usage is actually reflected in the manuscripts and to what extent all the data in the manuscripts are valid for historical linguists. These issues are intricately connected, and the answer to the second question depends on how the first issue is approached.<sup>20</sup>

In particular, he shows that the manuscripts differ greatly in how they employ the anaphoric pronouns *he* and *it* and the author underscores that "linguistic studies based on one version would provide very different results from those using another version as the source,"<sup>21</sup> and, "the nature of the source may have an impact on the quantitative results as well as qualitative conclusions about a certain case of morpho-syntactic variation."<sup>22</sup> In short, it is highly problematic and clearly impractical from a methodological perspective to separate research on the history of the text from the history of the language in the text.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Nevalainen, "Change," 169, 185.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>19</sup> P. Grund, "Manuscripts as Sources for Linguistic Research: A Methodological Case Study Based on the *Mirror of Lights*," *JEL* 34 (2006): 105–125.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>23</sup> In another publication where he also addresses the connection between these disciplines Grund reminds us that "many historical texts may have been copied many times by multiple people, who may have modified the text in various ways. What we thus

## 4.3.2. FRENCH

Winters's article on manuscript variation and syntactic change in Old French texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is an early exploration of the link between textual variants and language variations and changes that raises questions and "with them a consciousness of the possibilities that still lie in what seem to be already well studied versions of medieval texts."<sup>24</sup> Thus she walks over a lot of ground in a short space. She begins by noting that there have been few attempts to connect these disciplines—we recall that she was writing only two decades ago—and indicating that Old French has several advantages for this kind of research because of the large quantity of manuscripts which cover a wide number of subjects and genres. Winters speaks about three types of variants, slips and errors, between which the line is not very clear, and true variants, which may be unconscious, or conscious in which case the scribe himself may act as editor. She pinpoints three dimensions that must be kept in mind as one explores the linguistic significance of variants: time, space (dialect), and style ("stylistic flourish"). One example she gives is variation between a subjunctive in hypothetical sentences in one manuscript (e.g., *face*) and an indicative in another one (e.g., *fait/fet*). Here one might expect time to be the salient dimension, and therefore the difference could attest to change in progress, but it is equally possible that "we are witnessing the work of the scribe as talented editor, subtly changing the nuances of the sentence in question," or "semantic nuancing."<sup>25</sup> In her conclusion she underlines two main reasons for why scribes willfully chose a particular variant as a way of improving the text. One is "a straightforward belief that the text is not comprehensible in the form presented by the document being copied."<sup>26</sup> The other is "some kind of less direct desire to change the text, at times to bring it closer to the regional dialect of the scribe, at others to make it more modern or, although this is hard to make precise, to make it more elegant or clever or better presented."<sup>27</sup>

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have is a text with several co-authors or co-constructors, and the linguistic variation may be a reflection of these different co-constructors' usage." See P. Grund, "Textual History as Language History? Text Categories, Corpora, Editions, and the Witness Depositions from the Salem Witch Trials," *SN* 84 (2012): 40–54 (48).

<sup>24</sup> M. E. Winters, "Manuscript Variation and Syntactic Change," *Text* 5 (1991): 131–43 (141).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

## 4.3.3. SPANISH

Some of the most reflective and systematic work on CTVA has been carried out on Spanish literature of the Medieval and Golden ages, tenth–fifteenth and sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, respectively. Once again we recall Kabatek’s decade-old call for a “reform” of historical linguistic research on Medieval Spanish, advocating an approach that links the history of language and the history of texts (chapter 1, 1.3).<sup>28</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez and Sánchez-Prieto are two scholars who in particular have been at the vanguard of the new approach.<sup>29</sup> Even so, however, the interdisciplinary text-critical and historical linguistic approach remains in its infancy and many theoretical and methodological issues and problems require more thorough investigation. Thus Fernández-Ordóñez, in the context of surveying a series of grammatical variants in the manuscript tradition of the *General estoria* (“General History”) and discussing the common disengagement between textual and linguistic scholarship, remarks: “Unfortunately we still lack a theory of textual criticism that allows us to calculate the degree of linguistic divergence between the original and the copies that have transmitted it to us, or that allows us to specify which aspects of grammar are more subject to variation and to quantify the degree of possible transformation at each level compared to the others.”<sup>30</sup> In other words, the task, and how to go about it, of quantifying and qualifying the language variations that regularly appear in premodern Spanish literary writings which have been preserved in multiple manuscript copies remains a scholarly *desideratum*.

Yet there are a significant number of younger scholars who are responding to the call. A notable example is Pons Rodríguez, whose edited volume *Historia de la lengua y crítica textual* (“History of Language and Textual Criticism”)

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<sup>28</sup> Kabatek, “Tradiciones,” 41.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, I. Fernández-Ordóñez Hernández, “Transmisión manuscrita y transformación ‘discursiva’ de los textos,” in *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española* (ed. J. J. de Bustos Tovar and J. L. Girón Alconchel; 3 vols.; Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2006), 3:3033–45; P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, “La lengua como problema en la edición de textos medievales,” in *Tradiciones discursivas: edición de textos orales y escritos* (ed. R. Santiago, A. Valenciano, and S. Iglesias; Madrid: Instituto Universitario Seminario Menéndez Pidal - Editorial Complutense, 2006), 117–62.

<sup>30</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, “Transmisión,” 11 ([http://www.uam.es/personal\\_pdi/filoyletras/ifo/publicaciones/14\\_a.pdf](http://www.uam.es/personal_pdi/filoyletras/ifo/publicaciones/14_a.pdf); cited March 20, 2013). The original statement is: “Desgraciadamente todavía carecemos de una teoría de la crítica textual que nos permita calcular el grado de divergencia lingüística entre el original y las copias que nos lo han transmitido, o que nos permita especificar qué aspectos de la gramática están más sujetos a variación y cuantificar el grado de transformación posible en cada nivel en comparación con los restantes.”

brings together numerous insightful articles on this topic.<sup>31</sup> In her introductory essay she, like Fleischman (see chapter 2, 2.3.2), unites the disciplines of textual criticism and historical linguistics (or language history) via the notion of variation or “variant,” with the hope that the simultaneous application of both disciplines “allows us to distinguish, from observing what varies from copy to copy, strata of diffusion of linguistic changes underway and areas of grammar susceptible to change where [scribal] interventions are concentrated.”<sup>32</sup> The subsequent articles in the volume, as Pons remarks, aim to show the “convergence” between the two disciplines. Two articles in particular are especially relevant in connection with the objective of the present book. Both focus on method. The following summaries are necessarily brief in the present context, and we only seek to underline several aspects of method in each article.

Rodríguez Molina examines interchanges between simple and compound verb tenses (e.g., *salió* vs. *es salido* vs. *ha salido*) in dozens of manuscripts (thirteenth–eighteenth centuries) of ten Medieval Spanish writings (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries).<sup>33</sup> It is widely recognized that the split *ser/haber* auxiliary system of early Spanish gradually evolved, during the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries, into the use of *haber* only.<sup>34</sup> Rodríguez’s aim is to trace the reverberations of this language change in the transmission histories of specific

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<sup>31</sup> L. Pons Rodríguez, ed., *Historia de la lengua y crítica textual* (Lingüística iberoamericana 29; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006).

<sup>32</sup> L. Pons Rodríguez, “Introducción: La historia de la lengua y la historia de las transmisiones textuales,” in *Historia de la lengua y crítica textual* (ed. L. Pons Rodríguez; Lingüística iberoamericana 29; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 9–17 (11). The original statement is: “[Partiendo de que el concepto *variante*, fundamental en esta manera de operar en crítica textual, tiene como subclase el apenas empleado de *variante lingüística*, y observando que la *variante* es una unidad de análisis conocida y muy manejada en la lingüística actual, en este volumen se quiere mostrar la convergencia de *crítica textual* y *lingüística* (más concretamente, historia de la lengua) a partir de esa unidad, cuya aplicación] nos permite diferenciar, a partir de la observación de qué se varía de copia a copia, estratos de difusión de cambios lingüísticos en marcha y zonas de gramática susceptibles al cambio donde se concentran las intervenciones.”

<sup>33</sup> J. Rodríguez Molina, “Tradición manuscrita y gramática histórica: los tiempos compuestos en los textos medievales,” in *Historia de la lengua y crítica textual* (ed. L. Pons Rodríguez; Lingüística iberoamericana 29; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 19–67. Rodríguez studies various writings related to Alfonso X (*Estoria de España*, *General estoria*, *Calila y Dimna*), Gonzalo de Berceo (*Vida de San Millán de la Cogolla*, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*), Pedro López de Ayala (*Crónica del Rey don Pedro y del Rey don Enrique*), *Bocados de oro*, *Libro de Alexandre*, and others.

<sup>34</sup> R. J. Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 166; idem, *Variation and Change in Spanish* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 212.

writings. His basic findings are that there are 124 substitutions in the surviving manuscripts: 76 simple → compound verb vs. 12 compound → simple verb, and 32 *ser* → *haber* vs. 4 *haber* → *ser*. In his estimation the evidence suggests mainly modernization by scribes, as opposed to archaism,<sup>35</sup> and the changes are highly patterned, rather than random.<sup>36</sup>

Octavio de Toledo Huerta takes a different approach. Whereas Rodríguez examines a single linguistic variable in the manuscripts of many writings, Octavio de Toledo studies a range of morphosyntactic variables in two nearly contemporaneous and perhaps authentic manuscripts of a single composition, *El Crotalón* (c. 1555).<sup>37</sup> Octavio de Toledo's aim is to illustrate the kinds of morphosyntactic options which a single writer or scribe could produce in the sixteenth century. He presents the results of his investigation as a typology or "variational map" of several dozen different types of linguistic variants, such as gender allomorphs, *la artillería* → *el artillería*, rejection of duplication of direct object, *y dexémosle a él* → *y dexemos a él*, and so on. According to his analysis the regular changes or systematic modifications from manuscript G to manuscript R are fundamentally aesthetic or stylistic,<sup>38</sup> whereas the irregular changes or unsystematic modifications from manuscript G to manuscript R relate to ongoing language changes of the sixteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

Octavio de Toledo and Rodríguez make many helpful observations on specific and general matters, the latter including the reality of scribal modification of language, inadvertent and deliberate, during manuscript transmission; the danger of basing conclusions, regarding particular language changes in particular writings, on single manuscripts or editions based on single manuscripts; the need to consider the representativeness and reliability of the available sources in all historical linguistic research; and so on. Both authors also acknowledge the embryonic character of their studies, realizing they are walking in relatively uncharted territory—both cite Fernández-Ordóñez and Sánchez-Prieto as the exceptions—and both also quote a remark by Fernández-Ordóñez, similar to the one we gave above, regarding the absence of a method for calculating "linguistic distance" between originals and copies and copies of copies.<sup>40</sup> So, for example, neither contributor calculates or discusses *degrees of change and continuity* between the individual manuscripts they examine. Many facts are enumerated, and certain patterns of change are observed, but the details

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<sup>35</sup> Rodríguez Molina, "Tradición," 43.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 39, 44–45.

<sup>37</sup> A. S. Octavio de Toledo Huerta, "*Varia lectio* y variación morfosintáctica: el caso del *Crotalón*," in *Historia de la lengua y crítica textual* (ed. L. Pons Rodríguez; *Lingüística iberoamericana* 29; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 195–263.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 238–39, 244–45, 255–56.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 245–46, 255–56.

<sup>40</sup> Octavio de Toledo Huerta, "*Varia*," 196–97; Rodríguez Molina, "Tradición," 19, 26.

are not analyzed quantitatively in a scientific manner. We do not say this because we find some fault with their contributions, but because it illustrates how much work remains to be done. Questions like these come to mind: Which language forms and uses change, which do not, why, and why not? How do changes in copies of individual writings relate to larger trends of change in corpora of writings? How is this variation reflected in multiple copies of the same writing which are separated by a distance in time?

Here is where it is possible to break new ground, in studies of Spanish, also of English and French, for example, and certainly of languages like BH where research of this kind lags far behind. The contributors to *Historia de la lengua y crítica textual* use various sorts of CTVA of multiversion writings, but they do not take the additional step, as suggested by Kabatek and several others, of implementing variationist historical sociolinguistics, or variationist analysis. In fact, in the entire volume there are only a very few fly-by-night references to sociolinguistics,<sup>41</sup> one to “sociolingüística laboviana” (“Labovian sociolinguistics”),<sup>42</sup> and one to the “paradigma variacionista” (“variationist paradigm”).<sup>43</sup> Clearly, much more work remains to be done, on Spanish, and much more so on BH which, we repeat, lags far behind contemporary historical linguistic theory and method in this area, and many others.

We conclude this discussion of English, French, and Spanish with the following observations regarding method. First, as for the scope of CTVA, the examples we have cited deal with either one linguistic variable in manuscripts of one (Grund) or multiple writings (Rodríguez) or many or all linguistic variables in manuscripts of a single writing (Laing, Nevalainen, Octavio de Toledo). (Winters’s article is more general in its scope.) Ideally, CTVA will deal with all linguistic variables in all manuscripts of all writings of any particular language and literature, but in most cases this would be a massive undertaking so some sort of compromise must be sought. Second, linguistic differences between manuscripts may be attributed to a variety of reasons. Diachronic, diatopic, and stylistic factors are the notable ones, but there are others, and no study can proceed on the basis that many or all differences are due to one particular reason, and not another one, because the complexity of language variation and change, and the idiosyncrasies of scribal practices, combine to allow different explanations in different situations. It must also be emphasized that differences between manuscripts and writings may be regular or random, and there is not an absolute one-to-one connection between the systematicity of variants and particular diachronic, diatopic, or stylistic dimensions. Third, no area of language is immune from variation and change, whether due to natural

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<sup>41</sup> Pons Rodríguez, *Historia*, 90, 305 n. 12, 306, 315.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 196 n. 1.

developments in the history of the language, or manipulation of the written materials in the hands of scribes, and these are not necessarily related, or unrelated, phenomena. In particular, in relation to all three languages discussed here—English, French, Spanish—sounds, forms, and uses, including notably morphological and syntactic items, are all shown to change in the transmission of texts. Fourth, it is worthwhile to underscore again that scribes did all kinds of things to texts for all sorts of reasons. They felt different levels of freedom and constraint. They had different linguistic behaviors. They transmitted the writings they copied according to different standards of accuracy depending on the contexts and purposes of the copying. Finally, other observations mentioned above include, for example, the fact that older exemplars of writings may be less conservative linguistically than newer ones, and vice versa, and variation between manuscripts may influence quantitative and/or qualitative conclusions about particular cases of language variation and change. With these thoughts in mind we now turn to BH.

#### 4.4. BIBLICAL HEBREW

##### 4.4.1. PARALLELS

This discussion anticipates chapter 5. Comparison of linguistic differences in parallel (or synoptic) material in the Hebrew Bible has a long history that goes back at least to the time of Gesenius, and it has a widespread application that characterizes almost all major publications, from his time to ours, on diachrony in BH. This is readily confirmed with a glance at any history of Hebrew (Kutscher, Sáenz-Badillos, etc.) or any one of many monographs on particular biblical writings (Kropat, Polzin, etc.).<sup>44</sup> The pervasiveness of the approach is nicely stated in an article by Joosten when he says, “The main principles of Hurvitz’ approach, however, are by all means adumbrated in Gesenius.”<sup>45</sup> By this he means also the comparison of language in parallel (MT) material, which is as vital and extensive in the work of Hurvitz as it was central and critical to Gesenius:

The difference between early and late biblical Hebrew can also be established by a comparison of texts that were, inner-biblically, quoted or reused in later writings. The best example of this phenomenon is provided by the parallels

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<sup>44</sup> For documentation see *LDBT* 1:18–19, 26–27, 40, 68–69. Note, for example, this explicit remark by Sáenz-Badillos: “Work in this field demands precise methods. If we begin by comparing writings that we know for certain to be post-exilic, such as 1 & 2 Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, with parallel pre-exilic texts, like Samuel–Kings (which runs parallel to Chronicles), we can discover many differences between the two periods” (Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 115–16).

<sup>45</sup> Joosten, “Gesenius,” 100.

between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Gesenius lists a number of instances where an older form in Samuel-Kings has been replaced with a later one in Chronicles: orthographical variants include  $\text{דָּוִד}$  vs.  $\text{דָּוִיד}$ ,  $\text{דְּרַמְשֶׁק}$  vs.  $\text{דְּרַמְשֶׁק}$ , and  $\text{מִלְכָּה}$  vs.  $\text{מִלְכָּה}$  (in 1 Kgs 8:20; 2 Chr 6:10); an example of a morphological change is that of  $\text{מִלְכָּה}$  to  $\text{מִלְכוּת}$ , “reign;” lexical instances include  $\text{גִּיּוֹה}$  vs.  $\text{גִּיּוֹה}$ , “corpse,” and  $\text{רַפְסָדוֹת}$  vs.  $\text{רַפְסָדוֹת}$ , “rafts.”<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately, however, Gesenius’s approach, and therefore also Hurvitz’s approach—as Joosten observes, Hurvitz, and we might add his precursor Kutscher, merely assumed Gesenius’s approach—has many shortcomings.

To begin, the method is somewhat simplistic. In the end it amounts to little more than the following four-part equation:

1. MT Samuel–Kings and the language of MT Samuel–Kings are early.<sup>47</sup>
2. MT Chronicles and the language of MT Chronicles are late.
3. MT Chronicles is a rewriting of MT Samuel–Kings.
4. Therefore, by comparing passages and words in early MT Samuel–Kings vs. late MT Chronicles we can objectively determine what early/preexilic and late/postexilic BH looked like, respectively.

Does this approach hold water? Not really. In chapter 5 we discuss various problems with it, especially regarding Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, and we test the expected outcome of the approach by systematically examining four sets of parallel passages in the MT.<sup>48</sup> There is really only a single undeniable (partial) truth in this equation: Chronicles as a whole is a postexilic (or “late”) composition. It is simply assumed, but altogether unproven, even unargued, that Samuel and Kings are preexilic or “early” compositions, that the language of any of these books is representative of a single particular early or late stage of BH, that Chronicles is a rewriting of Samuel and Kings in general and in its details, that the comparison of particular forms/uses in these (MT) books tells us anything about diachronic linguistic development, and so on. These are issues which fall within the domain of philological analysis, and they require corroboration, yet Gesenius, Hurvitz, and many other historical linguists have not engaged in this sort of critical analysis of the biblical sources, their content, and their relationship with one other. In short, the method is uncritical, and it neglects to consider a number of important points. Here we simply list several about which we will say more in later chapters:

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 98; cf. 99. See Gesenius, *Geschichte*, 37–44.

<sup>47</sup> Technically speaking, of course, all the references here to “MT” should be to “proto-MT.”

<sup>48</sup> 2 Sam 22//Ps 18; 1 Kgs 22//2 Chr 18; 2 Kgs 18–20//Isa 36–39; 2 Kgs 24–25//Jer 52.

- Restricted to the MT as if it were the “original” text
- Unexamined literary–linguistic circularity
- Neglect of non-diachronic explanations (diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, diasituative, etc.)
- Disregard for extra-linguistic factors (editorial, textual, etc.)
- Random extraction of examples (several as if they fit a pattern, inattention to continuity/invariability, etc.)
- Presumption of linguistic synchronism between compositions and manuscripts (i.e., manuscripts of earlier compositions must have earlier language than manuscripts of later compositions and vice versa)

In short, the kinds of issues we have discussed above with regard to CTVA, and English, French, and Spanish, are altogether neglected in historical linguistic research on BH.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4.4.2. MANUSCRIPTS

##### 4.4.2.1. GENERAL

This discussion anticipates chapter 6. To our knowledge there has been very little *methodical* comparison of the language of the Qumran biblical scrolls and the MT. The notable exception is Kutscher’s work on 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and MT Isaiah which is cited frequently in other language-related publications. In addition Young examined 4QCant<sup>b</sup> and, partly, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, and Rezetko studied the Judges scrolls (1QJudg, 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>, 4QJudg<sup>b</sup>).<sup>50</sup> The overall absence of such work is somewhat unsurprising since, first, many language scholars have strong feelings about the antiquity and reliability of the MT vis-à-vis the Qumran biblical scrolls (chapter 3), and, second, research of this sort is still in its infancy in historical linguistics (4.3). For the most part, and comparable to the situation for MT parallels, language scholars tend to cite just several examples of differences between the MT and the scrolls in support of a particular argument, and usually this is done under the assumption that the MT has earlier linguistic forms/uses. This approach is evident in articles and monographs on particular BH writings and language issues and in surveys of the language of the scrolls.<sup>51</sup> Yet as a rule

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<sup>49</sup> This is amply documented in *LDBT* 1:45–110 and in other publications cited therein.

<sup>50</sup> Otherwise, we are aware of some unpublished conference publications and doctoral work in progress. In other publications we have looked in varying degrees of detail at various items of language in the DSS biblical manuscripts and the MT. See the works cited in *LDBT* 1:341–60, especially 348 n. 18, and in chapter 1, n. 15 of the present book.

<sup>51</sup> Some aspects of the language of the DSS are discussed in chapters 4–9. In addition to Kutscher’s monumental study (discussed below), good surveys of the language of the (biblical/non-biblical) DSS are found in the following publications: M. G.

historical linguistic and text-critical approaches rarely join forces in evaluating *systematically* the language of biblical writings in the various manuscript sources.

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Abegg, Jr., "The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:325–58; idem, "The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More Than (Initially) Meets the Eye," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M. L. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 48–68; idem, "Profile"; S. E. Fassberg, "Dead Sea Scrolls: Linguistic Features," in *EHL 1:663–69*; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Language of Jewish Scriptures," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. N. Dávid, A. Lange, K. De Troyer, and S. Tzoref; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 129–36; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Contribution to the Study of Hebrew and Aramaic," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold, in association with B. H. Reynolds III; 2 vols.; VTSup 140; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1:127–39; J. Joosten, "Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins; Oxford Handbooks in Religion and Theology; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 351–74; E. Y. Kutscher, "Hebrew Language: The Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (ed. F. Skolnik; 22 vols.; 2d ed.; Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 8:634–39; idem, *History*, 93–106; T. Muraoka, "Hebrew," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:340–45; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSM 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, Volume 5: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 65–108; G. A. Rendsburg, "Qumran Hebrew (With a Trial Cut [IQS])," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and S. Tzoref; STDJ 89; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 217–46; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 130–46; Schniedewind, *Social*, 164–90. There are also many relevant contributions in the five international symposia on the Hebrew of the DSS: T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, eds., *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University 11–14 December 1995* (STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, Held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997* (STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999); idem, *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000); J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey, eds., *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira* (STDJ 73; Leiden: Brill, 2007); S. E. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. A. Clements, eds., *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources* (STDJ 108; Leiden: Brill, 2013). See also *LDBT* 1:250–79.

In addition to the publications discussed in the following sections we can point to three articles that take good first steps toward remedying the neglect of CTVA in studies of BH (although they approach the subject from outside the theoretical and methodological framework of CTVA that we are describing here). Fassberg points to two reasons why, in his opinion, the DSS biblical manuscripts have not drawn much attention: many have only recently been published and “the biblical documents, on the whole, parallel the Masoretic text.”<sup>52</sup> Following the lead of Kutscher and Muraoka he then summarizes almost fifty variants of some eighteen syntactic variables (e.g., presence vs. absence of *he locale*, simple tense vs. *waw* consecutive plus verb) in manuscripts (DSS and MT) of six biblical books (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Jonah, Psalms) and he gives about thirty more representative variants in manuscripts of these and several other books (Numbers, Deuteronomy, Judges, Kings, Jeremiah). He concludes: “The picture that emerges from a comparison of syntactic features in multiple copies of biblical books is clear: in the case of many variants, one syntagm or form is well attested in Classical Hebrew whereas the second is well known from post-classical Biblical Hebrew, namely Late Biblical Hebrew, Tannaitic Hebrew, or Samaritan Hebrew.”<sup>53</sup> He also says: “A comparison of multiple copies of a biblical book, e.g., the copies of Isaiah, reveals that late features can be found in all of the manuscripts (not necessarily the same feature in each manuscript), yet all manuscripts also show some classical features, and so no one manuscript can be labelled syntactically early or syntactically late; rather each manuscript is syntactically mixed.”<sup>54</sup> Fassberg does not claim to give comprehensive data and so his study should not be faulted for incomplete coverage of the features and books he discusses. But there are several other problems with his method. He does not clearly establish “directions” of variation between the DSS and the MT with regard to each variable or calculate the frequency of those variations including both change and stability. In general he seems to conclude that the variation is unsystematic or random since he speaks about “the random mixing of different syntactic features.”<sup>55</sup> This leads to an equally significant problem since “the random mixing of different syntactic features” is an observation which he applies only to the DSS manuscripts *in comparison with the MT* which therefore is envisioned as the “earlier” or “original” text: “[A]n earlier text has been reworked linguistically by scribes, who, consciously or unconsciously, were inconsistent in adapting the older

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<sup>52</sup> S. E. Fassberg, “The Syntax of the Biblical Documents from the Judean Desert as Reflected in a Comparison of Multiple Copies of Biblical Texts,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 94–109 (95).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

literary language to the Hebrew of the period in which they lived.”<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere he speaks about “deviations from the MT,”<sup>57</sup> “the norm in the MT,”<sup>58</sup> and with regard to several syntactic features in poetry it is difficult to determine which “is original and which is late.”<sup>59</sup> In short, Fassberg clearly has an MT bias, which is typical of historical linguistic research on BH as we have shown (see chapter 3). Several other criticisms are that he gives no analyses of the variants but simply assumes they have a diachronic explanation; his evaluation is guided by the conventional periodization of BH and post-BH; and some of the forms/uses he discusses are uncharacteristic even of the stated periods.

In the beginning of his article Fassberg refers to an article in the same volume by Muraoka.<sup>60</sup> Muraoka’s procedure is similar to Fassberg’s. He begins by telling us that his approach follows in the footsteps of Kutscher, Bendavid, Qimron, and Smith. He then studies “twelve morphosyntactic or syntactic isoglosses” (e.g., verb complementation, verb tenses) in the first forty chapters of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, commentaries on biblical books, parabiblical texts, and the Temple Scroll (11Q19). In actuality he looks at more than twelve variables since many of his twelve points treat multiple issues. Both Fassberg and Muraoka make many helpful observations, but compared to Fassberg’s study, Muraoka cites many more examples of variants, pays more attention to counter examples, and at least allows for other explanations alongside diachrony (e.g., dialect, sociolect, idiolect, style, register). But in other aspects Muraoka’s study is subject to the same criticisms as Fassberg’s, such as lumping together all the data without identifying patterns and proportions in individual books and manuscripts. Furthermore, in one issue in particular Muraoka is even more blatant than Fassberg: “The basic point of departure of my presentation is that one should be able to learn about the nature of Qumran Hebrew (henceforth: QH) by analysing cases where Qumran biblical texts *differ and deviate* from the standard biblical text, namely the MT.”<sup>61</sup> And, true to form, all of Muraoka’s case studies and observations are construed in the context of “the Hebrew original” and “the underlying biblical text” by which of course he means the MT Bible. We are repeatedly told that only the DSS “add,” “change,” “depart,” “deviate,” “modify,” “replace,” “substitute,” or “retain,” and so on, in relation to the MT. The opposite scenario is not contemplated.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 108; cf. 102, 107–8.

<sup>60</sup> T. Muraoka, “An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 193–214.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 193.

Abegg's article also looks at syntactic variants in the DSS biblical manuscripts compared to the MT.<sup>62</sup> He candidly admits, "Muraoka's methodology describes my own in this study,"<sup>63</sup> after citing the quote given in the preceding paragraph ("The basic point of departure..."). He cites Kutscher's book and Fassberg's article as other important forerunners of his study. Accordingly, Abegg's study exhibits the same bias toward the MT and its language that we have come to expect among language scholars, which is somewhat surprising to us since we would regard Abegg as firstly a textual critic. Be that as it may, alongside the neutral text-critical terms "pluses" and "minuses," Abegg uses words such as "add," "addition," "replace," "replacement," and so on, always in relation to the DSS, and we suspect that his view coincides with the common one that the MT is more or less identical to the "original" text of the Bible. In his introductory remarks Abegg also offers the interesting statement that "[t]here are approximately 6,000 real variants and 90,000 total words in the biblical scrolls from the Judean Desert," and so he estimates "the overall real variation rate among the biblical scrolls" to be "approximately 6 to 7 percent."<sup>64</sup> In terms of data, Abegg says, "Surprisingly, an initial study that I undertook using the 20 syntactic categories in Elisha Qimron's *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* revealed no discernible influence among the biblical scrolls. A survey of the ongoing debate concerning the nature of Late Biblical Hebrew, however, proved much more fruitful."<sup>65</sup> Hence his brief case studies deal with "the influence of Late Biblical and Qumran Hebrew syntax on the biblical manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls."<sup>66</sup> Abegg focuses on overall statistics of pluses and minuses, or, more accurately, additions and subtractions in *the scrolls*, rather than specific manuscripts and variants (cf. Fassberg's and Muraoka's articles). In his estimation the data sometimes verify

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<sup>62</sup> M. G. Abegg, Jr., "The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Hebrew Syntax," in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. Duhaime, and K. S. Baek; SBLEJL 30; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 163–72.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 166 with n. 12.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 166–71. Abegg summarizes "five sample categories of the syntactic influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew on the biblical scrolls" (*ibid.*, 165). The categories are (1) the increase [*sic*] of the direct object marker ׀ (ibid., 166–67); (2) the verbal system, including the decrease ["stability"] of the consecutive forms (*ibid.*, 167–68) and the increase of the *waw* plus simple imperfect (*ibid.*, 168); (3) the increase of the active rather than the passive verb for the impersonal construction (*ibid.*, 168–69); (4) the Aramaic factor, including the increase of ׀ for ׀ (ibid., 169), the increase of ׀ for ׀ (ibid., 169–70), and the decrease of the affirmative ׀– (*ibid.*, 170); and (5) the infinitive, including the increase of ׀ plus infinitive construct (*ibid.*, 170) and the decrease of the infinitive absolute (*ibid.*, 170–71).

the conventional EBH–LBH continuum, they sometimes correct it, and in other cases they suggest some new areas of exploration, yet as a whole they seem to show remarkable stability between the MT and the DSS biblical manuscripts in terms of syntax.<sup>67</sup> Abegg’s article as a whole has some interesting data and ideas. We will return in particular to his estimates of frequency of variants and stability of syntax. In other ways, however, Abegg’s study does not fare any better than Fassberg’s and Muraoka’s. We already mentioned his bias toward the MT. Also, some of the data that he cites are doubtful, such as his figures for paragogic *nun* in BH, to mention just one example.<sup>68</sup> And this same example illustrates a more serious problem with Abegg’s method. Like Fassberg and Muraoka, Abegg lumps together all the data without identifying patterns and proportions in individual books and manuscripts.<sup>69</sup> So, for example, Abegg points out a very slight net loss of paragogic *nun* in the DSS biblical manuscripts compared to the MT (“less than one-half of one percent”). However, irrespective of the MT bias and the relative triviality of the “loss,” observations of this kind are meaningless in a historical linguistic framework when, for example, one notices “losses” like 21% to 8% from MT Deuteronomy to MT Samuel, or 15% to 0% from MT Exodus to MT Leviticus. In summary, the three studies we have summarized take good first steps, but their flawed presuppositions and methods are equally apparent.

#### 4.4.2.2. ISAIAH

Without a doubt the single most important work on the history of Hebrew to incorporate manuscript evidence is Kutscher’s monumental study of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.<sup>70</sup> Their fame, that is, Kutscher’s, his book’s, and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>’s, go hand in hand. Kutscher, Rosén claims, “created Hebrew and Aramaic historical linguistics” and “gave birth to the vital methodological symbiosis of philology and linguistics.”<sup>71</sup> His book is referenced ubiquitously in the historical linguistic literature on ancient Hebrew since its initial publication in Hebrew in 1959, probably more than any other work. And 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is obviously the most prized,

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<sup>67</sup> On the matter of stability see *ibid.*, 171. For example, “4QDeut<sup>k2</sup>...tops the list at 2.5 syntax variants per 100 words.”

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 170. See *LDBT* 2:123–26.

<sup>69</sup> He does, however, at least make this remark in his case study of  $\text{לָע}$  for  $\text{לָא}$ : “It might seem logical that drilling deeper into the statistics would show a differing set of manuscripts for each migration” (Abegg, “Biblical,” 169).

<sup>70</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 10. This claim remains true for the historical linguistic study of ancient Hebrew despite our argument that the practice of these disciplines by Kutscher and others has some serious flaws in historical linguistic theory and method.

best known, and most studied manuscript of all the DSS.<sup>72</sup> As for content, Kutscher's monograph thoroughly examines 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> in comparison with the MT and other textual witnesses, with regard to matters of orthography, phonology, morphology, proper nouns, and Aramaic, "basic" BH, LBH, and MH influences. It is a treasure trove of linguistic insights.

However, the work also has some shortcomings, and others often press the book's argument beyond its intentions. We have commented already on aspects of the author's approach to the biblical text<sup>73</sup> and the reception history of his view in many subsequent language-related publications.<sup>74</sup> The book is not an "impartial" analysis of linguistic variants in biblical manuscripts. Here we offer four additional observations.

First, we reiterate two points regarding biblical manuscripts in general when it comes to historical linguistic research: One manuscript should not be privileged over another one (whether 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> or L) and a newer textual artifact (L) *may* have earlier language than an older one (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>).<sup>75</sup> Kutscher ignored the first point and overtly argued the second one.<sup>76</sup> A related issue is the relationship between the linguistic and literary/textual dimensions of these manuscripts, but this matter is outside the scope of the present book.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> E. Tov, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. C. Broyles and C.A. Evans; 2 vols.; VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2:491–511 (494–99); E. Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *CBQ* 66 (2004): 1–24 (2–4). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is the only DSS biblical manuscript to have an entry in the *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*: T. Muraoka, "Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)," in *EHL* 2:343–48. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is also the only *biblical* manuscript published in the DJD series to have a separate detailed introduction to its language: Abegg, "Profile."

<sup>73</sup> Chapter 3 (3.4, 3.6.1); 4.4.1.

<sup>74</sup> Chapter 3 (3.6.2); 4.4.2.1.

<sup>75</sup> See chapter 3 (3.3).

<sup>76</sup> On the first point see chapter 3 (3.4). On the second point see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 77–79.

<sup>77</sup> For example, the official editors of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> believe: "With regard to most individual linguistic features, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> does exhibit a later profile; however, with regard to the development of the text, the case is the reverse. These seven major secondary additions indicate that MT displays a later stage of textual development than that of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, even if the linguistic features of MT did not undergo as much updating as those of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>" (E. Ulrich and P. W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1, Volume 2: The Isaiah Scrolls: Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* [DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010], 90; cf. E. Ulrich, "The Developmental Composition of the Book of Isaiah: Light From 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> on Additions in the MT," *DSD* 9 [2001]: 288–305 [290]). However, Ulrich and Flint's overall argument regarding the literary/textual relationship between 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and MT Isaiah is contested in D. Longacre, "Developmental Stage, Scribal Lapse, or Physical Defect? 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>'s Damaged Exemplar for Isaiah Chapters 34–66," *DSD* 20 (2013): 17–50; H. G. M. Williamson, "Scribe and Scroll: Revisiting the Great Isaiah

Second, it is often thought that the linguistic status of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is characteristic of the DSS biblical manuscripts as a whole. For example, Schniedewind's remark that "[e]ven the Dead Sea Scrolls come to us quite removed from the autographs and incorporate some changes in their transmission" is accompanied by an endnote with "Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*."<sup>78</sup> Such a connection between the DSS biblical manuscripts and the 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> manuscript is not uncommon, especially in discussions of the language of the manuscripts. However, Kutscher regarded 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> as a "popular" or "vernacular" text<sup>79</sup> and he indicated that other manuscripts are not examples of such texts:

What are the sources at our disposal for contemporary Hebrew and Aramaic? To begin with we have the other Scrolls found near the Dead Sea. Unfortunately however, their value for us is limited. The reason for this is not that they were written later, but rather, since their style is archaistic, that they do not reflect the contemporary colloquial idiom.<sup>80</sup>

In other words, Kutscher seems to want to distinguish the language of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> from the language of other contemporaneous manuscripts, presumably also other biblical ones.<sup>81</sup>

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Scroll from Qumran," in *Making a Difference: Essays on the Bible and Judaism in Honor of Tamara Cohn Eskenazi* (ed. D. J. A. Clines, K. H. Richards, and J. L. Wright; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 329–42. However, note that Longacre and Williamson do not discuss many details of the manuscripts such as those brought to the fore in commentaries, and in C. Cohen, "A Philological Reevaluation of Some Significant DSS Variants of the MT in Isa 1–5," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 40–55; J. Hoegenhaven, "The First Isaiah Scroll From Qumran (1QIs<sup>a</sup>) and the Massoretic Text: Some Reflections with Special Regard to Isaiah 1–12," *JSOT* 28 (1984): 17–35 (20–21).

<sup>78</sup> Schniedewind, *Social*, 21, 212 n. 76. Note also this remark by Holmstedt: "Due to the accidents of history, the chronological sequence of artifacts may not reflect the chronological sequence of the linguistic data they contain. For example, most of us think that Masoretic codices, such as B19a, often preserve earlier data than the corresponding manuscripts from Qumran" (Holmstedt, "Historical," 98). Holmstedt does not cite 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, or any other DSS manuscript, but like many others he may have 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> in the back of his mind.

<sup>79</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 77–89, *passim*.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>81</sup> Whatever the intrinsic value of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, "no generalizations should be made" since "none of the scrolls found at Qumran is representative of the *ensemble* of Qumran texts" (Tov, "Isaiah," 495). Similarly: "The more than 210 biblical texts found in Qumran do not share any major textual, linguistic, or scribal characteristics; they were written in different periods and at different places, and are textually and linguistically

Third, Kutscher regarded 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> as a linguistically modernized text.<sup>82</sup> Thus he compared the “model” text ([proto-]MT) with the English “Authorized Version” and the “vernacular” text (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>) with the English “Revised Version.” The former continued to be transmitted even after the latter with its modernized language had been produced.<sup>83</sup> However, what does Kutscher mean by “modernized”? While Kutscher describes Aramaic, “basic” BH, LBH, and MH elements in the manuscript, attentive reading of his monograph suggests that he means *mainly* Aramaic and MH “colloquial” influences, not LBH. This observation has gone unappreciated. So also, Young has shown independently that the linguistic characteristics of the core LBH books of Esther–Chronicles are not predominant in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.<sup>84</sup>

#### 4.4.2.3. SONG OF SONGS

4QCant<sup>b</sup> is a relatively variant DSS biblical manuscript.<sup>85</sup> Young examines a series of “Aramaisms” in the manuscript and suggests that “either 4QCant<sup>b</sup> represents a revision of the original linguistic form preserved in the MT, or the MT represents a revision of the original linguistic form preserved in 4QCant<sup>b</sup>.”<sup>86</sup> The former explanation would relate to “the addition of Aramaic, or at least later Hebrew” to 4QCant<sup>b</sup> while the latter would involve “correct[ing] the language...toward a more classical form of Biblical Hebrew.”<sup>87</sup> He concludes that “we simply cannot be sure which linguistic forms...represent the more original.”<sup>88</sup> He then stresses “that the linguistic profiles of the attested Biblical books cannot simply be assumed to represent the form of language used by the ‘original author’. Instead, language, as with all other features of the emergent

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heterogeneous” (E. Tov, “Dead Sea Scrolls: Orthography and Scribal Practices,” in *EHL* 1:669–73 [669–70]). Note also this remark: “Some texts exemplified by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>...display a great number of differences in orthography and morphology, whereas the relation is reversed in the texts exemplified by 4QSam<sup>a</sup>...: differences in morphology and orthography are few, in contrast to the large number of other types of differences in both major and minor details” (Tov, *Textual*, 105; cf. 105–7).

<sup>82</sup> The fact that 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is a linguistically modernized text suggests that (some/many) “late” features in other biblical texts can also be the result of scribal reworking, but we will not go down that road at this precise moment. See Rezetko, “Spelling,” 125–26; Young, “What,” 260; and Carr’s suggestion which we cited in chapter 3 (3.7).

<sup>83</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 84–85.

<sup>84</sup> Young, “Loose.”

<sup>85</sup> The manuscript has one variant from the MT every 5.1 words (graphic units) (Young, “Biblical Scrolls,” 101, 104–5).

<sup>86</sup> Young, “Notes,” 127. He adds that this is a simplified formulation that leaves out a third possibility: “Neither text represents the ‘original author’s’ language” (*ibid.*, 127 n. 34).

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

Biblical text, was subject to constant revision at the hands of the scribes who passed the material down through the generations.”<sup>89</sup> Noegel and Rendsburg are in essential agreement with Young’s position, though they would change the framework of the discussion to regional dialectal variation: “[T]he linguistic profile of 4QCant<sup>b</sup> provides additional evidence for the claim that the Song of Songs is a northern composition.”<sup>90</sup>

#### 4.4.2.4. JUDGES

Rezetko studies a series of linguistic variants between the MT and the three fragmentary DSS biblical manuscripts of Judges (1QJudg, 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>, 4QJudg<sup>b</sup>).<sup>91</sup> He views his article as a pilot attempt to combine literary-critical, text-critical, and historical linguistic approaches. He concentrates especially on the language of the plus of Judg 6:7–10 in the MT compared to 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>. His main argument is that MT Judges is essentially characterized by “early” language in additions and variants that are derivative and late when compared to the readings in the DSS. More generally, he suggests, given the combined frequency of linguistic variants in these manuscripts of Judges, that we might expect to find hundreds of linguistic variants between the MT and the DSS, and between the scrolls themselves, if they had survived completely. He considers that the result of his “interdisciplinary exercise” is that future research on the history of BH will have to contend more earnestly with the “fluidity” (or “changeability”) of language and the “non-directionality” (or “patternlessness”) of linguistic variants in biblical manuscripts.

#### 4.4.2.5. SEPTUAGINT

The Septuagint, which includes the Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, has been used in several different ways in relation to the historical linguistic study of ancient Hebrew. The first centers on the translators and their knowledge of Hebrew. The basic idea is that the translators misunderstood certain words, forms, and uses in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the portions written in “early” Hebrew, because over time the Hebrew language evolved, and so the translators spoke a later variety of Hebrew in which the “earlier” items had new meanings, and consequently they translated them according to the new meanings, not the old ones. In other words, influence from colloquial Hebrew, and also Aramaic, misled the translators into misreading the Hebrew Bible in the light of post-biblical Hebrew. This approach is especially prominent in the writings of

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>90</sup> Noegel and Rendsburg, *Solomon’s*, 57–62 (61).

<sup>91</sup> Rezetko, “Qumran.”

Joosten, who calls the phenomenon “pseudoclassicism.” This kind of data is not the object of CTVA and so we will not discuss it any further in this book.<sup>92</sup> Another way that the Septuagint has been used is to detect additions or changes in the (later) MT, which are also linguistically “late,” by pointing to minuses or alternative words, forms, or uses in the (earlier) Septuagint. In other words, a translator correctly translated something in his copy of the Hebrew text, or he did not translate something because it was not in his copy, and then the Hebrew changed. Treballe gives a slightly different kind of example, one which does not seem to have any diachronic linguistic importance. He gives the illustration of the adverb of negation לֹא used absolutely without a verb.<sup>93</sup> This use is found mainly in Samuel–Kings and in each case the Old Greek translation (supported by the Old Latin) presupposes the presence of a verb after the negation. In other words, the expected verb was lost in the (proto-)MT which resulted in a questionable construction in the MT. In the framework of historical linguistics, this approach is again most prominent in the writings of Joosten. Most of his examples deal with minuses in the LXX of language items that he considers linguistically late in the MT.<sup>94</sup> This is a helpful avenue of research. However, none of the cases he deals with are systematic.<sup>95</sup> Systematic CTVA of BH and LXX texts is a wide-open field of research which, despite the difficulties of retroverting Greek into Hebrew for the purpose of linguistic comparison, may prove rewarding. We include some illustrations in chapter 6 (6.3.2 and elsewhere) in our CTVA of MT and Qumran Samuel.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> For some remarks on Joosten’s examples and argumentation in relation to “pseudoclassicisms” see chapter 3 (3.6.4.1); *LDBT* 1:69–70, 78–80; 2:106–8; Rezetko, “Qumran,” 48–56. A similar approach is taken in R. Good, *The Septuagint’s Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles* (VTSup 136; Leiden: Brill, 2010). See the remarks in Rezetko, “Diachrony.”

<sup>93</sup> J. C. Treballe Barrera, “Los manuscritos bíblicos del Mar Muerto: Historia y crítica del texto de la Biblia después de Qumrán,” in *El viaje lingüístico de la Biblia* (ed. J. M. Delgado; Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011), 237–55 (251). See BDB 39, a.(b)(β). The references are Gen 19:18; 2 Sam 13:16; 2 Kgs 3:13; 4:16; 6:27; Ruth 1:13 (cf. Judg 19:23).

<sup>94</sup> This approach is also adopted in Hornkohl, *Ancient*.

<sup>95</sup> Some comments on Joosten’s examples are given in chapter 3 (3.6.4); *LDBT* 2:158; Rezetko, “Qumran,” 67.

<sup>96</sup> Other small-scale illustrations are given in *LDBT* 1:121, 351–52, 355–57; 2:116–17, 120–23. Some of the examples cited in *LDBT* 1:348 n. 18 also involve the LXX.

## 4.5. ADDITIONAL MATTERS

## 4.5.1. KINDS OF VARIANTS IN BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS

A textual variant is an alternative reading at the same point in a different textual witness. Variants between manuscripts relate to all kinds of phenomena.<sup>97</sup> For the purposes of this book we are inclined to follow a general scheme that distinguishes between orthographic, linguistic, and content variants,<sup>98</sup> although almost any variant may potentially have linguistic significance. Linguistic variants relate to changes in morphology and syntax. Content variants include lexical and exegetical changes. We discuss many morphological, syntactic, and lexical variants in parallels and manuscripts in chapters 5–6 and in appendixes 1–2. An issue of special interest is syntactic complexity and stability in textual transmission. In chapter 3 (3.6.5) we mentioned Polak’s view on this issue and his illustration of the Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets. It is in fact widely recognized that syntax is less susceptible to linguistic modification in textual transmission than morphology and vocabulary, for example.<sup>99</sup> This does not mean, however, that scribes left untouched the syntax of the writings they copied.<sup>100</sup>

## 4.5.2. SCRIBAL PRACTICES IN BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION

In this and the previous chapters we have discussed various aspects of scribal practices in the transmission of Ancient Near Eastern and medieval European writings. Here we underscore just several points in relation to the scribal transmission of BH writings. The first point is that the available manuscript evidence from the Second Temple period indicates that trying to separate sharply between authors, editors, and scribes is pointless and anachronistic. It probably cannot be done and if so only in theory and not in

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<sup>97</sup> On differences created during textual transmission, accidental/unintentional (i.e., error) vs. deliberate/intentional changes, small- vs. large-scale changes, pluses/additions vs. minuses/omissions vs. substitutions/interchanges vs. rearrangements/reorderings, and so on, see Tov, *Textual*, 219–62.

<sup>98</sup> Hobson, *Transforming*, 8–28; cf. Young, “Textual,” 177–80.

<sup>99</sup> *LDBT* 1:118 n. 12. This is due to the complexity of syntax which, for example, specifies kinds, numbers, and orders of constituents in noun and verb phrases and independent and dependent clauses. We say more on this issue in chapter 7 (7.3.7).

<sup>100</sup> The English, French, and Spanish case studies we cite above in 4.3 involve morphosyntactic and syntactic variation in multiversion literature, i.e., in textual transmission. Recall also Pat-El’s comment, cited in chapter 2 (3.6.7), about the “harmoniz[ation]” and “blurr[ing]” of syntax in Classical Arabic and BH texts in their transmission processes.

practice.<sup>101</sup> The second point we want to make is that the transmitters of the “biblical” writings in the Second Temple period did all kinds of things to texts for all sorts of reasons.<sup>102</sup> And, because there is a complete absence of documentary evidence which would enable us to sort out various diachronic and diatopic characteristics of the transmitted writings, we have no objective basis for determining which of the scribes who copied the various writings were “copiers,” “translators,” or “mixers,” using the terminology of *LAEME/LALME*.<sup>103</sup> The best we can do is lay out the various texts side by side, compare them piece by piece, make detailed observations about variant words, forms, and uses, and suggest possible explanations for the differences. And we cannot assume *a priori* that those differences relate to time, place, style, or any other single independent factor.

#### 4.6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter we introduced CTVA, reviewed some applications to English, French, and Spanish multiversion literature, and summarized some related approaches to biblical parallels and manuscripts. In our estimation there is a lot of room for applying and improving CTVA of our Hebrew Bible sources in a historical linguistic framework. Chapters 5–6 work toward this objective. Our method, especially in chapter 6, is more similar to Laing’s and Octavio de Toledo’s in that we deal with the gamut of textual variants and linguistic variables without restricting ourselves to selections of these. The steps involved are observation, categorization, quantification, and, to a lesser degree, explanation. We are especially interested in these kinds of questions with regard to *language* variants in parallels and manuscripts: What changes happen between the sources (and which do not)? Are they pluses/minuses, substitutions, or rearrangements? What kinds of changes are they? Are they lexical, morphological, or syntactic? How frequent are the changes? Are they sporadic

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<sup>101</sup> M. A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 85, *passim*, 543; S. Talmon, “The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 321–400 (380–81); E. Tov, “The Writing of Early Scrolls: Implications for the Literary Analysis of Hebrew Scripture,” in *L’Écrit et l’Esprit: Études d’histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (ed. D. Böhler, I. Himbaza, and P. Hugo; OBO 214; Fribourg: Academic, 2005), 355–71 (361 n. 17); *idem*, *Textual*, 240, *passim*. Tov speaks about “literary-editorial,” “editorial-scribal,” “textual-literary,” “authors/editors-scribes,” “authors-scribes,” “editors-scribes,” “copyists-scribes,” and so on, but in theory he wishes to distinguish “authors-scribes and editors-scribes” from “copyists-scribes.”

<sup>102</sup> On approaches of Qumran scribes to their *Vorlagen* see Person, *Deuteronomical School*, 74–78; cf. 79–81, 99–100; Tov, *Scribal*, 7–8, 17, 24–28.

<sup>103</sup> On these types of scribes see chapter 2 (2.3.3).

or recurrent? Are the changes patterned (systematic)? Or are they random (coincidental, unsystematic)? How do the changes relate to the conventional “early”/“late” or SCH/PCH (EBH/LBH) categories? And, in relation to variationist analysis (chapters 7–9), how do changes in copies of individual writings relate to larger trends of change in the corpus of writings? Or, stated differently, how do the two different variational maps relate to one another? What follows in chapters 5–6 is a mere first step toward answering such questions.

## Chapter 5

### Cross-Textual Variable Analysis: Parallel Passages

#### 5.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we introduced theoretical and methodological issues related to cross-textual variable analysis. In this and the following chapter we explore a selection of biblical writings using the general approach of CTVA, which especially in the case of the parallel passages we have tailored to our own objectives. The studies in this chapter could be developed further and many other linguistic items and parallel texts could be investigated. Our hope in fact is that others will follow up and do this. But our own objectives are more modest in the framework of this book. In this chapter we aim to accomplish the following objectives. First, we will briefly survey the wide range of “parallels” in the Hebrew Bible and some helpful study aids (5.2). Second, we will examine a single linguistic variable,  $\text{וְיָי}$  in introductory temporal clauses, in the parallel writings of MT Samuel–Kings and MT Chronicles (5.3). Third, we will summarize our research on less common linguistic variants in four sets of parallel writings in the MT: 2 Sam 22//Ps 18, 2 Kgs 24–25//Jer 52, 2 Kgs 18–20//Isa 36–39, and 1 Kgs 22//2 Chr 18, with a few other additional passages included among these (5.4). What we mean by “less common” forms/uses and why these are significant are matters we explain below.

#### 5.2. SYNOPSIS OF PARALLELS AND RESOURCES

##### 5.2.1. PARALLELS

The study of parallel materials in the Hebrew Bible has crucial importance in historical linguistic and linguistic dating research on BH (see chapter 4, 4.4.1). And in other venues we ourselves have discussed various practical issues

related to the use of such material.<sup>1</sup> The importance of the parallel material is underlined in Tov's *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* where he points out that "[i]t is exactly these parallel biblical passages that prompted the development of textual criticism of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, because they necessitated the comparison of texts."<sup>2</sup> As illustrations of differences created during scribal transmission and/or exegesis he discusses the inner-biblical parallels Gen 10:1–29//1 Chr 1:4–23 and Ps 14//Ps 53 in the MT.<sup>3</sup> He points out: "Some of these parallel sources are based on ancient texts that already differed from one another before they were incorporated into the biblical books, and which additionally underwent changes after they were transmitted separately from one generation to the next."<sup>4</sup> He also points out: "Likewise, beyond the Torah, the differences between parallel sections in Joshua // Judges and Samuel–Kings // Chronicles were not harmonized much during their textual transmission."<sup>5</sup> What is important to observe then is that the parallel materials in the Hebrew Bible were different already in their "prebiblical" or "precanonical" stage and these differences were usually not harmonized in the later editing and transmission of the writings (see further 5.4.2.1).

The quantity of parallel material in the Bible and its potential for historical linguistic research has largely gone unappreciated.<sup>6</sup> The exceptions to this statement are the use which has been made of Samuel–Kings//Chronicles (see chapter 4, 4.4.1, and below), and some rather unmethodical work on parallels between the Priestly material in the Pentateuch and the book of Ezekiel.<sup>7</sup> One could point, for example, to a large number of duplicates (or doublets and triplets) in the Pentateuch, such as two stories of creation (Gen 1:1–2:4a//Gen 2:4b–25), or three stories of a wife/sister in danger (Gen 12:10–20//Gen 20:1–18//Gen 26:6–11), or three versions of the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17//Exod

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see *LDBT* 1:68–69, 71–81, 103–5, 137, 353–58; Rezetko, "Dating"; idem, "'Late' Common Nouns in the Book of Chronicles," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (ed. R. Rezetko, T. H. Lim, and B. A. Aucker; VTSup 113; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 379–417; idem, *Source*. On the language of 2 Sam 6//1 Chr 13, 15–16 see *LDBT* 1:103–5; Rezetko, *Source*, *passim*; on the language of 1 Kgs 22//2 Chr 18 see *LDBT* 1:137, 353–58. At many other places in *LDBT* we comment on the language of parallel materials in the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>2</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 17 n. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 12–17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 12; cf. 28, 181, 220.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 80 n. 131; cf. 258–59, 279.

<sup>6</sup> We do not need to enter here into what precisely constitutes "parallelness." All the texts we will discuss are widely recognized to be "parallels" of each another. For one discussion of this matter in relation to Samuel–Kings//Chronicles see Verheij, *Verbs*, 17–18.

<sup>7</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*; Rooker, *Biblical*.

34:10–28//Deut 5:6–18), and so on.<sup>8</sup> So also there are different versions of some Pentateuchal writings in other biblical books, such as the versions of the Passover celebration with slight differences in language in Exod 12:1–20, Deut 16:1–8, and 2 Chr 35:1–19. It is often overlooked that Chronicles itself has material that is parallel to biblical books other than Samuel–Kings. We have already mentioned Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy in this regard, but other parts of the Pentateuch, Former Prophets, Latter Prophets, and Writings could be mentioned, although not a small amount of this material relates to names in genealogies.<sup>9</sup> In addition to other parallels that we have mentioned in this and the preceding paragraphs, there are many smaller parallels within and between individual biblical books.

### 5.2.2. RESOURCES

There are a variety of tools that can help with examining parallel materials in the Hebrew Bible. Books by Bendavid, Kegler and Augustin, and Vannutelli have synopses of Hebrew texts in parallel columns.<sup>10</sup> The best synopses of biblical texts in English, which can help to identify general “parallelness,” are those of Endres, Millar, and Burns, and another one by Newsome.<sup>11</sup> Another helpful resource is Sperber’s *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* which has many helpful collections of data and observations on parallel MT (and MT

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<sup>8</sup> See the short summary in R. E. Friedman, “Torah (Pentateuch),” in *ABD* 6:605–22 (609) and the parallel summaries of sources in J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch According to the Revised Version* (2 vols.; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), 1:272–79 (JEP); O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse: Die Erzählung der fünf Bücher Mose und des Buches Josua mit dem Anfänge des Richterbuches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922), 89–108 (LJEP).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, the summaries in A. Bendavid, *Parallels in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972), 6; J. Kegler and M. Augustin, *Synopse zum Chronistischen Geschichtswerk* (2d ed.; BEATAJ 1; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), 10–22.

<sup>10</sup> Bendavid, *Parallels*; Kegler and Augustin, *Synopse*; P. Vannutelli, *Libri Synoptici Veteris Testamenti, seu, librorum Regum et Chronicorum loci paralleli* (2 vols.; Scripta Pontificii Istituti Biblici; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1931). Bendavid includes parallels between Chronicles and other books (Bendavid, *Parallels*, 14–167) and parallels between other books (*ibid.*, 169–219).

<sup>11</sup> J. C. Endres, W. R. Millar, and J. B. Burns, *Chronicles and Its Synoptic Parallels in Samuel, Kings, and Related Biblical Texts* (Collegeville, MD: Liturgical, 1998); J. D. Newsome, Jr., *A Synoptic Harmony of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles: With Related Passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezra* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1986). We have excluded so-called harmonies which aim to combine the disparate parallels into a supposedly unified and coherent whole. There is a helpful summary of the contents and layouts of the Hebrew synopses in Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, xvii–xviii.

vs. non-MT) phenomena.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the Old Testament Parallels module in Accordance is a helpful resource that enables the researcher to examine 435 sets of parallel texts, or in some cases very similar wording in different texts, in both the MT and translation, but the large number of sets of texts in this database should not fool one to think it is complete or even nearly complete for all parallel writings in the Hebrew Bible.

### 5.3. SINGLE LINGUISTIC VARIABLE APPROACH

Our first CTVA illustration looks at ויהי in introductory temporal clauses in synoptic MT Samuel–Kings and MT Chronicles.<sup>13</sup> A variable, repeating what we have said before, is a set of two or more variants that may be used alternatively to say the same thing. In this short case study “the same thing” is not understood as a specific moment in time such as ויהי בבקר (“and it came to pass in the morning”) but as the more general phenomenon of ויהי in introductory temporal clauses. The six constructions that we focus on here are (in descending order of frequency in the MT): ויהי + prepositional noun phrase, ויהי + כ/ב + infinitive construct, ויהי + באשר + ויהי + independent sentence, ויהי + ויהי, and ויהי + אחר־כֵן + ויהי.<sup>14</sup>

Differences in parallel texts have played an important role as evidence, or at least as illustration, in some arguments for the decline of introductory temporal clauses with ויהי in LBH or Hebrew of the Second Temple period. For example, in a discussion of the date of the book of Job, Joosten makes the following comments:

Narrative ויהי “and it happened,” invariably followed by a temporal phrase, is much more typical of classical prose than of LBH. There are around three hundred instances of it in the books of Genesis through 2 Kings, but only around thirty-eight in the LBH corpus. With its five attestations in 46 verses (1:5, 6, 13; 2:1; 42:7), the prose tale comes close to the proportion observed in classical texts.

More significant than these statistical data is that one of the patterns of narrative ויהי in Job is completely lacking in LBH. The sequence *wayhi ki qatal*

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<sup>12</sup> A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: A Presentation of Problems with Suggestions to Their Solution* (Leiden: Brill, 1966).

<sup>13</sup> Other studies of verb-related issues in parallel material include S. Japhet, “Interchanges of Verbal Roots in Parallel Texts in Chronicles,” *HS* 28 (1987): 9–50; P. J. A. Kieviet, “De infinitivus constructus in het boek Kronieken: Syntactische en semantische studies” (M.A. thesis, Leiden University, 1997); idem, “The Infinitive Construct in Late Biblical Hebrew: An Investigation in the Synoptic Parts of Chronicles,” *Dutch Studies on Near Eastern Languages and Cultures* 3 (1997): 45–73; Verheij, *Verbs*; T. Zewi, “Biblical Parallels and Biblical Hebrew Syntax,” *ZAH* 17 (2006): 230–46.

<sup>14</sup> See GKC §111g, p. 327.

is attested 16 times in Genesis–2 Kings. It recurs nowhere else, in the Bible or in Postbiblical Hebrew, except in Job 1:5...The absence of this pattern in later texts is not due to accident. Several scholars have observed that temporal **כי** becomes obsolete in LBH. Note that where Samuel–Kings has narrative **ויהי** followed by a **כי** clause, Chronicles has a different type of syntax: [2 Sam 7:1: **ויהי כִּי־יֵשֵׁב**; 1 Chr 17:1: **ויהי כאשר ישב**] As in the case of iterative *weqatal*, the syntax of the prose tale conforms to Classical Hebrew in a way that distinguishes it markedly from LBH.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to his citation of 2 Sam 7:1//1 Chr 17:1, Joosten also says: “Similarly 2 Sam 6:13 [**ויהי כי צעדו**] and 1 Chr 15:26 [**ויהי בעזר**], although the rewriting [in Chronicles] in this case is more radical.”<sup>16</sup> With these thoughts in mind let us look at some parallel data in the MT.

Overall in synoptic Samuel–Kings//Chronicles the texts are identical, or very similar, in sixteen sets of passages. They are:

<b>Constructions in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>ויהי + prepositional noun phrase</b>	6 <sup>17</sup>
<b>ויהי + כב/כ + infinitive construct</b>	6 <sup>18</sup>
<b>כאשר + ויהי</b>	1 <sup>19</sup>
<b>ויהי + independent sentence</b>	0
<b>כי + ויהי</b>	0
<b>אחרי־כן + ויהי</b>	3 <sup>20</sup>

In contrast, these books have divergent constructions in eleven other sets of passages. These are summarized in the following table. For the sake of clarity

<sup>15</sup> J. Joosten, “Linguistic Clues as to the Date of the Book of Job: A Mediating Position,” in *Interested Readers: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David J. A. Clines* (ed. J. K. Aitken, J. M. S. Clines, and C. M. Maier; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 347–57 (353–54); cf. idem, “Diachronic Aspects,” 48–50, 54 n. 27, 56–57; Kim, *Early*, 107–9, 116; Rezetko, “Dating,” 236.

<sup>16</sup> Joosten, “Clues,” 364 n. 24.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Sam 31:8//1 Chr 10:8; 2 Sam 7:4//1 Chr 17:3; 2 Sam 11:1 ( **ויהי לחשובת השנה** )//1 Chr 20:1 ( **ויהי לעת תשובת השנה לעת צאת** ); 1 Kgs 9:10 ( **ויהי מקצה** ); cf. LXX  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  )//2 Chr 8:1 ( **ויהי מקץ** ); cf. LXX  $\alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  ); 1 Kgs 14:25//2 Chr 12:2; 1 Kgs 14:28//2 Chr 12:11.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Kgs 8:10//2 Chr 5:11; 1 Kgs 12:2//2 Chr 10:2; 1 Kgs 15:21//2 Chr 16:5; 1 Kgs 22:32//2 Chr 18:31; 1 Kgs 22:33//2 Chr 18:32; 2 Kgs 22:11//2 Chr 34:19.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Kgs 14:5//2 Chr 25:3.

<sup>20</sup> 2 Sam 8:1//1 Chr 18:1; 2 Sam 10:1//1 Chr 19:1; 2 Sam 21:18//1 Chr 20:4.

and completeness, for each variable we give both “directions” of (possible) linguistic variation, even though there are no attested examples of some constructions in some books.

	<b>Samuel–Kings</b>	<b>Chronicles</b>	<b>Nr.</b>	<b>References/Constructions</b>
1a	ויהי + prep. noun phrase	ו + prep. noun phrase	1	2 Kgs 22:3 (ויהי בשמנה עשרה שנה)// 2 Chr 34:8 (ובשנת שמונה עשרה)
1b	ו + prep. noun phrase	ויהי + prep. noun phrase	0	–
2a	ויהי + prep. noun phrase	<i>wayyiqtol</i>	1	1 Kgs 22:2 (ויהי בשנה השלישית וירד)// 2 Chr 18:2 (וירד לקץ שנים)
2b	<i>wayyiqtol</i>	ויהי + prep. noun phrase	0	–
3a	ויהי + prep. noun phrase	אז	0	–
3b	אז	ויהי + prep. noun phrase	1	2 Kgs 12:18 (אז יעלה)// 2 Chr 24:23 (ויהי לתקופת השנה עלה)
4a	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	ו + כ/ב + inf. const.	2	1 Kgs 8:54 (ויהי ככלות)// 2 Chr 7:1 (וככלות) 2 Kgs 12:11 (ויהי כראותם)// 2 Chr 24:11 (ויהי בעת...וכראותם) (Note that Chronicles' וכראותם continues a plus that begins with ויהי + prepositional noun phrase.)
4b	ו + כ/ב + inf. const.	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	0	–
5a	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	<i>wayyiqtol</i>	1	1 Kgs 9:1 (ויהי ככלות)// 2 Chr 7:11 (ויבל)
5b	<i>wayyiqtol</i>	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	0	–
6a	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	minus	0	–
6b	minus	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	1	2 Kgs 10:13 (ויהוא מצא)// 2 Chr 22:8 (ויהי כהשפט יהוא עם־בית ) (אחאב וימצא)

	Samuel–Kings	Chronicles	Nr.	References/Constructions
7a	ויהי + ind. sentence	periphrastic tense	1	2 Kgs 8:21 (ויהי־הוא קם)// 2 Chr 21:9 (ויהי קם) (Note that LXX Chronicles has καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ ἤγειρεθῆ. <sup>21</sup> )
7b	periphrastic tense	ויהי + ind. sentence	1	2 Sam 6:16 (והיה ארון יהוה בא)// 1 Chr 15:29 (ויהי ארון ברית יהוה בא) (Note that 4QSam <sup>a</sup> has ויהי and LXX Samuel has καὶ ἐγένετο τῆς αὐβωτοῦ παραγινωμένῃς. <sup>22</sup> )
8a	כי + ויהי	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	1	2 Sam 6:13 (ויהי כי)// 1 Chr 15:26 (ויהי בעזר) (Note that 4QSam <sup>a</sup> has והיה and LXX Samuel has καὶ ἤσαν... <sup>23</sup> )
8b	ויהי + כ/ב + inf. const.	כי + ויהי	0	–
9a	כי + ויהי	כאשר + ויהי	1	2 Sam 7:1 (ויהי כי)// 1 Chr 17:1 (ויהי כאשר)
9b	כאשר + ויהי	כי + ויהי	0	–

What can we say about introductory temporal clauses with ויהי on the basis of these textual data? As for numbers, MT Samuel–Kings has a minus of ויהי on three occasions (3b, 6b, 7b), and MT Chronicles on five (1a, 2a, 4a [x2], 5a), and three times the parallel texts have alternative formulations using ויהי (7a, 8a, 9a). However, the plus beginning with ויהי בעזר in 2 Chr 24:11 (4a), and the possibility that כי + ויהי is secondary in MT 2 Sam 6:13 (8a), work to even out the proportions of pluses/minuses in synoptic Samuel–Kings and Chronicles. It is clear that there is no single direction or consistent pattern of linguistic change overall. In fact, the predominant trends are the relative stability of common constructions in the parallels, followed by unpredictable interchanges of common or equally “early” constructions, and finally textual variations related mainly to less common BH constructions, here ויהי + independent sentence and כי + ויהי. Turning to usage, a number of relevant observations can be made, but here we limit ourselves to the following. In regard to the passages cited above, it

<sup>21</sup> Joosten argues that the Chronicler omitted the pronoun and Chronicles has periphrastic syntax (Joosten, “Diachronic Aspects,” 57). However, in the light of LXX Chronicles, the earlier reading and when it changed are unclear.

<sup>22</sup> Joosten suggests that the syntax in Chronicles may be periphrastic (ibid., 57). In our view, however, in the light of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and LXX Samuel, the opposite situation, that MT Samuel may be periphrastic, seems more likely. See *LDBT* 1:104; Rezetko, *Source*, 236–38.

<sup>23</sup> It is questionable whether MT Samuel’s כי + ויהי is “original” or the earliest attested reading (Rezetko, *Source*, 189–96).

is often stressed that MT Samuel–Kings lacks examples of ו + prepositional noun phrase and ו + כ/ב + infinitive construct (1b, 4b) whereas ויהי + independent sentence and ויהי + כי are absent from MT Chronicles (8b, 9b). The conclusion drawn from these observations is that ו + prepositional noun phrase and ו + כ/ב + infinitive construct are later Hebrew constructions whereas ויהי + independent sentence and ויהי + כי are earlier ones. These are possible explanations of the synoptic data. However, several of the interpretative and text-critical matters we mentioned above raise some doubt about the simplicity and cogency of this approach. For example, so-called early ויהי + כי in MT 2 Sam 6:13 is probably a secondary (i.e., late) rewording. Furthermore, we are dealing with a very small number of examples, and also with many small details of language, both of which considerations should induce a measure of caution. It must also be kept in mind that we have no independent means of determining when, and by whom, whether by authors or editors, the linguistic differences between the synoptic passages arose. Usually it is assumed by language scholars that the Chronicler, or the *author* of (MT) Chronicles, changed the language of (MT) Samuel–Kings, but this is merely an assumption, and not an innocuous one to rely on as a general working principle once literary-critical and text-critical matters are taken into consideration.<sup>24</sup> Thus it is often possible, and even probable, that particular “early” linguistic forms/uses are relatively late(r) developments in the texts of the BH writings. Finally, a VA of introductory temporal clauses with/without ויהי in BH would help to clarify the situation.

#### 5.4. MULTIPLE LINGUISTIC VARIABLES APPROACH

##### 5.4.1. INTRODUCTION

As we noted above there are many parallel passages in Hebrew Bible, that is, sections that are considered to represent two versions of the same composition. We look here at three of the most prominent, 2 Sam 22//Ps 18, 2 Kgs 24–25//Jer 52, and 2 Kgs 18–20//Isa 36–39. In addition we look at a section of synoptic Kings and Chronicles, 1 Kgs 22//2 Chr 18.<sup>25</sup>

Our focus here is on the transmission of the linguistic features of these parallel texts. It is accepted by all scholars that each of these sets of parallel writings represents two versions of the same composition. They give us thus an

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<sup>24</sup> In this regard we discuss the relationship between Samuel and Chronicles in chapter 6 (6.2).

<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere we have examined the language of another set of parallel passages, MT 2 Sam 6 and MT 1 Chr 13, 15–16. See *LDBT* 1:103–5, 133–34; Rezetko, *Source*; idem, “What.” Note that the following discussions of these parallel passages depart from the canonical order because we felt the presentation of the evidence had a more logical flow by presenting it this way. In addition, we discuss the Kings//Chronicles parallel last since it is usually considered separately to the other parallel passages.

excellent opportunity to investigate how stable the language features of the biblical compositions were during their textual transmission. It is obvious that if the language of the biblical compositions was transmitted with great accuracy, the parallel texts should share a high proportion of distinctive linguistic features, which might then be reasonably claimed to go back to the earliest stage of composition. In other words, the linguistic peculiarities of the MT could be argued to preserve the linguistic peculiarities of the authors of the biblical compositions. Of course, this would not be proved, since other explanations would need to be excluded. For example, the parallel transmission of the texts within the Masoretic tradition might have led to the levelling of linguistic features in parallel texts. Or the common language features might witness to an earlier common ancestor of the two texts, but not necessarily to the language of the earliest composition layer. Nevertheless, if the language of the MT represents the end product of a faithful transmission of the linguistic features of the biblical compositions, it necessarily follows that this should be reflected in these parallel texts. If, on the contrary, the linguistic features of these parallel texts turn out to be in any significant way divergent, this would be strong evidence that the details of the language of the biblical compositions have not been carefully or faithfully preserved in textual transmission.

At first glance it seems that the claim of linguistic stability has been fulfilled. The largest proportion of linguistic forms in the parallel texts is shared in common in the sets of texts. This is evident just by glancing at a randomly-chosen page of Bendavid's *Parallels in the Bible* where differences between the parallels are highlighted in red. However, on closer investigation it turns out that the majority of linguistic forms are basic features of Hebrew grammar which are the most common and regular forms of Classical Hebrew. We discover at least that the basic features of BH, such as the standard use of *wayyiqtol* in narrative, or the correct use of the object marker **ת** or the definite article, or the standard use of the relative **אשר**, are stable to a very high degree. We do not have, for example, one text with standard grammar, and the other resembling the very unusual grammar of Qoheleth or Song of Songs. This is an important conclusion since it supports the reliability of the biblical manuscripts as witnesses to the basic structures of ancient literary Hebrew.

However, what if we investigate beneath this standard surface? *In this study we look at linguistic forms that are both involved in a clear linguistic opposition with other forms, and which are the less common forms in the MT as a whole.* By "linguistic opposition" we mean, according to the simple, classic sense well known from the works of Hurvitz,<sup>26</sup> that the linguistic feature is equivalent in meaning and used in place of another linguistic item(s). In other words, there are two or more linguistic forms that, to the best of our current knowledge, alternate

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<sup>26</sup> For introduction and bibliography see *LDBT* 1:21.

in their use in the same linguistic context (i.e., variants in a variable context). Thus the linguistic variants are two or more ways of saying the same thing.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note, however, that unlike the methodology of Hurvitz, we have not focused here on issues of “early” vs “late,” EBH vs. LBH, or SCH vs. PCH. We are looking more broadly at *any* BH linguistic forms involved in a linguistic opposition. Thus, for example, the verb אָמַר (“to say”) is commonly found used with either אָל or לְ for “to” in all supposed strata of BH. The two forms are used in the same contexts and are considered to have the same meaning. This is an obvious case of linguistic opposition that is not usually discussed in diachronic linguistic investigations. While both linguistic forms are far from rare, it is still the case that the use of אָל is much more common than the use of לְ. The form with לְ therefore is clearly involved in a linguistic opposition to the form with אָל, and is the less common of the two forms in BH as a whole. The demand for linguistic opposition is necessary because our knowledge of ancient Hebrew is so fragmentary that a linguistic form’s relative rarity in the MT could very easily be due to chance. Thus, we do not include a number of rare forms, such as *hapax legomena*, in our main study (although we do note such forms in the supplementary notes to each section), since we did not judge that we could establish a reliable linguistic opposition for these forms.

By “less common” we mean simply that, having established a linguistic opposition, we look into which of the two forms is less frequent in the Hebrew Bible. We emphasize that “less common” is not being used synonymously with “rare.” For a form to be less common in the MT, in fact, means that we investigate a number of linguistic forms that are very common, and one could say regular in the MT. Thus, to give an additional example to the one in the previous paragraph, the unforced use of אָרַח plus suffix, instead of attaching an object suffix directly to the verb, is common, and indeed characteristic of large sections of the MT Bible. However, it is still the case that in most sections of the MT, the use of verbal suffixes is the majority form,<sup>28</sup> and therefore we include the unforced use of אָרַח plus suffix as a less common form with a linguistic opposition to the form where the suffix is attached directly to the verb. Nevertheless, along with such commonly attested forms, there are also, obviously, rare forms, usually where the rare form seems clearly to be in linguistic opposition to a better attested form.

To sum up: Our methodology here is very simple, and hopefully, therefore, transparent. We are considering any linguistic form that has a linguistic opposition to another form, and is less common than that other form. In this

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<sup>27</sup> In chapter 7 (7.3.7) we discuss the principles of synonymy and accountability.

<sup>28</sup> See Polzin, *Late*, 28–30, 93, 100, and also Qumran Samuel (4.3.7). Polzin notes that the P material in the Pentateuch has a strong and atypical preference for אָרַח plus suffix. If we were studying P material in this section, this local strong preference would need to be taken into account when defining what is the less common linguistic form.

chapter, therefore, although we cover many linguistic variants, we do not cover all linguistic variants, since the two texts may not be in opposition to each other, or a rarer form may not be in opposition to the more common form. We obviously do not have scope to justify every linguistic form that we have not included. Hopefully the very simple methodology being used will allow scholars to easily follow why we have not included these forms. However, to give an example of a form that we did not include, 2 Kgs 19:19 has a case of נָא (“please”) that the parallel in Isa 37:20 does not have. While the decline in the use of נָא in some texts has been considered significant, there is no obvious linguistic contrast, since the verse without the נָא is not obviously missing it, and therefore we did not include it. So too, in 2 Kgs 19:23//Isa 37:24, Kings uses a cohortative form (וַאֲבִוֵּאָה) that Isaiah lacks (וַאֲבִוֵּאָה), but the two texts are not necessarily in linguistic opposition, and are saying slightly different things.

This is, as far as we know, the first time that a study of this type has been conducted for BH. We put it forward in the hope that other scholars will find it useful and perhaps be able to refine it even further. In such a study, there are many judgments that have to be made such as, for example, regarding which forms are in opposition to each other. Undoubtedly, in addition, we will have missed the occasional shared less common form, or not appreciated the significance of all variants.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, it does not seem likely that a study following the same methodology as ours will arrive at greatly different statistics than we give here. At the very least, we believe that we have arrived at a very clear result. *The basic, common linguistic features of BH were highly stable in the textual transmission of these parallel texts, and hence we suggest, of the biblical writings in general. In contrast, the less common linguistic forms were highly variable. Both these results are significant, demonstrating that while the distribution of less common linguistic forms in our current texts is unlikely to be evidence of the earliest compositional stages of biblical literature, the basic linguistic features of BH are likely to reflect the earliest stages.*<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> We have drawn on our previous experience analyzing linguistic variants, done a great deal of searching the MT on our own for what is common and uncommon, and consulted standard references such as BDB, *HALOT*, GKC, JM, WO, and C. H. J. van der Merwe, J. A. Naudé, and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Biblical Languages: Hebrew 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

<sup>30</sup> Or at least we have no evidence to contradict this assumption.

## 5.4.2. MT 2 SAMUEL 22//MT PSALM 18

## 5.4.2.1. INTRODUCTION

It is universally acknowledged that 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 “are two versions of a single original composition.”<sup>31</sup> Cross and Freedman state: “The importance of this poem for the study of textual transmission can scarcely be overemphasized.”<sup>32</sup> McCarter discusses the reasons for the many divergences between the two texts<sup>33</sup> focusing on literate scribal processes: “The several divergences that do exist are scribal in origin and correspond to the categories of change that take place in the transmission of any ancient text (modernization of grammar and spelling, scribal errors, glosses, etc.).”<sup>34</sup> However, many see the variations between the texts as having a variety of other explanations alongside the mere mechanics of scribal transmission. These include early oral variations, perhaps in different communities,<sup>35</sup> and adaptation of Ps 18 to the liturgical needs of worship in the Jerusalem Temple.<sup>36</sup> It is pointed out that we cannot assume that the development was solely in the direction of greater divergence from each other. Thus Cross and Freedman suggest: “Subsequent developments involved the interaction of the texts upon each other, and a strong tendency

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<sup>31</sup> T. Young, “Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel 22: Two Versions of the Same Song,” in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel, and D. R. Magary; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 53–69 (53).

<sup>32</sup> F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (SBLDS; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975; reprinted in The Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 82.

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of these divergences which includes a quantification of how many there are, see Clines, “What Remains of the Hebrew Bible? Its Text and Language in a Postmodern Age”; updated with special attention to 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in D. J. A. Clines, “What Remains of the Hebrew Bible? The Accuracy of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of the Qumran Samuel (4QSam<sup>a</sup>),” in *Studies on the Texts and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon* (ed. G. Khan and D. Lipton; VTSup 149; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 211–20.

<sup>34</sup> P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 473.

<sup>35</sup> For example, P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco: Word, 1983), 171–72; Young, “Psalm 18,” 69. As we have discussed (chapter 3, 3.5.4), there is no reason to think that such “oral” variants would have ceased after the text had been written down.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 171–72.

toward harmonization.”<sup>37</sup> Carr also has recently emphasized the influence of parallel texts on each other.<sup>38</sup>

#### 5.4.2.2. GENERAL COMMENTS

This discussion is based on features with linguistic oppositions (1.1) and rare features without linguistic oppositions (1.2) that are listed and annotated in appendix 1.<sup>39</sup>

The basic features of Classical Hebrew remain the same in the parallel texts, but once we move to forms that have options and where one form is less common than another, the less common (but not necessarily rare) linguistic features show a high degree of fluidity. This is summarized in the following table:

Shared Forms	Samuel Only	Psalms Only	Total
4	18	10	32
12.5%	56.25%	31.25%	100%

Once we move away from the basic, common features of Classical Hebrew, only 4 of 32, in other words 12.5% or only 1 of 8 of the less common linguistic forms, are shared by both of the two texts of this one composition. The non-basic linguistic forms of this composition were highly fluid in its textual transmission. When we look at the four shared forms we find that they are each well-attested features of MT Hebrew: the use of דבר (“to speak”) plus preposition ל (1<sup>40</sup>), and of את plus suffix, both in the prose introduction (2), and the poetic forms for “foundations” (11) and “bronze” (21). It is notable that two of the four shared forms are in the prose introduction. If we remove them we get the following picture:

<sup>37</sup> Cross and Freedman, *Studies*, 82.

<sup>38</sup> Carr, *Formation*, 18–19, 30, 45–48, 61, 90–98. The results below would seem to indicate that at least in regard to the uncommon linguistic features of the two texts, they had very little influence on each other, since almost no uncommon forms overlap.

<sup>39</sup> For a layout of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendavid, *Parallels*, 61–62. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 115–19; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 64–69. 2 Samuel 22 and Ps 18 are two of the passages we discuss in *LDBT* in relation to LBH accumulation (*LDBT* 1:135, 137).

<sup>40</sup> This and the following numbers in parentheses refer to the number of the feature in the left-hand column in the tables in appendix 1.

Table 5.4 Summary of Forms with Oppositions in MT 2 Samuel 22//MT Psalm 18 (Poetry Only)			
Shared Forms	Samuel Only	Psalms Only	Total
2	18	10	30
6.67%	60%	33.33%	100%

We thus find *almost no overlap* between the less common linguistic forms of these two parallel texts of the same composition, texts both transmitted in the same MT textual tradition. This seems to be strong evidence that in regard to these features our current texts are unlikely to provide any access back to the linguistic features of the earliest stages of composition of this chapter. However, this picture might be tempered slightly by other considerations. We should first note that a number of very rare linguistic items without linguistic oppositions (appendix 1, 1.2) are attested in both texts. This could be due to factors such as that the rarity of these forms in the MT is simply an accident of preservation, but in some cases it is possible that other factors, such as the memorable nature of an unusual expression led to its survival in textual transmission, or indeed being introduced from one text to the other through harmonization, as mentioned above.

The second consideration relates to the problem of preterite verbal forms in the poem, that is, defined simply, the use of a prefix verb without preceding conjunction to refer to a single action in the past.<sup>41</sup> These are argued by some scholars to be archaisms especially characteristic of some old poems such as 2 Sam 22//Ps 18. However, there are a number of problems with including them as uncommon language forms. First, some have called into question the very existence of archaic preterite verbs.<sup>42</sup> Second, it is notoriously difficult to understand the verbal system in poetry, so definitions of what is uncommon or unusual are unclear. Third, it is difficult further to exclude other possible translation options as iterative or future *yiqtol* forms in a great many cases. For example, 2 Sam 22:7a could be translated, “In my distress I called (preterite: אָקַרָא) YHWH,” and one could point to the *wayyiqtol* form later in the verse, “and

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<sup>41</sup> For an introduction see *LDBT* 1:321–26. For discussions of verbal usage in poetry see, for example, J. Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 10; Jerusalem: Simor, 2012), 411–34; T. Notarius, *The Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry: A Discursive, Typological, and Historical Investigation of the Tense System* (SSLL 68; Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>42</sup> A. Niccacci, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in Poetry,” in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (ed. S. E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Publication of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University 1; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2006), 247–68.

he heard (וישמע) my voice from his temple.” However, the first verb could also be understood as iterative, the author calling on God repeatedly,<sup>43</sup> and God’s hearing of it as a single event. Fourth, if there are large concentrations of preterite verbs in some poetic texts, can they be labeled uncommon in such a text as this? Fifth, and finally, given the options for understanding these verbal forms, in particular that they can often be understood in line with core features of the Hebrew verbal system, such as the regular functions of the *yiqtol*, they may not have come under the category of uncommon forms from the point of view of how they were understood by later scribes, even given that they were originally archaic preterite verbs. These factors have led us to exclude these verbs from our discussion so far. For what it is worth, in a maximal listing of all *yiqtol* forms without preceding *waw* for which a case can be made that a preterite translation is a likely option in 2 Sam 22//Ps 18, we come up with thirty-nine forms.<sup>44</sup> In relation to these forms there are twelve variants, where only one of the parallel texts has the prefix verb in question in a potentially preterite form,<sup>45</sup> thus 30.77% or about 1 of 3 are variant. This is a significant rate of variation, but in comparison to the other categories of linguistic forms we have discussed, this represents an exceptional level of stability that is probably due to various factors discussed above.

#### 5.4.3. MT 2 KINGS 24–25//MT JEREMIAH 52

##### 5.4.3.1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally considered by scholars that this passage was taken from Kings into Jeremiah at a late stage in the redaction of the book of Jeremiah. Thus, for example, Lundbom says: “The present chapter is largely—but not entirely—a repetition of 2 Kgs 24:18–25:30, which was added to the Jeremiah book at a later time. The book of Jeremiah proper ends with 51:64: ‘Thus far the legacy of Jeremiah,’ something similar exists in First Isaiah, where chaps. 36–39

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<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Notarius, *Verb*, 165, 169.

<sup>44</sup> We judged to be probably *non*-preterite *yiqtol*s the relevant verbs in 2 Sam (//Ps 18) 22:9, 26 (x2), 27 (x2), 28 (x2), 29, 30 (x2), 34, 47, 50.

<sup>45</sup> We include as parallel cases where the two texts have different vocabulary as long as both have a potentially preterite prefix verb. Forms without variants: 2 Sam (//Ps 18) 22:5, 7a, 7b, 8, 17 (x3), 18, 19, 20, 21 (x2), 22, 23, 36, 37, 38b, 40, 42 (different roots), 43b (different roots), 44b (different roots), 44c, 45 (x2), 46a, 49 (x2). Forms with variants: 2 Sam (//Ps 18) 22:7c (Sam *wayyiqtol*), 7d (Sam no parallel), 12 (Sam *wayyiqtol*), 14 (Ps *wayyiqtol*), 16 (Ps *wayyiqtol*), 38a (Sam cohortative), 39a (Sam *wayyiqtol*), 39b (Ps infinitive), 39c (Sam *wayyiqtol*), 41 (Sam *wayyiqtol*), 43c (Sam two verbs, Ps one verb, three different roots), 44a (Sam *wayyiqtol*).

are a later add-on repeating portions of 2 Kings 18–20.<sup>46</sup> This is an especially interesting case of parallel passages, since we actually have a third, partial parallel in Jer 39:1–2, 4–10//2 Kgs 25:1–7, 9–12//Jer 52:4–11, 13–16, which is commonly considered to be a secondary insertion of material also found in Jer 52.<sup>47</sup>

#### 5.4.3.2. GENERAL COMMENTS

This discussion is based on features with linguistic oppositions (2.1) and rare features without linguistic oppositions (2.2 and 2.3) that are listed and annotated in appendix 1.<sup>48</sup>

The basic features of Classical Hebrew remain the same in the parallel texts, but once we move to forms that have options and where one form is less common than another, the less common (but not necessarily rare) linguistic features show a high degree of fluidity. This is summarized in the following table:

Shared Forms	Kings Only	Jeremiah Only	Total
10	14	13	37
27.03%	37.84%	35.14%	100%

Once we move away from the basic, common features of Classical Hebrew, only 27.03% or around one in four of the less common linguistic forms, are shared in common between the two texts of this one composition. The non-basic linguistic forms of this composition were highly fluid in its textual transmission. When we look at the ten shared forms we find that they are generally well-attested linguistic forms in the MT, albeit less common than their alternatives. The ten

<sup>46</sup> J. R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 37–52: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21B; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 512; cf. M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 11; New York: Doubleday, 1988), 320–21; W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 26–52* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 439; R. F. Person, Jr., *The King—Isaiah and Kings—Jeremiah Recensions* (BZAW 252; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 5.

<sup>47</sup> Thus, for example, Holladay describes these verses as “a duplicate or adaptation of 52:4–16 = 2 Kgs 25:1–12” and “secondarily inserted” (Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 291, 292).

<sup>48</sup> For layouts of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendavid, *Parallels*, 157–64; Kegler and Augustin, *Synopse*, 216–19. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 337–49; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 257–69.

forms include three cases of אַת plus suffix (10, 23, 24), two cases where a temporal clause with וַיְהִי is the less common form (2, 28), a well-attested alternative for the number “eleven” (1), a name formed with *-yah* instead of *-yahu* (20), the (non-linguistic?) title “head priest” (21), אַת for “with” (33), and (probably the best candidate for a genuinely unusual form), a case of *weqatal* for non-iterative past (34).

As we mentioned, there is in fact a third text which offers a partial parallel to 2 Kgs 25//Jer 52, found in Jer 39. Once this third parallel text is brought into the picture we find a further seven less common linguistic forms not paralleled with the other two texts, and one case where Jer 39 disagrees with one of the less common forms shared by both other texts (hence the reduction of the shared forms and the addition of 0.5 to both Kings and Jer 52 below). If we add Jer 39 to the table above we get the following picture:

<b>Shared Forms</b>	<b>Kings Only</b>	<b>Jeremiah 52 Only</b>	<b>Jeremiah 39 Only</b>	<b>Total</b>
9	14.5	13.5	7	44
20.45%	32.95%	30.68%	15.91%	100%

Thus, once we introduce a third MT parallel text into the mix, the proportion of shared less common linguistic forms falls even further to 20.45% or just 1 of 5. There is little doubt, based on what we find in our study of MT and Qumran Samuel (chapter 6 and appendix 2), that the addition of further, non-MT texts would lead to a yet further reduction of shared linguistic features beyond the core of basic features of Classical Hebrew and a rise in the number of less common linguistic forms not shared by all texts. We are not fortunate enough to have any Qumran fragments of these parallel texts, Hebrew texts being the most useful for the current study since on many occasions the subtle differences between variant Hebrew linguistic forms are not reflected in translation. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, we still have some hints that further texts of this passage would not agree even on the few cases of agreement we found between the MT versions of the text. Thus, while in 2 Kgs 25:18//Jer 52:24 MT Jeremiah shares with MT Kings the name Seraiah with *-yah* instead of *-yahu* (20), as well as disagreeing over the name Zephaniah (Jeremiah)/Zephaniahu (Kings; 22), neither of these names is present in LXX Jeremiah, removing another case of agreement. Further, the Vetus Latina text of Jer 52:26 does not

reflect “and he took them,”<sup>49</sup> one of the cases where MT Kings agreed with MT Jeremiah on the presence of **תא** plus suffix (23). We thus reduce the number of less common linguistic forms shared by all witnesses to just seven, or 15.91% or less than 1 of 6. It is quite conceivable that with more Hebrew witnesses to this text, the proportion of agreement on these linguistic forms could approach zero. The very low proportion of agreement over optional, less common linguistic forms indicates that the linguistic features of the biblical compositions were transmitted with a high degree of fluidity.

#### 5.4.4. MT 2 KINGS 18–20//MT ISAIAH 36–39

##### 5.4.4.1. INTRODUCTION

Three positions have been taken by scholars in regard to the relationship between these parallel passages. Most popular has been the idea that these chapters were taken from Kings into Isaiah; however, a number of scholars have argued the reverse. A third position is defended by other scholars, that both Kings and Isaiah drew on a text that was written for an earlier composition no longer extant. All scholars are agreed, however, that these parallel texts are versions of one original composition. However, none of these theories implies that, for example, the exact MT of Kings was taken over in to the MT of Isaiah, but they acknowledge that later textual development has occurred in both the Isaiah and Kings sections to give us the current MT forms of these chapters.<sup>50</sup>

##### 5.4.4.2. GENERAL COMMENTS

This discussion is based on features with linguistic oppositions (3.1) and rare features without linguistic oppositions (3.2) that are listed and annotated in appendix 1.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> P.-M. Bogaert, “La vetus latina de Jérémie: texte très court, témoin de la plus ancienne Septante et d’une forme plus ancienne de l’hébreu (Jer 39 et 52),” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (ed. A. Schenker; SBLSCS 52; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 51–82 (76).

<sup>50</sup> For surveys of scholarly views on these chapters see, for example, B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 260–62; Person, *Kings*, 5; P. K. Tull, *Isaiah 1–39* (Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary; Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2010), 523–25; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39: A Continental Commentary* (trans. T. H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 360–64.

<sup>51</sup> For layouts of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendavid, *Parallels*, 144–53; Kegler and Augustin, *Synopse*, 198–211. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 299–321; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 217–41.

The basic features of Classical Hebrew remain the same in the parallel texts, but once we move to forms that have options and where one form is less common than another, the less common (but not necessarily rare) linguistic features show a high degree of fluidity. This is summarized in the following table:

<b>Shared Forms</b>	<b>Kings Only</b>	<b>Isaiah Only</b>	<b>Total</b>
22	27	14	63
34.92%	42.86%	22.22%	100%

Once we move away from the basic, common features of Classical Hebrew, only 34.92% or about 1 of 3 of the less common linguistic forms are shared in common between the two texts of this one composition. The non-basic linguistic forms of this composition were highly fluid in its textual transmission. When we look at the twenty-two shared forms we find that, although less common, very few of them are rare: masculine plural for feminine plural (3), “say” plus *lamed* (8), five cases of לָאֵל/עָל interchange (14, 40, 47, 48, 51), some less common collocations of verbs with prepositions (17, 20, 35), two cases of תָּא plus suffix (23, 32), two cases of paragogic *nun* (31, 36), the divine name אֲדֹנָי instead of the Tetragrammaton (42), the infinitive absolute as a command (49), and absence of the directive *he* (54). More rare are two items of vocabulary (27, 62), the form of the infinitive construct of “to bear” (28), the use of “rebuke” plus *beth* (29), and the spelling of the third person masculine suffix with *he* instead of *waw* (61).

Technically, these are not the only less common linguistic forms in the parallel texts 2 Kgs 18–20//Isa 36–39, since we have in fact left out of reckoning two longer passages that are pluses with no parallel in the other text, that is, 2 Kgs 18:14–16 and Isa 38:9–20. In appendix 1 (3.3) we note another ten less common linguistic features in these pluses, which would make the overall statistics for 2 Kgs 18–20//Isa 36–39 look thus:

<b>Shared Forms</b>	<b>Kings Only</b>	<b>Isaiah Only</b>	<b>Total</b>
22	33	18	73
30.17%	45.21%	24.66%	100%

In fact, as we discussed in relation to the Kings//Jeremiah parallels, the more texts we have, the more variants we find, and the fewer less common linguistic forms are shared between our textual witnesses. Thus, not only does 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> add a significant number of linguistic variants into the mix for these chapters,<sup>52</sup> but it also presents a variant in 5 of 22 forms shared between MT Kings and MT Isaiah, or about 1 of 4 of the cases. This involves the removal from the list of shared forms of the following: both cases of paragogic *nun* (31, 36), one case of לָא/עָל interchange (48), one infinitive absolute as command (49), and a third person masculine singular suffix with *he* (61). Even without adding in all the extra variants of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, this would reduce the proportion of shared forms thus:

Shared Forms	Kings Only	Isaiah Only	Total
17	33	18	68
25%	48.53%	26.47%	100%

However, the more texts we have, the more variants we find, and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has quite a few additional linguistic variants in these chapters, boosted by some cases of repeated linguistic forms where 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> consistently prefers forms that are less common in the MT, such as *-yah* names. A quick survey of the variants of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> identified a further fifty-eight linguistic variants in these chapters, which would make the following proportions:

Shared Forms	MT Kings <sup>53</sup>	MT Isaiah <sup>54</sup>	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> Only	Total
17	33	18	58	126
13.49%	26.19%	14.29%	46.03%	100%

Even though MT Kings and MT Isaiah only agree with each other on less common linguistic features about a third of the time, comparison with 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> shows that this rate of linguistic similarity is high compared with other non-MT

<sup>52</sup> See the list of variants in Ulrich and Flint, *Isaiah*.

<sup>53</sup> We have removed the word “only” from these headings, since on a number of occasions 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> shares linguistic forms included in either of these columns. The figures for 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> however only include those forms not counted in the other columns.

<sup>54</sup> See the preceding footnote.

biblical texts. Whatever we might think of the specific linguistic variations of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, texts such as it with very different linguistic features to the MT indicate the scale of changes that can happen to the linguistic features of biblical writings in their transmission, and give us pause to wonder what other major linguistic changes might have happened before our textual evidence begins, for example, before the time when (MT) Kings and (MT) Isaiah started their separate textual transmissions from a presumably common ancestor. Only an adequate corpus of early dated biblical manuscripts could help us to begin to answer such questions.

#### 5.4.5. MT 1 KINGS 22//MT 2 CHRONICLES 18

##### 5.4.5.1. INTRODUCTION

The book of Kings shares much common (synoptic) material with Chronicles. This common material is shared either because Samuel–Kings and Chronicles were based on a common source or because Chronicles was based on a form of Samuel–Kings.<sup>55</sup> There is far too much material to do a full study, so we have chosen as our example of these synoptic passages 1 Kgs 22:4–35//2 Chr 18:3–34, which we have studied previously, although focusing then on only so-called late linguistic features of both passages.<sup>56</sup> Here we discuss the more general phenomenon of less common linguistic features.

##### 5.4.5.2. GENERAL COMMENTS

This discussion is based on features with linguistic oppositions (4.1) and rare features without linguistic oppositions (4.2) that are listed and annotated in appendix 1.<sup>57</sup>

The basic features of Classical Hebrew remain the same in the parallel texts, but once we move to forms that have options and where one form is less common than another, the less common (but not necessarily rare) linguistic features show a high degree of fluidity. This is summarized in the following table:

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<sup>55</sup> R. K. Duke, “Recent Research in Chronicles,” *CBR* 8 (2009): 10–50 (23–25). The form of Samuel–Kings used in this theory is understood to be an earlier form of Samuel–Kings than is found in the MT, that is, a *Vorlage* that was closer to the Old Greek and Qumran scrolls like 4QSam<sup>a</sup> than to the MT of Samuel–Kings. See further our discussion of this issue in chapter 6 (6.2).

<sup>56</sup> *LDBT* 1:134, 137, 353–58.

<sup>57</sup> For layouts of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendavid, *Parallels*, 111–12; Kegler and Augustin, *Synopse*, 175–77. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 233–36; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 162–67.

Shared Forms	Kings Only	Chronicles Only	Total
9	16	7	32
28.13%	50%	21.88%	100%

Once we move away from the basic, common features of Classical Hebrew, only 28.13% or less than 1 of 3 of the less common linguistic forms, are shared in common between the two texts of this one composition. The non-basic linguistic forms of these texts were highly fluid in textual transmission. When we look at the nine shared forms we find that most of them are well-attested linguistic forms: infinitives absolute in place of finite verbs (21, 22), “fight with” using the preposition אֵת (24, 25, 26), אָמַר (“to say”) with ל (30), and הִיָּה plus participle (32). Less well attested are the use of אָשֶׁר for כִּי (13), and especially the transitive use of מָהַר (8). We note further that over half of the shared forms are clustered together within two verses, that is, the two cases of infinitives absolute in place of finite verbs (21, 22), and the three cases of “fight with” using the preposition אֵת (24, 25, 26). Perhaps this clustering reduced the forms’ salience as unusual forms and hence increased their stability in textual transmission?

Given the history of research on the material shared by Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, a couple of striking points stand out. The first is that the proportion of shared less common linguistic features is higher in these texts than in other texts which we have investigated: 2 Sam 22//Ps 18 and 2 Kgs 24–25//Jer 52, and not much less than in 2 Kgs 18–20//Isa 36–39. It is evident that scholars have started from the presupposition that Chronicles altered the language of its sources, and indeed they have seen this as a characteristic feature of Chronicles. In fact, we find that the linguistic variations in this synoptic chapter are a little *less* frequent than in some other MT parallels.

The second point to note is how disproportionate the amount of unusual linguistic features found in Kings is to the relatively few less common linguistic features in Chronicles. Chronicles gives the impression of a text that has been standardized in its language to a greater extent than Kings.<sup>58</sup> These observations are relevant to the distribution of the “late” linguistic features we have noted elsewhere. Quite contrary to expectations, “late” BH Chronicles has *fewer* “late” BH features than “early” BH Kings (seven vs. eight). Furthermore, only three “late” features are shared in common, each text more than doubling its accumulation of “late” features, but in different ways.<sup>59</sup> In this passage, therefore, leaving aside the common use of verbal suffixes (the third shared

<sup>58</sup> See Young, “*Am*,” 74–79 (especially 79, with references).

<sup>59</sup> *LDBT* 1:134, 137, 353–58; Young, “*Loose*,” 110.

“late” feature), of the other fifteen linguistic forms involved in these “late” features of both texts (counting multiple attestations of the same phenomenon), only two (13%) are shared between both texts. The time has come to move on from the idea that such changeable linguistic items give us solid evidence of the language and hence date of “original” authors.

### 5.5. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PARALLEL PASSAGES

The data in this chapter, especially with regard to the parallel passages, and in both prosaic and poetic parallels, all paint the same picture. On the one hand, it is a significant observation that the very basic features we associate with Classical Hebrew are stable in our witnesses to the biblical text. No parallel text, for example, changes basic features so that it looks more like MH than BH. On the other hand, scholars in the past have drawn important conclusions based on the distribution of optional, less common linguistic forms in the MT, arguing most prominently that certain linguistic peculiarities enable us to date the composition of biblical writings. Even scholars trying to move beyond linguistic dating still struggle with the inherited idea that the language of the MT represents the language of the original authors of biblical writings. But contrary to these opinions, the very low proportion of agreement over these forms indicates that these non-basic linguistic features of the biblical compositions were transmitted with a high degree of fluidity. No pair of parallel texts, even though transmitted in the same MT textual tradition, shares more than about 1 of 3 (34.92%) of these less common linguistic features, and in the poetic section of 2 Sam 22/Ps 18 the proportion of shared forms goes down as low as only 1 of 15 (6.67%) shared features. Furthermore, we repeat our finding that the more texts we have, the more variants we find.

*All of the evidence from parallel texts in the MT indicates that the surviving texts of the biblical books are late, thoroughly revised and reworked versions of earlier texts whose distinctive linguistic features are lost to us.* We would like to emphasize the word “distinctive” in this statement. We say again that the basic features shared by almost every BH writing—“early” and “late,” MT and non-MT—are quite stable, which is not unexpected since BH as a whole is a *standard* literary language,<sup>60</sup> so that the surviving manuscripts give us no reason to doubt that the basic features of BH were characteristic of earlier compositional stages of the biblical books.<sup>61</sup> Examples of basic features include the use of *wayyiqtol* in narrative, אֲשֶׁר as the relative pronoun, or זֹאת as the feminine singular demonstrative pronoun, as opposed to the situation in MH

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<sup>60</sup> See chapter 2 (2.3.2), especially n. 43.

<sup>61</sup> This is of course not the same as proving that they were actually characteristic of early compositional layers.

where we find an absence of *wayyiqtol*, common use of the relative  $\psi$  and the feminine singular demonstrative  $\eta$ . However, there is a very large amount of work that has been done on BH which has attempted to find significance in small differences in the linguistic usage of, say, Ezekiel, and to consider that MT Ezekiel preserves linguistic peculiarities of the prophet himself.<sup>62</sup> Very prominent examples of this are the many attempts to argue for the date of a biblical composition on the basis of its language in its MT form. The data from the MT parallel passages indicate that such attempts at precision are undermined by the fluidity of just these sorts of “distinctive” data in the textual transmission of the biblical books.

It is evident, in fact, that all the categories used as evidence of “late” language are involved in the variants in the parallel passages. We have already noted in previous publications that while 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 each has six “late” linguistic features, none of them overlap precisely between the two texts.<sup>63</sup> So-called late linguistic items involved in variants in these two chapters include cases of non-assimilated  $\eta$  before a noun without the definite article, long III-*He wayyiqtol* (i.e., with final *he* retained), a *wa'eqtlah* verb (*wayyiqtol* plus cohortative), preference for the preposition  $\epsilon$ , the long masculine plural suffix on a feminine plural noun ( $\text{--}\eta\text{--}\eta\text{--}\eta$ ), and so on. In other parallels we find in addition, for example, names formed with the theophoric ending *–yah*, variations in the use of  $\text{--}\eta$  plus a suffix rather than the verbal suffix, “late” vocabulary like the noun  $\text{--}\eta$  (“kingdom, reign”), masculine plural suffixes instead of feminine plurals, non-iterative past use of the *weqatal* verbs,  $\text{--}\eta$  for  $\text{--}\eta$  in complement clauses, and non-use of directive *he*.

## 5.6. CONCLUSION

In summary, all the evidence from the parallel texts in the MT itself points in the same direction: Large-scale and basic features of Classical Hebrew only relatively rarely show variation. Less common features of Classical Hebrew are highly fluid, and the current distribution of such forms cannot be relied on as evidence of the language of particular authors at particular times and in particular places.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, it is precisely these less common features that have played a big role in historical linguistic and linguistic dating studies of BH writings.

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<sup>62</sup> See, for example, the discussion of Rooker’s views on Ezekiel’s spelling of “David” in chapter 3 (3.4).

<sup>63</sup> See *LDBT* 1:135, 137; Young, “Loose,” 110–11.

<sup>64</sup> In addition, the fluidity of linguistic items in MT parallels and in MT and non-MT biblical manuscripts has at least two other implications. It affects: (1) rates of *accumulation* of so-called late linguistic features in biblical writings (see the discussions of linguistic accumulation in *LDBT*); and (2) rates of *diffusion* of particular linguistic changes underway (as illustrated in chapter 4, 4.3.1, and in chapters 8–9).

Finally, to conclude, in this chapter we have not talked about *overall rates of linguistic variants* or summarized *general kinds of linguistic variants* in biblical writings (MT parallels or MT/non-MT manuscripts).<sup>65</sup> We take up these issues in the next chapter in our treatment of MT Samuel and the Qumran scrolls of Samuel.

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<sup>65</sup> These are matters we mentioned in chapter 4 (4.6).



## Chapter 6

### Cross-Textual Variable Analysis: Samuel Manuscripts

#### 6.1. INTRODUCTION

We have documented that there has been a tendency for scholars of BH to conduct their research and draw their conclusions on the assumption that the MT is, in effect, the original text of the Hebrew Bible (chapter 3, 3.4, 3.6). We mentioned that prominent voices such as Kutscher led scholars to think that linguistic variants in non-MT biblical manuscripts were deviations from the original language used by the biblical authors. And we mentioned that some scholars have even classified *non-MT biblical* manuscripts as *non-biblical*. We have also documented that this MT-centered attitude is at odds with the consensus of experts on the history of the text of the Bible (chapter 3, 3.5). Thus Ulrich talks about “the decentralization of the MT as *the* text of the Hebrew Bible,” since “the Qumran scrolls show that the textual form of the MT was not always the central text of the Hebrew Bible, but is simply one of several forms that existed in antiquity.”<sup>1</sup> With an eye to scholars who have seemed unaware of current scholarship on the text of the Bible, who might still be focused solely on the MT, we began our application of CTVA (chapter 4) by discussing the results of our study of linguistic variants in parallel passages *within the MT itself*, which indicate clearly that less common language features were transmitted very fluidly even within this one (MT) textual tradition (chapter 5).

Once free of the assumption that the MT is the only text of the Bible with linguistic evidence to consider, we may next consider the language of non-MT Bible manuscripts. The fact that these offer different linguistic features has been known since the beginning of critical scholarship on the Bible, since the Samaritan Pentateuch was known well before the discovery of the Qumran

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<sup>1</sup> Ulrich, “Clearer,” 122–23 (emphasis original). Ulrich goes on, in fact, in these pages, to criticize the assumption that the Tiberian Hebrew of the MT is “the original language.”

scrolls. However, already by the beginning of the nineteenth century this evidence was marginalized in the influential work done by Gesenius.<sup>2</sup> So too, evidence of quite different linguistic features was known right from the beginning of the study of the Qumran scrolls, in the form of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, whose evidence was also marginalized, as we have discussed earlier, by the influential work of Kutscher. In fact, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is just the best preserved of a number of texts that broadly share a number of orthographic and linguistic features, which Tov labels “Qumran scribal practice.”<sup>3</sup> Other texts beyond this group with highly variant linguistic details have also been discussed, such as 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> and 4QCant<sup>b</sup>.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter we continue our application of CTVA by summarizing the results of our detailed study of linguistic variants between the MT and Qumran Samuel.

This chapter proceeds along the following lines. First, we summarize research on the book of Samuel (6.2). We look in particular at views on the book’s production, including its composition and transmission, and we recap the most important textual witnesses to the book. Second, we offer several illustrations of linguistic variants in the textual witnesses to the book (6.3). These illustrations deal mainly with the MT and the biblical DSS, but we also give some examples related to the LXX, and then we discuss the relevance of linguistic variants to the issue of accumulation of LBH items in BH writings. Third, we evaluate the range of linguistic variants between the MT and Qumran scrolls of Samuel in relation to the types, statistics, and patterns of variation (6.4).

Before we enter into these other matters, however, we should say a few words about why we selected Samuel and not some other book as the object of this research. Our reasons are summarized in the following points. First, the language of (MT) Samuel specifically (and of the Former Prophets generally) has been considered a leading example of early or preexilic or Golden Age Hebrew and thus has figured centrally in many accounts of “early” vs. “late” Hebrew.<sup>5</sup> Second, and in contrast to the preceding point, aside from 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For Gesenius, the history of BH “until its extinction” is essentially the history of the MT Bible (4–68), and other evidence, such as the LXX and SP, is principally part of “the history of the Hebrew language as an extinct language, or the history of Hebrew linguistics” (Gesenius, *Geschichte*, 69–136). See further the remarks on Gesenius in chapter 2, n. 1, and chapter 4 (4.4.1).

<sup>3</sup> Tov, *Scribal*, 261–73; idem, *Textual*, 100–105.

<sup>4</sup> Rezetko, “Qumran”; Young, “Notes.”

<sup>5</sup> Thus, for example, Wellhausen said: “With regard to the Jehovistic document, all are happily agreed that, substantially in all events, in language, horizon, and other features, it dates from the golden age of Hebrew literature, to which the finest parts of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and the oldest extant prophetic writings also belong,—the period of the kings and prophets which preceded the dissolution of the two Israelite

which we discussed previously,<sup>6</sup> the linguistic characteristics and linguistic variants of other Qumran scrolls have largely gone unappreciated, thus the Qumran scrolls of Samuel which, while long recognized as relatively rich sources of textual evidence, have not generally been noted for their unusual linguistic profiles.<sup>7</sup> The preceding points are two general reasons as to why we thought a study of the language of Samuel would be interesting. But we should probably confess up front that in fact we just happen to like the book a lot, or at least one of us does! There are nevertheless several other practical reasons for our selection of this book. First, Samuel is one of the longest books in the MT Bible, third after Kings and Chronicles in terms of words, or second after only Kings in terms of graphic units. This means that the book might be expected to supply altogether more varied linguistic material than many and probably most other books in the Bible, such as, for example, the book of Ruth. Second, Samuel has the advantage that it is (partially) represented by four Qumran scrolls (1QSam, 4QSam<sup>a,b,c</sup>), and while it does not fare as well as, for example, Isaiah which is represented extensively in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and numerous other scrolls, Samuel is actually much better off than most other biblical books, and the manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in particular is a sizeable textual witness compared to most other biblical scrolls.<sup>8</sup> Third, the extensive 4QSam<sup>a</sup> scroll also shares the

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kingdoms...” (J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* [Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885], 9). Similarly, Driver remarked: “The purest and best Hebrew prose style is that of JE and the earlier narratives incorporated in Jud. Sam. Kings: Dt. (though of a different type) is also thoroughly classical...” (S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* [9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913], 505; cf. 124). Likewise, we find that the most frequently cited biblical books in grammars such as Joüon–Muraoka’s are Genesis and Samuel, and we may safely presume that it is largely these books about which they speak when they say: “This grammar, especially the syntax, is based mainly on classical prose texts, and good narrative texts in particular” (JM §3d, p. 11 n. 1; emphasis added).

<sup>6</sup> See chapter 3 (3.4) and chapter 4 (4.4.2.2). Several other books and manuscripts are cited in chapter 4 (4.4.2).

<sup>7</sup> Note, for example, Tov’s remark: “Some texts exemplified by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>...display a great number of differences in orthography and morphology, whereas the relation is reversed in the texts exemplified by 4QSam<sup>a</sup>...: differences in morphology and orthography are few, in contrast to the large number of other types of differences in both major and minor details” (Tov, *Textual*, 105). Similarly, the language of Samuel is not discussed in the articles by Abegg, Fassberg, and Muraoka that we surveyed in chapter 4 (4.4.2.1). For example, Abegg refers to Samuel only once (Abegg, “Biblical,” 167), and in his conclusion he mentions several manuscripts that have “notable syntactic variation,” and the manuscripts he mentions specifically are 4QExod-Lev<sup>f</sup>, 4QDeut<sup>k2</sup>, 4QKgs, and 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (ibid., 172).

<sup>8</sup> Only the following scrolls attest more than 1,000 graphic units (in canonical order): 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>, 4QNum<sup>b</sup>, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, MurXII, and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Only the following scrolls attest more than 5% of the graphic units of their respective MT books

interesting characteristic that it, like 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, is regarded as a “non-aligned” (and, as for 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, also close to the presumed Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX) in its textual character, as opposed to some of the other extensive scrolls which are considered proto-Masoretic or pre-Samaritan in Tov’s classification.<sup>9</sup> However, at the same time, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is not variant from the MT in an excessive or abnormal way, and in fact the rate of variation between these is quite average in the context of the scrolls more generally. We discuss statistical matters related to Qumran Samuel in more detail in 6.4. Fourth, and finally, we explain in our discussion of textual witnesses why the “poor” MT of Samuel is not an obstacle to our qualitative and quantitative analysis in this chapter.

## 6.2. BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE BOOK OF SAMUEL

The composition-transmission history of Samuel is complex. Over time, assessments of the book’s production have moved from traditional Jewish and Christian views of a mostly unified book, to a combination of two or more horizontally interlaced layers or strands, to a slightly edited arrangement of vertical end-to-end blocks or documents, full circle to final-form readings of the book as a relatively cohesive whole. Today many in one way or another may still favor the third option, that Samuel is primarily made up of earlier sources, such as the so-called Court History/Succession Narrative (2 Sam 9–20 + 1 Kgs 1–2), which at some point in time (a) Deuteronomistic editor(s) included, with minimal intervention, in a larger more or less unified History reaching from Deuteronomy through Kings (the so-called Deuteronomistic History). Recently, however, other views have gained momentum, including the view that some “early” sources are later supplements in the book’s developmental history. An example is the Court History/Succession Narrative in general and the Bathsheba story (2 Sam 11–12) in particular.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the truth is in this case, the overall

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(in canonical order): 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>, 11QpaleoLev<sup>a</sup>, 4QNum<sup>b</sup>, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>, MurXII, 4QXII<sup>e</sup>, 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, 4QCant<sup>a</sup>, 4QCant<sup>b</sup>, 4QLam, 5QLam<sup>a</sup>, and 4QDan<sup>a</sup>. The numbers were determined on the basis of graphic units in MT books in *VOT* and graphic units in biblical DSS in Young, “Biblical Scrolls.”

<sup>9</sup> Tov, *Textual*, 107–10.

<sup>10</sup> For various takes on these views see A. G. Auld, *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld* (SOTSM; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 45–61, 207–8, 218–19; R. C. Bailey, “Samuel, Books of,” in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. D. N. Freedman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1163–65; K. De Troyer, “Looking at Bathsheba with Text-Critical Eyes,” in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. N. David, A. Lange, K. De Troyer, and S. Tzoref; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 84–94; J. W. Flanagan, “Court History or Succession Document: A Study of 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2,” *JBL* 91 (1972): 172–81; S. Frolov, “Succession Narrative: A ‘Document’ or a Phantom?,” *JBL* 121 (2002): 81–104;

scholarly consensus is that the book evolved into its current form in the MT through a lengthy period of literary and textual development. It is recognized by most scholars that the book contains some of the oldest (preexilic) Israelite historiography, by literary critics that the book has postexilic additions and alterations, and by textual critics that the text(s) of the book was fluid until around the Common Era.<sup>11</sup> In such a framework therefore, talking about “the

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S. L. McKenzie, *King David: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34–35, 155–61; idem, “Ledavid (for David)! ‘Except in the Matter of Uriah the Hittite,’” in *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel* (ed. A. G. Auld and E. Eynikel; BETL 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 307–13; idem, “The So-Called Succession Narrative in the Deuteronomistic History,” in *Die sogenannte Thronfolgeschichte Davids: Neue Einsichten und Anfragen* (ed. A. de Pury and T. Römer; OBO 176; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 2000), 123–35; T. Römer, *The So-called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 94–95, 147; J. C. Treballe Barrera, “Samuel/Kings and Chronicles: Book Divisions and Textual Composition,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P. W. Flint, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 96–108; J. Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 277–91; idem, “The Court History and DtrH,” in *Die sogenannte Thronfolgeschichte Davids: Neue Einsichten und Anfragen* (ed. A. de Pury and T. Römer; OBO 176; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 2000), 70–93.

<sup>11</sup> Hebrew Bible introductions and Samuel commentaries discuss such issues. For a bibliographical survey from a leading expert see A. G. Auld, “1–2 Samuel,” in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Biblical Studies* (<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195393361/obo-9780195393361-0086.xml>). State-of-the-art research is collected in A. G. Auld and E. Eynikel, eds., *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel* (BETL 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2010); C. Edenburg and J. Pakkala, eds., *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History* (SBLAIL 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013); P. Hugo and A. Schenker, eds., *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (VTSup 132; Leiden: Brill, 2010). Among recent introductions see G. Hentschel, “Die Samuelbücher,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (ed. E. Zenger; 7th ed.; Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie 1,1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 230–38; C. Nihan and D. Nocquet, “1–2 Samuel,” in *Introduction à l’Ancien Testament* (ed. T. Römer, J.-D. Macchi, and C. Nihan; MdB 49; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2009), 358–83. Rezetko surveys recent scholarship and lists numerous data supporting the complexity of Samuel’s preexilic, exilic, and postexilic production (Rezetko, *Source*, 7–15 [especially 10–12 n. 24]). In chapter 3, n. 217, we cite Aejmelaeus, Carr, and Schenker as examples of scholars who argue that the current MT in many details reflects editorial revision in the last centuries B.C.E. Other articles relevant to Samuel in this regard are available in Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Treballe Barrera, eds., *After Qumran*; Dávid, Lange, De Troyer, and Tzoref, eds., *Hebrew*; Müller, Pakkala, and ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence*; Piquer Otero and Torijano Morales, eds., *Textual*; von Weissenberg, Pakkala, and Marttila, eds., *Changes*.

date” of “the book” is, from these scholars’ perspective, no less than misleading and in actual fact inconceivable.<sup>12</sup>

The view that “the text” of Samuel did not reach its final form until c. 100 C.E. is often contested by language scholars, and some literary scholars. Many Hebraists, for example, would say that indicators of LBH in MT Samuel are very limited or totally absent from the book, and therefore in their view the book in its MT form must date mostly or entirely to the preexilic period. Actually, though, such an assessment does not reflect the linguistic facts of the book (see below) and its validity anyhow is contingent on the conventional EBH–LBH periodization. Moreover, it is in fact the case that empirical evidence has survived for the late stage of the book’s development, and—actually—for this late stage *only*. We remind the reader that there is no manuscript evidence for the text of the Hebrew Bible prior to the third century B.C.E. The main evidence for the text of Samuel comes in the form of the Qumran scrolls and the Greek translation.

As a generalization the scholarly consensus is that the Chronicler and the Greek translator “worked from a version of Samuel rather like 4QSam<sup>a</sup> had been, when still complete,” and in MT Samuel “we find two main sorts of difference: accidental loss and separate development.”<sup>13</sup> Rezetko, for example, has argued on the basis of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other textual witnesses of Samuel and Chronicles<sup>14</sup> that “Samuel’s editors in the period of the Second Temple considerably reshaped an earlier version of the story of David’s ark transfer. Consequently, many textual and linguistic details attested in MT 2 Sam 6 are secondary and often later than details in the parallel texts of MT 1 Chron 13, 15–16.”<sup>15</sup> Refinements and explanations of the general statements here, especially regarding the complex matter of the Greek translation and recensions and their relationships to the MT and Qumran Samuel, are available elsewhere and so we will not go into more detail about them here.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See Rezetko, “What,” 239–41.

<sup>13</sup> A. G. Auld, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 5.

<sup>14</sup> MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, LXX<sup>A</sup>, LXX<sup>B</sup>, LXX<sup>L</sup> (boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>), other LXX manuscripts, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Theodoret of Cyrillus, Josephus, Targums, Peshitta, Jacob of Edessa, Vetus Latina, Vulgate, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Rezetko, *Source*, 3.

<sup>16</sup> On the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other witnesses and the textual criticism of Samuel see Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 4–7; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 25–27, 221–24, 252–54; F. M. Cross and R. Saley, “A Statistical Analysis of the Textual Character of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (4Q51),” *DSD* 13 (2006): 46–54; P. Hugo, “Text History of the Books of Samuel: An Assessment of the Recent Research,” in *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (ed. P. Hugo and A. Schenker; VTSup 132; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–19; R. W. Klein, *I Samuel* (2d ed.; WBC 10; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2008),

For the purposes of this book we have made regular use of the following text-editions and other resources related to the texts of Samuel:

<b>MT Samuel</b>	<i>BHS</i>
<b>Qumran Samuel</b>	1QSam: Barthélemy <sup>17</sup> 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : Cross, Parry, and Saley <sup>18</sup> 4QSam <sup>b</sup> : Cross, Parry, and Saley <sup>19</sup> 4QSam <sup>c</sup> : Ulrich <sup>20</sup> As a matter of convenience we refer to “Cross et al., <i>Samuel</i> ” when citing any of the above-mentioned publications in DJD 1 and 17. In another publication Ulrich provides the texts and variants for all four scrolls. <sup>21</sup>
<b>LXX Samuel</b>	LXX: Rahlfs <sup>22</sup> LXX <sup>B</sup> : Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray <sup>23</sup> LXX <sup>L</sup> : Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz <sup>24</sup>

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xxv–xxviii, xxxix–xl; F. H. Polak, “Samuel, First and Second Books of,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:819–23; A. Ravasco, “La storia del testo di Samuele alla luce della documentazione di Qumran” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pisa, 2009), 27–39; Rezetko, *Source*, 31–38; E. Ulrich, “A Qualitative Assessment of the Textual Profile of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, and E. J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 147–61.

<sup>17</sup> D. Barthélemy, “Livres de Samuel,” in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, with contributions by R. de Vaux, G. M. Crowfoot, H. J. Plenderleith, and G. L. Harding; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 64–65.

<sup>18</sup> F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, and R. J. Saley, “51. 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4, Volume 12: 1–2 Samuel* (ed. F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, R. J. Saley, and E. Ulrich; DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 1–216.

<sup>19</sup> F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, and R. J. Saley, “52. 4QSam<sup>b</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4, Volume 12: 1–2 Samuel* (ed. F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, R. J. Saley, and E. Ulrich; DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 219–46.

<sup>20</sup> E. Ulrich, “53. 4QSam<sup>c</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4, Volume 12: 1–2 Samuel* (ed. F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, R. J. Saley, and E. Ulrich; DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 247–67.

<sup>21</sup> Ulrich, *Biblical*, 259–322.

<sup>22</sup> A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (2 vols. in 1; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

<sup>23</sup> A. E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek* (9 parts in 3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906–1940).

<sup>24</sup> N. Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega, Volume 1: 1–2 Samuel* (Textos y Estudios «Cardenal Cisneros» de la Biblia Políglota Matritense 50; Madrid: Instituto de Filología, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Departamento de Filología Bíblica y de Oriente Antiguo, 1989).

**Digital Resources**

In addition to the MT and LXX resources available in Accordance, BibleWorks, and Logos, we use Accordance's Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Corpus and Biblical DSS Manuscripts Variants module.

**Commentaries**

In our research for this book, especially as it relates to appendix 2, and in addition to the discussions of variants in the DJD volumes (cited above), we have made regular use of the commentaries by Auld, Driver, McCarter, Smith, Tsumura, and Ulrich.<sup>25</sup>

Two final remarks will bring this section to a close. First, in keeping with our treatment of textual criticism in chapter 2, like other textual critics our standpoint on the texts of Samuel is well-expressed by the words of Ravasco who says, following a detailed treatment of textual variants, "The original text of Samuel is not directly represented by any witness in particular...Each witness therefore may have either primary or secondary variants, and no one represents the text of Samuel."<sup>26</sup> Consequently, when undertaking text-critical research on Samuel it is ideally necessary to study each variant independently in order to determine possible explanations for variants between the texts. However, as we explained in chapter 3 (3.5.3), the synonymy of linguistic variants effectively makes it impossible in many, and probably most, cases to determine the relative sequence of linguistic forms/uses, and so often all we can do is make observations about the texts without drawing any definitive conclusions.

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<sup>25</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*; S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel, with an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions, and Facsimiles of Inscriptions and Maps* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890); P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 8; Garden City: Doubleday, 1980); idem, *II Samuel*; H. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1899); D. T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007); E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978). For the purposes of this book we have not made systematic use of the following commentaries which also have many relevant text-critical observations: A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* (WBC 11; Dallas: Word, 1989); Klein, *1 Samuel*; O. Thénien, *Die Bücher Samuels* (KEHAT; Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1842); J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871). Note, however, that many of Thénien's and Wellhausen's insights are incorporated in the commentaries we have regularly considered.

<sup>26</sup> Ravasco, "Storia," 254; cf. idem, "Reflections on the Textual Transmission of the Books of Samuel," *RevQ* 23 (2008): 405–13 (412). The original statement is: "Il testo originale di Samuele non è direttamente rappresentato da nessun testimone in particolare...Ogni testimone quindi può avere varianti primarie o secondarie, e nessuno rappresenta il testo di Samuele."

Second, we remarked above that the “poor” MT of Samuel is not an obstacle to our qualitative and quantitative analysis in this chapter (6.1). The “poor” state of the text has to do mostly with its shortness, due to many instances of haplography, but otherwise the texts of this book present the same kinds of pluses, minuses, substitutions, and rearrangements, both unintentional and intentional, which we find in other biblical writings. MT Samuel is a perfectly readable book and its linguistic features are as analyzable as those of other biblical books. Tsevat expresses the matter well:

Although Samuel has the reputation that its text is among the worst of the OT books, this is not evident to the ordinary reader. Whereas innumerable textual difficulties, commonly traced to corruptions and expansions, often frustrate the simple understanding of Ezekiel and some other books, the reader of Samuel advances through chapter after chapter without being arrested by significant difficulties traceable to deterioration of text. This is not to deny that Samuel has its share of obstacles to understanding because of textual corruption...But the generalizing condemnation of the Received Text...is probably occasioned by the existence of a relatively great variety of different text forms rather than by its obscurity.<sup>27</sup>

### 6.3. ILLUSTRATIONS OF LINGUISTIC VARIANTS IN THE BOOK OF SAMUEL

#### 6.3.1. DSS VARIANTS

##### 6.3.1.1. SYNOPSIS OF DSS VARIANTS

We introduced CTVA in chapter 4 (4.4.2) where we also reviewed some previous work on biblical manuscripts from within this general framework, although apparently we are the first to use “cross-textual variable analysis” in the context of BH studies. In the remainder of this chapter we *illustrate* and *evaluate* linguistic differences between the MT and Qumran Samuel (6.3 and 6.4). A variable, we will recall, is a set of two or more variants that may be used alternatively to say the same thing, and linguistic variants, we also will recall, are to be distinguished from orthographic and content variants. Since, however, almost any textual variant may potentially have linguistic significance, we generally understand linguistic variants to be the kinds of things, morphological and syntactical, that are discussed in grammars of BH (GKC, JM, WO, etc.).

Appendix 2 contains an extensive commentary on linguistic variants between the MT and Qumran Samuel. In this book we refer to this commentary as “Qumran Samuel.” We do not claim that we have identified and/or discussed

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<sup>27</sup> M. Tsevat, “Samuel, I and II,” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia: Supplementary Volume* (ed. K. Crim; Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 777–81 (777).

and/or examined *thoroughly every* linguistic variant between these sources. We may have overlooked or misjudged some examples. Furthermore, our discussions in appendix 2 could be amplified substantially by including more textual witnesses, more points of view and textual and literary arguments by commentators, and even more detailed discussion of many linguistic matters. It is also important to realize that we have not treated reconstructed variants, including reconstructions dependent on space considerations, even though some of them seem extremely likely. Below we summarize the types, statistics, and patterns of variation we have discovered (6.5). But before we do that we give a summary of some key findings and we discuss several examples in more detail (directive *he* and iterative *weqatal*).

Despite the relative lack of attention to the linguistic features of the Qumran Samuel manuscripts, we discovered a high degree of linguistic variation between them and the MT. Once again, this conformed to the pattern we discovered in regard to the parallel passages (chapter 5 and appendix 1). In general the basic, common features of BH remain relatively stable in the texts. Thus, for example, although we discuss fifteen cases of variants related to the definite article (Qumran Samuel, 5.4), these still represent a small proportion of the overall usage of this very basic Hebrew feature. Once we move to less common features of Classical Hebrew, however, the degree of linguistic variation becomes quite striking. Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence for Qumran Samuel, in many cases we are left with only a few cases of variation, representing a high proportion of the attested cases, but not knowing whether this high proportion of variation would remain high if we had more evidence preserved. For example, only two cases are preserved where one text has a paragogic *nun* on a verb, and neither is paralleled in the other text (Qumran Samuel, 4.6). Is this an indication of a high rate of variability of this feature in the manuscripts, or is it just due to the accident that only these two examples are preserved?

Given even the limitations of the evidence, it is the case that there are very many linguistic features that exhibit a high degree of variation in the textual witnesses to Samuel. To give an impression of this linguistic diversity we summarize some significant results of studies which involve more than a very few examples:

- 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 1QSam always disagree with the MT and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> on the spelling of “David” (Qumran Samuel, 2.1).
- In 1 of 3 cases (3/9, 33.33%) the first person singular independent pronoun is subject to textual variation (Qumran Samuel, 3.1.1).
- In 4 of 9 cases (44.44%) where at least one of the texts attests **נא** plus suffix there is evidence of a variant reading (Qumran Samuel, 4.3).
- There is a total of ten cases where either a Qumran Samuel manuscript or the MT attests a paronomastic infinitive absolute, and only half the time

(5/10, 50%) do both manuscripts agree on the presence of the infinitive (Qumran Samuel, 4.5.1).

- Although there are disagreements about the interpretation of a number of forms, in any case we have no examples (0%) where the MT and Qumran Samuel agree on the use of the predicative infinitive absolute (Qumran Samuel, 4.5.2).
- The MT of Samuel is well known for mixing the form of the name Jonathan (יִזְחָן) with Jehonathan (יְהוֹנָתָן). 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, however, always has Jehonathan, while 4QSam<sup>b</sup> always has Jonathan (Qumran Samuel, 5.1).
- Of the fifty-three examples where at least one of the texts has the preposition עַל, 22 (41.51%), or more than 2 of every 5 of the uses of the preposition, are not found in the other text (Qumran Samuel, 6.1).
- Of the ninety examples where at least one of the texts has the preposition אֶל, 35 (38.89%), or nearly 2 of 5 of the uses of the preposition, are not found in the other text (Qumran Samuel, 6.2).
- Contrary to the distinctive feature of MT Samuel, where in regard to “from the” there is an even mix of assimilated (מֵהָ) with non-assimilated (מִן הָ) *nun* forms, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has an 11–0 preference for the non-assimilated form (Qumran Samuel, 6.3).
- There are twenty-three occasions where one or more of the witnesses has the preposition עִם, with a rate of variation of 7/23 (30.43%), or approaching 1 of 3 (Qumran Samuel, 6.6).
- Of the fourteen cases where either the MT or Qumran Samuel has the preposition אִתּוֹ (“with”), we have a rate of variation of 4/14, or 28.57%, or more than 1 of 4 (Qumran Samuel, 6.6).
- In half (4/8, 50%) of the cases where at least one of the texts has אֲנִי (“please”), there is a variant (Qumran Samuel, 6.14).
- There are very many interchanges of vocabulary (Qumran Samuel, 7).

These results illustrate the general trend of the evidence from Qumran Samuel and the MT for less common linguistic forms to exhibit a high level of variation. They fit well with all the considerations we have discussed so far, from the general picture of the nature of the biblical text held by specialists (chapter 3), to the actual evidence from the MT itself in its parallel passages (chapter 5). Basic features of BH remain stable in the transmission of the text, at least as far as our current evidence goes. Less common features are highly variant, and the current distribution of such forms in the MT cannot be used as solid evidence for drawing conclusions about the linguistic usage of individual authors, or of particular historical periods. That a text which exhibits so much fluidity in its fragmentary, late-attested witnesses (not to mention what went on before this time) could be used as fairly precise evidence of the language of an original author some hundreds of years earlier, in fact seems wildly implausible.

## 6.3.1.2. ILLUSTRATIONS OF DSS VARIANTS

6.3.1.2.1. DIRECTIVE *HE*

Our first detailed example of linguistic variation in the MT and Qumran Samuel is the directive *he*. The predominant uses of the directive (or locative) *he* (הֵ-/-) in the MT are to express movement toward a place, location at a place, and movement through time.<sup>28</sup> The affirmative appears primarily on nouns, both common and proper, and on adverbs. As for chronology, it is argued that the directive *he* decreased in frequency from “early” to “late” Hebrew (LBH, QH, MH).<sup>29</sup> In this section we limit our observations to variations, pluses and minuses, in the MT and Qumran Samuel. A commentary on the differences between the manuscripts is given in Qumran Samuel (5.2). The CTVA of this feature is developed further by a VA and more detailed discussion, including discussion of variations between manuscripts of other biblical writings, in chapter 9 (9.4).

Here is what we find when we look at the actual facts of the manuscripts. In thirteen instances the MT and Qumran Samuel agree on the presence of the directive *he*:

MT = 4QSam <sup>a</sup> (x9)	1 Sam 2:19 (ימימה); 3:19 (ארצה); 14:32 (ארצה); 30:25 (ומעלה); 2 Sam 2:12 (גבעונה); 5:1 (חברונה), 9 (וביתה); 12:16 (ארצה); 20:10 (ארצה)
MT = 4QSam <sup>b</sup> (x3)	1 Sam 20:41 <sup>30</sup> (ארצה); 21:2 (גבה); 22:9 (גבה)
MT = 4QSam <sup>c</sup> (x1)	2 Sam 14:31 (הביתה)

In contrast to the thirteen agreements, in nine other instances the MT and Qumran Samuel disagree on the presence of the directive *he*, which is a plus two times in the MT and seven times in Qumran Samuel:

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, GKC §90a–i, pp. 248–51; JM §93c–f, pp. 256–58; WO §10.5, pp. 185–86.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Joosten, “Distinction,” 337–38.

<sup>30</sup> In *LDBT* we mistakenly wrote 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam 20:14 instead of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam 20:41 (*LDBT* 1:350 n. 21).

<b>Table 6.2</b> <b>Disagreements between the MT and Qumran Samuel Manuscripts on Directive <i>He</i></b> <b><i>He</i> in MT // <i>He</i> not in DSS</b>	
2 Sam 4:3	MT: ויברחו הבארתים גתים ("And the Beerothites fled to Gittaim") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : ויברחו הברתים גתים ("And the Beerothites fled to Gittaim")
2 Sam 8:2	MT: וימדדם בחבל השכב אותם ארצה ("And he measured them with the line making them lie down on the ground") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : וימדדם בחבל השכב אותם [א]רץ ("And he measured them with the line making them lie down on the ground")

<b>Table 6.3</b> <b>Disagreements between the MT and Qumran Samuel Manuscripts on Directive <i>He</i></b> <b><i>He</i> not in MT // <i>He</i> in DSS</b>	
1 Sam 5:9	MT: ויהי אחרי הסבו אתו ("And it was after they moved it") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : ויהי אחרי סבו גתה ("And it was after it came to Gath")
1 Sam 5:11	MT: כבדה מאד יד האלהים שם ("The hand of God was very heavy there") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : [כבדה מאד כבוא ארון האלוהים ש]מה ("...very heavy, when the ark of God came there")
1 Sam 21:1	MT: ויקם וילך ויונתן בא העיר ("And he arose and left; and Jonathan went to the city") 4QSam <sup>b</sup> : ויקם וילך ויונתן בא העירה ("And he arose and left; and Jonathan went to the city")
1 Sam 27:11	MT: ואיש ואשה לאיחיה דוד להביא גת ("And David did not leave alive a man or a woman to bring to Gath") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : ואיש ואשה לא יחיה דויד להביא גתה ("And David did not leave alive a man or a woman to bring to Gath")
2 Sam 2:29	MT: ויבאו מחנים ("And they came to Mahanaim") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : [מח]נימה ("...to Mahanaim")
2 Sam 3:27	MT: וישב אבנר חברון ("And Abner returned to Hebron") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : ויש[ב אבנר] ה[ב]ר[ו]נה ("And Abner returned to Hebron")
2 Sam 15:29	MT: וישב צדוק ואביתר את ארון האלהים ירושלם ("And Zadok and Abiathar returned the ark of God to Jerusalem") 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : [וישב צדוק ואביתר את ארון האלוהים ירו]שלימה ("And Zadok and Abiathar returned the ark of God to Jerusalem")

There are two pluses in the MT compared to 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, six pluses in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> compared to the MT, and one plus in 4QSam<sup>b</sup> compared to the MT.<sup>31</sup> The nature of the biblical manuscript evidence does not permit us to determine with certainty where the directive *he* was added and omitted, but in the balance of cases it seems more probable that the MT has a secondary reading.<sup>32</sup>

There are twenty-two cases where either the MT or Qumran Samuel attests a form with the directive *he*. The grammar is comparable in these sources. There

<sup>31</sup> In addition, 4QSam<sup>b</sup> has a word with directive *he* and the entire word absent from the MT (1 Sam 20:36; העירה).

<sup>32</sup> See the discussions of individual variants in Qumran Samuel (5.2).

are no consequential differences in usage. Of these cases, 9 of the 22 are cases where these manuscripts of Samuel differ from each other. This means that the use of this linguistic form varies in 41% of the attestations. Of the nine cases of variation, seven of them, or about 78%, are cases where it is the MT that is missing the directive *he*.

There are 103 occurrences of directive *he* in MT Samuel, which follows only the MT books of Genesis, Joshua, and Ezekiel in its frequency of usage of this particle. The Qumran manuscripts of Samuel unfortunately have not survived to attest most (88,<sup>33</sup> or about 85%) of the MT tokens. Therefore we cannot know where else the MT and Qumran scrolls agreed or disagreed in these cases, just as we cannot know where else the Qumran scrolls—agreeing or disagreeing with each other—had the directive *he* compared to zero-instances in the MT.<sup>34</sup>

We look further at the directive *he* in chapter 9 (9.4) and in Qumran Samuel (5.2). For now we can draw the following conclusions. First, the language of biblical writings was changed by editors and scribes, and it is reasonable to be somewhat suspicious about the individual occurrences of linguistic items. In this section we have looked at one feature in manuscripts of one book, and we have found that the occurrences of that feature were very fluid in the late(st) stage of Samuel's development. Second, because there are so many occurrences of the directive *he* in MT Samuel, and because there are more pluses than minuses in the Qumran scrolls, it seems likely that the particle had a relatively common pattern of usage in earlier forms of the book. However, elsewhere in BH the directive *he* occurs much less frequently and/or there is minimal or no manuscript evidence beyond the MT, and therefore we can be much less certain about the history of addition and omission of directive *he* in those books.

#### 6.3.1.2.2. ITERATIVE *WEQATAL*

Our second detailed example of linguistic variation in the MT and Qumran Samuel is iterative *weqatal*. The *weqatal* verb, or *waw* plus *qatal*, usually relates to the (relative) future in BH,<sup>35</sup> and less often to a single action in the (relative) past,<sup>36</sup> or to iterative (or repeated) action in the (relative) past.<sup>37</sup> Here our focus

<sup>33</sup> 103–13–2=88.

<sup>34</sup> Zero-instances are cases where a linguistic variant could have been used but was not. Compare, for example, the plus of the directive *he* in לְבוֹא הָעִירָה (MT 2 Sam 17:17) with the minus in לְבוֹא הָעִיר (MT 2 Sam 19:4). The absence of the directive *he* in the latter is a zero-instance.

<sup>35</sup> For example: וְהָכֵן וְהִינֵנוּ לָכֵם לְעַבְדִּים אִם-יִוָּכַל לְהִלָּחֵם אִתִּי (“If he is able to fight with me and kill me then we will become your servants”; 1 Sam 17:9a).

<sup>36</sup> For example: וּלְבַשׁ שְׂאוֹל אֶת-דָּוִד מְדִיּוֹ וְנָתַן קֹבַע נְחֹשֶׁת עַל-רֵאשׁוֹ שְׂאוֹל (“And Saul clothed David with his garment and he put a bronze helmet on his head”; 1 Sam 17:38a).

is mainly on the use of *weqatal* for iterative action in the past.<sup>38</sup> As for chronology, it is argued that iterative *weqatal* decreased in frequency from “early” to “late” Hebrew, and in fact that it never occurs in LBH and later literature (QH, MH).<sup>39</sup> In this section we focus mainly on variations, pluses and minuses, in the MT and Qumran Samuel. A commentary on the differences between the manuscripts is given in Qumran Samuel (4.4, and in several other sections cited below).

The table overleaf gives the agreements and disagreements between the MT and Qumran Samuel manuscripts in relation to iterative *weqatal*.

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<sup>37</sup> For example: **וּצְאָתִי אַחֲרָיו וְהִכְתִּיו וְהִצְלִתִּי מִפִּי** (“And I would [used to] go out after it and I would strike it and I would rescue [it] from its mouth”; 1 Sam 17:35a).

<sup>38</sup> In addition to “iterative” and “repeated,” other related terms are “customary,” “frequentative,” “habitual,” and so on. Some other terms used in the literature include “continuous,” “durative,” “imperfective,” and the like. However, “customary,” etc. and “continuous,” etc. are not identical concepts, the former more closely related to an activity and the latter to a state. On the iterative and other uses of *weqatal* in past-time contexts see, for example, GKC §112e–1, dd, gg–hh, kk, oo, rr–tt, pp. 331–32, 335–39; JM §119u–za, pp. 373–77; WO §32.2–32.3, pp. 525–42 *passim*; S. R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew and Some Other Syntactical Questions* (3d ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1892), §120–121, 130–134, pp. 142–49, 158–64. Here we will not enter into a discussion about the stress distinction between *weqatálti* (Joosten:  $w^c$  + QATAL) and *weqatalí* (Joosten: WEQATAL), or conjunctive/copulative/simple/etc. *waw* and consecutive/conversive/relative/etc. *waw*, respectively, the former generally linked to a single past action and the latter to a future action or an iterative past action. See, for example, Joosten, *Verbal*, 15–16, 223–28 ( $w^c$  + QATAL), 288–308 (WEQATAL).

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, Joosten, *Verbal*, 402–4; cf. idem, “Clues,” 352–53; idem, “Disappearance”; idem, “Gesenius,” 104.

<b>Table 6.4</b> <b>Agreements and Disagreements between</b> <b>the MT and Qumran Samuel Manuscripts on Iterative <i>Weqatal</i><sup>40</sup></b>	
1 Sam 2:16	<p>MT: <b>ויאמר</b> אליו האיש קטר יקטירון כיום החלב וקח־לך כאשר תאווה נפשך <b>ואמר</b> [לא] [לא] (“And [if] the man said to him, ‘Surely let them burn first the fat, and take for yourself anything your soul desires,’ and he would say, ‘No [Qere]...’”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>a</sup>: <b>וענה</b> האיש <b>ואמ[מ]ר</b> אל נער הכוהן יקטר הכוהן כיום ה[חלב] וקח לך <b>ואמר</b> לא [לא] (“And [if] the man would answer and he would say to the priest’s servant, ‘Let the priest burn first the fat, and take for yourself everything which your soul desires,’ and he would say, ‘No...’”)</p>
1 Sam 2:19	<p>MT: <b>ומעיל קטן תעשה־לו</b> אמו <b>והעלתה</b> לו מימים ימימה (“And his mother would make a little robe for him and she would bring it up to him year by year...”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>a</sup>: <b>ומעיל קטן</b> תעשה [לו אמו <b>והע</b>]לתה לו מימים ימימה (“And his mother would make a little robe for him and she would bring it up to him year by year...”)</p>
1 Sam 2:20	<p>MT: <b>וברך</b> עלי את־אלקנה ואת־אשתו <b>ואמר</b> ישם יהוה לך זרע מן־האשה הזאת (“And Eli would bless Elkanah and his wife, and he would say, ‘May YHWH give you seed from this woman in place of the request the he requested from YHWH,’ and they would go to his place.”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>a</sup>: <b>וברך</b> על[י] את א[לקנה ואת אשתו] <b>לאמר</b> ישלם י[הוה] לך זרע מן <b>וילך</b> האשה הזאת תח[ת השאלה] אשר השאיל[ת לי] הוה <b>וילך</b> האיש למקומו (“And Eli would bless Elkanah and his wife, saying, ‘May YHWH repay you with seed from this woman in place of the request that you requested from YHWH,’ and the man went to his place.”)</p>
1 Sam 2:22	<p>MT: <b>ועלי זקן מאד ושמע את כל־אשר יעשון בניו לכל־ישראל</b> (“And Eli was very old and he would hear everything his sons were doing to all Israel...”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>a</sup>: <b>ועלי זקן מאד בן תשעים שנה</b> [ושמונה שנים] <b>וישמע</b> את [אשר] <b>ועו</b>שים בניו לבני ישראל (“And Eli was very old, a son of ninety-eight years, and he heard everything his sons were doing to the sons of Israel...”)</p>

<sup>40</sup> Some other *weqatal* forms in the MT and/or Qumran Samuel are excluded from consideration here since it is doubtful, or at least uncertain, that they are iterative (see Qumran Samuel, 4.4, and below). Parallel verbs in the texts of each verse are highlighted with the same color.

2 Sam 12:16	<p>MT: ויבקש דוד את־האלהים בעד הנער ויצם דוד צום ובא ולן ושכב ארצה (“And David sought God concerning the child and David fasted a fast and he would go in and he would spend the night and he would lay on the ground.”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>a</sup>: ויבקש [דו]י[ד מן האלוהים בעד הנער וי]צם דוד ויב[ו]א [ו]לן ושכב בשק (“And David sought from God concerning the child and David fasted and he went in and he lay in sackcloth on the ground.”)</p>
2 Sam 15:2	<p>MT: והשכים אבשלום ועמד עלי־יד דרך השער יהי כל־האיש אשר־יהיה־ליריב לבוא אל־המלך למשפט ויקרא אבשלום אליו ויאמר אי־מזה עיר אתה ויאמר מאחד שבטי־ישראל עבדך (“And Absalom would rise early and he would stand beside the way of the gate, and it was, whenever a man had a case that was to come to the king for judgment, Absalom called to him and he said, ‘From what city are you?’, and he said, ‘From one of the tribes of Israel is your servant.’”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>a</sup>: [ואבש]לום [השכם ועמד] על יד הדרך [וה]יה [כ]ול איש [אשר יהיה לו ריב לבוא אל המלך א]ל המשפט וקרא לו אבשלום [ו]יאמר אי מזה עיר אתה [ואבש]לום [ו]יאמר מא[ח]ד שבטי ישראל [עבדך] (“And Absalom rose early and stood by the way, and it was, whenever a man had a case that was to come to the king for judgment, Absalom would call to him and say, ‘From what city are you?’, and the man would answer and say, ‘From one of the tribes of Israel is your servant.’”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>c</sup>: והשכים אבשלום [ועמד על יד הדרך והיה כול איש אשר לוא ריב לב]ו [א]ל המלך משפט [וקרא לוא אבשלום ו]יאמר אימזה עיר אתה [וענה] (“And Absalom would rise early and he would stand beside the way of the gate, and it was, whenever a man had a case that was to come to the king for judgment, Absalom would call to him and he would say, ‘From what city are you?’, and the man would answer and he would say, ‘From one of the tribes of Israel is your servant.’”)</p>
2 Sam 15:5	<p>MT: ונשק לו (“...and he would kiss him”)</p> <p>4QSam<sup>a</sup>: [ו]נשק [לו] (“...and he would kiss him”)</p>

When we tally the agreements and disagreements in these passages, excluding non-parallel examples, we arrive at the following numbers:

<b>Table 6.5</b>		
<b>Summary of Agreements and Disagreements between the MT and Qumran Samuel Manuscripts on Iterative <i>Weqatal</i></b>		
<b>Agreement or Disagreement</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
MT plus of iterative <i>weqatal</i> ≠ DSS minus of iterative <i>weqatal</i> <sup>41</sup>	5.5	39%
MT minus of iterative <i>weqatal</i> ≠ DSS plus of iterative <i>weqatal</i> <sup>42</sup>	4	29%
MT iterative <i>weqatal</i> = DSS iterative <i>weqatal</i> <sup>43</sup>	4.5	32%

Of the fourteen cases where one text has an iterative *weqatal* verb and the other text has a parallel verb, only 4.5 are shared, or just 32%. In other words, about 2 of every 3 examples (68%) of iterative *weqatal* differ between these manuscripts. If we add non-parallel examples from the same passages given above, the percentage of agreement drops further to 4.5/18, or 25%, or only 1 of every 4. Either way, with or without the non-parallel examples, the interchange between iterative *weqatal* and other verbs, mainly *wayyiqtol*, is remarkable. The nature of the biblical manuscript evidence does not permit us to determine with certainty where the iterative *weqatal* was added and omitted, but in the balance of cases it seems more probable that the MT has a secondary reading.<sup>44</sup>

The examples cited above appear in three chapters and seven verses of Samuel. This concentration is unsurprising since according to our count all the examples of iterative *weqatal* in MT Samuel (see below) appear in 14 of 55 chapters and 26 of 1,506 verses. In other words, iterative *weqatal* verbs tend to

<sup>41</sup> 1 Sam 2:20: MT ויאמר ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> לאמר; MT והלכו ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> וילך; 1 Sam 2:22: MT ושמע ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> וישמע; 2 Sam 12:16: MT ובא ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> א[ויב]ן; MT ושכב ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> וישכב; 2 Sam 15:2: MT והשכים = 4QSam<sup>c</sup> והשכים ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ה[שכם]. Since in 2 Sam 15:2 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>c</sup> have *qatal* and *weqatal*, respectively, we count the disagreement between the MT and DSS as 0.5. The following non-parallel examples are excluded from this tally: MT's ולן in 2 Sam 12:16; MT's ועמד in 2 Sam 15:2.

<sup>42</sup> 1 Sam 2:16: MT ויאמר ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ויאמר; 2 Sam 15:2: MT ויהי ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ויהי; MT ויקרא ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ויקרא; MT ויאמר ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ויאמר. The following non-parallel examples are excluded from this tally: 4QSam<sup>a</sup>'s וענה in 1 Sam 2:16; MT's ויאמר in 2 Sam 15:2; 4QSam<sup>c</sup>'s וענה in 2 Sam 15:2.

<sup>43</sup> 1 Sam 2:16: MT ויאמר = 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ויאמר; 1 Sam 2:19: MT והעלתה = 4QSam<sup>a</sup> והעלתה; 1 Sam 2:20: MT וברך = 4QSam<sup>a</sup> וברך; 2 Sam 15:2: MT והשכים = 4QSam<sup>c</sup> והשכים ≠ 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ה[שכם]; 2 Sam 15:5: MT ונשק = 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ונשק. Since in 2 Sam 15:2 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>c</sup> have *qatal* and *weqatal*, respectively, we count the agreement between the MT and DSS as 0.5.

<sup>44</sup> See the discussions of individual variants in Qumran Samuel (4.4, and in several other sections cited below).

cluster together,<sup>45</sup> and in other passages one may encounter other forms (i.e., zero-instances), such as *yiqtol*, and usually as single examples.

Looking more broadly at all *weqatal* verbs in MT Samuel, according to Accordance, BibleWorks, and the *Old Testament Parsing Guide*<sup>46</sup> there are a total of 325 examples (including the *Qere* in 2 Sam 12:22). According to our count, 252 (or 77.54%) of these refer to non-past (mainly future) action, and 73 (or 22.46%) refer to past action, including 23 for single action and 50 for iterative action.<sup>47</sup> The Qumran scrolls have survived for only 38 (or 11.69%) of these 325 *weqatal* verbs in MT Samuel. The MT and Qumran scrolls agree 27 times, including 24 times in non-past contexts and 3 times in past contexts (3/3 are iterative), and they disagree 11 times (i.e., *weqatal* is lacking in the scrolls), including 3 times in non-past contexts and 8 times in past contexts (7/8 are iterative).<sup>48</sup> In other words, the MT and Qumran scrolls agree much more frequently on the more common non-past (mainly future) use of *weqatal* than on the less common past (mainly iterative) use of the verb. Furthermore, the Qumran scrolls have an additional 14 examples of *weqatal* that are not in the MT, including 4 in non-past contexts and 10 in past contexts (8/10 are iterative).<sup>49</sup> This further underlines the variability of past (mainly iterative)

<sup>45</sup> See also Joosten, *Verbal*, 306–7.

<sup>46</sup> T. S. Beall, W. A. Banks, and C. Smith, *Old Testament Parsing Guide: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2000).

<sup>47</sup> Single action (x23): 1 Sam 1:12; 3:13; 4:19; 5:7; 10:9; 15:28; 17:20, 38, 48; 20:16; 24:11; 25:20; 2 Sam 6:16; 7:11 (x2); 12:31; 13:18; 15:30; 16:5, 13; 19:18, 19; 23:20. Iterative action (x50): 1 Sam 1:3, 4, 6; 2:13, 14, 15 (x2), 16, 19, 20 (x3), 22; 7:16 (x3); 13:21, 22; 14:52; 16:14, 23 (x5); 17:34 (x2), 35 (x6); 27:9 (x2); 2 Sam 12:16 (x3); 13:19; 14:26 (x3); 15:2 (x2), 5 (x4); 17:17; 20:12. The time frame and type of action are debatable in some of these examples, but in most cases our categorizations agree with GKC, JM, WO, Driver, and/or Joosten (see the literature cited in n. 38).

<sup>48</sup> MT *weqatal* = DSS *weqatal* in non-past contexts (x24; all in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> unless noted otherwise): 1 Sam 1:11, 22, 31, 35; 4:9; 8:16; 10:4, 6 (x2), 8; 12:15 (x2); 14:24, 34; 25:11, 31 (4QSam<sup>c</sup>); 2 Sam 13:5 (x2), 28; 15:14 (4QSam<sup>c</sup>); 16:21; 17:2; 21:3; 22:35. MT *weqatal* = DSS *weqatal* in past contexts (x3; all in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> unless noted otherwise): 1 Sam 2:16 (iterative action), 20 (iterative action); 2 Sam 15:2 (4QSam<sup>c</sup>; iterative action). MT *weqatal* ≠ DSS non-*weqatal* in non-past contexts (x3; all in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>): 1 Sam 2:36 (infinitive construct); 8:11 (participle); 31:4 (infinitive absolute). (Verbs that are not discussed in Qumran Samuel, 4.4 are discussed in 4.5.2.1, 4.7.4, and 4.13.1.) MT *weqatal* ≠ DSS non-*weqatal* in past contexts (x8; all in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>): 1 Sam 2:20 (x2; iterative action; infinitive construct, *wayyiqtol*), 22 (iterative action; *wayyiqtol*); 2 Sam 6:16 (single action; *wayyiqtol*); 12:16 (x3; iterative action; *wayyiqtol*, minus, *wayyiqtol*); 15:2 (iterative action; *qatal*).

<sup>49</sup> MT non-*weqatal* ≠ DSS *weqatal* in non-past context (x4; all in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> unless noted otherwise): 1 Sam 2:16 (*qatal*); 10:5 (jussive); 21:5 (minus; 4QSam<sup>b</sup>); 2 Sam 21:6 (*yiqtol*/jussive). (Verbs that are not discussed in Qumran Samuel, 4.4 are discussed in 4.1.7 and 8.8.2.) MT non-*weqatal* ≠ DSS *weqatal* in past context (x10; all in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>

*weqatal* verbs in the editorial-transmission history of Samuel. In summary, there is substantial variation between the MT and Qumran Samuel relating to iterative *weqatal* verbs, and, although we cannot know for certain, if more of Qumran Samuel had survived, we suspect we would find a lot more variation between it and the MT.

In light of these observations about the fluidity of *weqatal* verbs, especially in past-time contexts and for iterative actions, it seems likely that many examples of iterative *weqatal* in Samuel are the products of “editors” and “scribes,” not just “authors,” and they entered the textual traditions of Samuel in a late period, much later than the times of “original” authors. Consequently, when Joosten remarks that “iterative WEQATAL is not only infrequent in LBH...it is not attested at all,” and “[w]hat would seem very difficult is to date the passages [e.g., P, Dtr, Job] using iterative WEQATAL after the end of the 6th century,”<sup>50</sup> it seems obvious that his claim is based on only the current MT Bible without any attention whatsoever to changes that occurred during the editorial-transmission phase of the biblical writings.

The main objective of the preceding discussion was to highlight two points: (1) the high degree of fluidity of iterative *weqatal* verbs in the Hebrew manuscript witnesses to Samuel; and (2) the fragility of historical linguistic and linguistic dating conclusions regarding usage that are based mainly or only on the MT. We do not study this verb form any further in this book outside the commentary on individual variants in Qumran Samuel. However, we offer the following comments as some final thoughts on the common belief that iterative *weqatal* decreased in frequency from “early” to “late” Hebrew, and in fact that it never occurs in LBH and later literature (QH, MH).<sup>51</sup>

First, a future comprehensive study of iterative *weqatal* should consider parallel passages in the MT and the full spectrum of Hebrew and Greek witnesses to the biblical text. The biblical DSS have not survived to attest most of the MT examples of this verb usage, but it is evident that in some cases the MT has “late” examples of the supposedly early verb usage.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, the versions of the Septuagint, especially the Vaticanus text and the Antiochian

unless noted otherwise): 1 Sam 2:16 (x2; iterative action; minus, *wayyiqtol*); 10:27 (x2; iterative action; minus, minus); 2 Sam 6:13 (single action; *wayyiqtol*); 8:2 (single action; *wayyiqtol*); 15:2 (x4 total; iterative action; x3 in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, *wayyiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*; x1 in 4QSam<sup>c</sup>, minus). Therefore in total 41 *weqatal* verbs have been preserved in Qumran Samuel (27 = MT; 14 ≠ MT): 36 in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, 1 in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, 4 in 4QSam<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Joosten, “Disappearance,” 141, 147.

<sup>51</sup> Other preliminary remarks on iterative *weqatal* are given in *LDBT* 2:152–53; Rezetko, “Dating,” 233–34.

<sup>52</sup> See the discussions of individual variants in Qumran Samuel (4.4); Rezetko, “Qumran,” 38–40.

recension, are often suggestive about changes in verb forms/uses in the transmission histories of BH writings.<sup>53</sup>

Second, the evidence of early extra-biblical Hebrew has not been factored satisfactorily into the analysis of iterative *weqatal*. There are no examples of the verb usage in (preexilic) Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>54</sup> However, are there any in QH? It has been said that “[t]he disappearance of iterative WEQATAL is confirmed by Qumran Hebrew”<sup>55</sup> but to our knowledge nobody has documented that there are no examples among the thousands of (mostly standard BH future-referring) *weqatal* verbs in the sectarian scrolls. On the other hand, given the scarcity of prose texts, it would not be very surprising if there really are no examples of iterative *weqatal* in QH, but then the question arises, how many zero-instances are there?

Third, another pressing need is a thorough and transparent VA of the (MT) biblical writings. According to Joosten there are more than 160 cases of iterative *weqatal* and only about sixty cases of preterite (single action) *weqatal* in EBH, whereas there are only ten possible cases of iterative *weqatal* and around 115 cases of preterite *weqatal* in LBH.<sup>56</sup> These are impressive, and suggestive, figures, but they may also be deceptive. In general there are clearly greater numbers of iterative *weqatal* verbs and higher ratios of iterative to preterite *weqatal* verbs in Genesis–Kings than in Esther–Chronicles. However, the data need to be reworked while heeding the issues that we discuss in chapter 7 such as the principles of accountability and individuality, and so on. For example, sound methodology requires that relevant variables (iterative *weqatal*, *yiqtol*, participle, etc.) are calculated proportionately for individual biblical books (Deuteronomy, Samuel, Isaiah, Chronicles, etc.) and are compared. Some other matters should also be explored. Is the distribution of iterative *weqatal* (only) a matter of chronology or (also) one of genre, canon, or some other factor? For example, iterative *weqatal* is quite scarce in Isaiah–Chronicles (Latter Prophets and the Writings) compared to Genesis–Kings (Pentateuch and Former Prophets). For example, from a chronological standpoint one might expect First Isaiah to have many more cases of iterative *weqatal* compared to preterite *weqatal*. Joosten mentions some other “sensitive points”<sup>57</sup> over which Hebraists and biblicists might disagree. For example, is the frequent use of iterative *weqatal* in P evidence that P is an “early” source (preexilic/exilic) or evidence that iterative *weqatal* is also a “late” usage (exilic/postexilic)? Finally, Joosten

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<sup>53</sup> See the discussions of individual variants in Qumran Samuel (4.4).

<sup>54</sup> Joosten, “Disappearance,” 146.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>56</sup> Joosten, *Verbal*, 403–4. For lists of references see pp. 225–28 (preterite *weqatal* in EBH and LBH), 307 (iterative *weqatal* in EBH), and 403 (iterative *weqatal* in LBH). Similar data for iterative *weqatal* in EBH and LBH are given in Joosten, “Disappearance,” 140.

<sup>57</sup> Joosten, “Disappearance,” 146.

cites ten possible cases of iterative *weqatal* in LBH<sup>58</sup> but then suggests that “it is logical to read the 10 cases in the light of the majority [preterite] use.”<sup>59</sup> However this is a dubious approach to linguistic data, akin to suggesting that oranges are really apples simply because there are ten oranges in a box of one hundred apples. Instead, the individual linguistic facts should be interpreted in the immediate context of usage, and then the overall linguistic trends should be clarified. If the linguistic facts and uses are uncertain then the (possible) linguistic trends should be expressed cautiously. More thorough and transparent work needs to be carried out on iterative *weqatal* in BH.

### 6.3.2. LXX VARIANTS

#### 6.3.2.1. INTRODUCTION

In chapter 4 (4.4.2.5) in our introduction to the CTVA of the Hebrew Bible we described two ways that the LXX has been used by Hebraists as they seek to discern linguistic developments in ancient Hebrew (cf. literature and example there). And above in our treatment of iterative *weqatal* we commented that the LXX sometimes suggests that Hebrew verb forms/uses in the (proto-)MT may have been updated during the transmission of the writings (6.3.1.2.2; cf. discussion and examples in Qumran Samuel, 4.4). In other words, the Greek translator had a different Hebrew source (or *Vorlage*). In this section we provide several additional examples of possible linguistic “modernization” in the (proto-)MT. We do not claim to give in this context comprehensive or definitive discussions of these linguistic items.

The study of the biblical versions is complex since each one has a long and distinctive editorial and transmission history in the hands of successive generations of editors and copyists. Furthermore, each book, tradition, and manuscript of each version, such as the LXX, has to be scrutinized individually in order to establish translation techniques, scribal tendencies, and possible directions and rates of changes between divergent witnesses. For example, did the Greek translator faithfully translate a different Hebrew source than is found in the MT or did he accidentally or deliberately change the (proto-MT) *Vorlage*?<sup>60</sup> Another issue with respect to language in particular is that translation

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<sup>58</sup> Dan 8:4, 11; Ezra 8:36; 1 Chr 9:26; 23:32; 2 Chr 12:11; 13:9; 15:6; 24:11; 33:6 (Joosten, *Verbal*, 403). Examples in synoptic Samuel–Kings//Chronicles also merit some additional commentary but we will jump over that here.

<sup>59</sup> Joosten, *Verbal*, 404.

<sup>60</sup> For introductions to the study and use of the LXX see N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000); E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997); idem, *Textual*,

Greek often is unable to represent different Hebrew linguistic variants in unique ways. For example, the single lexeme βασιλεία generally stands for both “early” ממלכה and “late” מלכות (“kingdom”). In other words, differences in Hebrew may not be represented by different translations. Thus, to give another illustration, in our estimation most of the thirty-seven orthographic, morphological, syntactical, and lexical variables that Rooker studies in his monograph on Ezekiel<sup>61</sup> were not and/or could not be translated in distinctive ways in Greek.

### 6.3.2.2. 1 SAMUEL 1–2

The story of Hannah in 1 Sam 1–2 has survived in three literary editions, with different ideological and theological accents, that are represented by the MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, and the LXX.<sup>62</sup> One might therefore expect that the three editions of these two chapters would also have a variety of linguistic differences, and in fact this is borne out by close examination of their language.<sup>63</sup> Here we illustrate

127–47. A helpful tool for comparing parallel MT and LXX linguistic items side by side is the CATSS/Tov Hebrew-Greek Parallel Alignment Module which is available for Accordance, BibleWorks, and Logos.

<sup>61</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 66–67, 126; cf. *LDBT* 1:85.

<sup>62</sup> For recent statements of this view with references to the most important publications see Hugo, “Text,” 8; idem, “Basileion I und II / 1 und 2 Königtümer / Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel,” in *Handbuch zur Septuaginta (LXX.H) 1: Einleitung in die Septuaginta* (ed. S. Kreuzer; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, forthcoming), 109–32 (127).

<sup>63</sup> The language of these chapters in the MT has received some attention. In addition to the commentaries cited above (6.2) see, for example, the following articles on some “late” linguistic phenomena in MT 1 Sam 1–2: M. Z. Brettler, “The Composition of 1 Samuel 1–2,” *JBL* 116 (1997): 601–12 (609–10); G. A. Rendsburg, “Hurvitz Redux: On the Continued Scholarly Inattention to a Simple Principle of Hebrew Philology,” in *BHSCT*, 104–28 (109); idem, “Some False Leads in the Identification of Late Biblical Hebrew Texts: The Cases of Genesis 24 and 1 Samuel 2:27–36,” *JBL* 121 (2002): 23–46 (35–46); and the interaction with the preceding articles in M. Ehrensverd, “Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts,” in *BHSCT*, 164–88 (183–85). Hurvitz, responding to Freedman, has discussed aspects of the language of the Song of Hannah in MT 1 Sam 2:1–10. See D. N. Freedman, “Psalm 113 and the Song of Hannah,” *ErIsr* 14 (1978): 56–69; reprinted in idem, *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 243–61; Hurvitz, “Originals.” We continue to wonder how Hurvitz is able to consider the “text” or “composition” of MT 1 Sam 2:1–10 “preexilic” or “original” in view of the clear evidence of the late stage of development in the MT Samuel version of the song (cf. Rezetko, “Dating,” 242 n. 79; idem, *Source*, 32 n. 32)? We have pointed out repeatedly in this book and elsewhere that language scholars generally fail to consider literary-critical and text-critical matters or, rather, they act as if the MT is the “original” text of biblical stories.

this through a summary of some verb morphology and syntax differences between the MT and LXX<sup>B</sup> versions of the narrative in these chapters.<sup>64</sup>

- *Part of speech differences:* LXX<sup>B</sup> has a noun that is parallel to a verb in the MT (x2; 2:26, 29).
- *Verb lexeme differences:* LXX<sup>B</sup> has a different verb lexeme than is found in the MT (x10; 1:16, 18, 19, 28; 2:20, 24, 29 [x3], 33).
- *Verb person differences:* LXX<sup>B</sup> has a different verb person (e.g., 3rd singular vs. 3rd masculine plural) than is found in the MT (x14; 1:19, 22, 25 [x2]; 2:11, 15 [x2], 16, 20 [x2], 25, 29, 30 [x2]).
- *Verb stem differences:* LXX<sup>B</sup> reflects a different verb stem than is found in the MT (x1; 1:24).
- *Verb tense differences:* On many occasions in these chapters the MT and LXX<sup>B</sup> apparently agree on the iterativity of a particular verb action (x17; 1:3, 7, 9, 13 [x3]; 2:13, 14 [x2], 15 [x2], 18, 19, 22, 25, 26 [x2]). In these cases a *weqatal*, *yiqtol*, or participle in the MT is paralleled by an imperfect or participle (either preceded by *xai* as needed) in LXX<sup>B</sup>. Nearly as often, however, these texts apparently disagree in this regard (x15). Four times the MT has a *qatal* or *wayyiqtol* (1:5, 7; 2:16, 17) and eleven times LXX<sup>B</sup> has an aorist (1:4, 5, 10, 12; 2:14 [x2], 16, 19, 20 [x2], 22).
- *Verb construction differences:* Three times the MT and LXX<sup>B</sup> share a paronomastic infinitive absolute construction (1:10, 11; 2:27), twice the MT has a plus (2:16, 30), and twice LXX<sup>B</sup> has a plus (2:25 [x2]).

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<sup>64</sup> Here we consider only LXX<sup>B</sup>. Consideration of LXX<sup>L</sup> underlines other points of agreement and disagreement between the textual witnesses. We also exclude from consideration the poetry of the Song of Hannah in 1 Sam 2:1–10. For the sake of comparison we provide the figures for MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. The MT of 1 Sam 1–2 has 258 verbs. 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has survived to attest 92 verbs in these chapters, 56 complete and 36 partial verb forms. (These numbers include the poetry of the Song of Hannah in 1 Sam 2:1–10.) Thus 4QSam<sup>a</sup> attests roughly one-third (36%) of the verbs in the MT. (This figure is not precise because not every verb in the MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is parallel.) 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has a plus, either an unparalleled verb or phrase/clause with a verb, 14 times (15%; 1:22, 23; 2:9 [x3], 10 [x2], 16 [x5], 23, 25). (In contrast, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has a minus on three occasions: 2:16, 21, 30.) The MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> have the same verb, using the same lexeme and form, 57 times (62%). Thus in the surviving parallel material the MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> agree about two-thirds of the time regarding verb forms. Conversely, they disagree on either the lexeme or form 21 times (23%; 15% + 62% + 23% = 100%). *Different lexeme, same form:* x3 (1:11; 2:20, 33). *Same lexeme, different person:* x6 (1:25, 28; 2:10, 16, 29 [x2]); *different stem:* x1 (2:18); *different tense:* x7 (2:10, 16, 20, 21, 22 [x2], 36); *different person and stem:* x1 (2:20); *different person and tense:* x1 (2:20); *different object suffix:* x1 (1:24); *MT minus/4QSam<sup>a</sup> plus of conjunction waw:* x1 (2:16). Most of these differences are discussed in Qumran Samuel, where LXX data are included when pertinent, and some of the examples related to iterative *weqatal* are mentioned above (6.3.1.2.2).

- *Verb coordinate clause differences:* In BH coordinate clauses with a verb of speech followed by אָמַר the latter may be expressed as either a finite verb (e.g., ויאמר) or an infinitive construct (לאמר).<sup>65</sup> Twice in these chapters the second verb is a *wayyiqtol* in the MT and is paralleled by an aorist in LXX<sup>B</sup> (1:15, 17), whereas twice elsewhere MT's *wayyiqtol* is paralleled by a participle in LXX<sup>B</sup> (1:11; 2:20; cf. 2:36). An analysis of LXX translation technique shows that both the aorist and participle in the LXX are grammatically correct translations of either the finite verb or infinitive construct in the MT; however it is also clear that in some cases the MT verb has been changed during transmission.<sup>66</sup>

There are five other interesting verb differences between the MT and LXX<sup>B</sup> in these chapters. First, MT's *yiqtol*/jussive in 1:18 (תמצא) is paralleled by an aorist in LXX<sup>B</sup> (εἶρεν), and the latter also makes sense in the context given Eli's response to Hannah in 1:17 (allowing also for a change of order between the subject and verb). Second, MT's unusual *qatal* in 2:16 (לקחתי) is paralleled by a future in LXX<sup>B</sup> (λήμψομαι) and also a future *weqatal* in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (ולקחתי). Third, MT's unexpected כִּי clause in 2:21 (כי־פקד) is paralleled by a coordinate clause in both LXX<sup>B</sup> (καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο) and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (ויפקד). Fourth, MT's non-iterative *weqatal* in 1:12 (והיה) strikes some as strange and it is in fact paralleled in LXX<sup>B</sup> by καὶ ἐγενήθη which, together with καὶ ἐγένετο, usually is parallel to ויהי in the MT. Fifth, and finally, we conclude this section on LXX variants with a look at the beginning of the book of Samuel in the MT and LXX.

The MT of Samuel begins with the phrase ויהי איש אחד ("and there was a [one] man"; 1:1). In contrast to this beginning LXX<sup>B</sup> has ἀνθρωπος ἕν (cf. LXX<sup>L</sup> καὶ ἀνθρωπος ἕν; LXX<sup>A</sup> καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνθρωπος). It is arguable that the MT (and LXX<sup>A</sup>, which often shows revision toward the MT) has been revised from איש היה.<sup>67</sup> What is particularly interesting about this possible example of revision of verbal syntax in the MT is that several scholars, including Bergey and Hurvitz, have argued that "early" ויהי איש and "late" איש היה (MT Job 1:1; Esth 2:5) are diachronic variants of the narrative introduction.<sup>68</sup> Yet it is possible, and perhaps even probable, that in terms of the "earlier" textual reading we should reintroduce the "late(r)" linguistic construction into 1 Sam 1:1. First, the translator(s) is very careful and consistent in rendering the 104 ויהי forms in (MT) Samuel and also in distinguishing various syntactical functions. Second, given this location of איש היה, (a) at the very start of Samuel (now) following

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, 1 Sam 4:21 (ותקרא לנער אי־כבוד לאמר) compared to 1 Sam 7:11 (יקרא את־שמה אבן העזר ויאמר).

<sup>66</sup> For discussion of one possible example with some more general observations see Rezetko, *Source*, 149.

<sup>67</sup> For some discussion see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 51; cf. J. Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel: Textkritische und literarische Analyse von 1. Samuel 1–2 unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes* (AThANT 89; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2007), 47.

<sup>68</sup> Bergey, "Book of Esther," 65–67; Hurvitz, "Prose-Tale," 28–30.

(continuing) immediately after Judges, (b) between two other significant introductions related to Samson (Judg 13:2) and Saul (1 Sam 9:1), and (c) the widely-recognized influence of the Samson birth story in Judges on the Samuel (and perhaps previously, Saul) birth story in Samuel, it would not be surprising if (MT) 1 Sam 1:1 was revised from the “late” (Job, Esther) to “early” (Judges, Samuel) introduction. Alternatively, some might argue that the change was simply a substitution of a more common for a less common construction. Either way, that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Samuel once had the “late” construction  $\text{היה איש}$  should at least be given consideration.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, this example and the previous ones suggest that historical linguistic research on BH should also consider linguistic data in non-Hebrew witnesses to the biblical text, notwithstanding the inherent difficulties of working with the versions.

### 6.3.3. LBH ACCUMULATION

#### 6.3.3.1. INTRODUCTION

It is commonly believed that “late” Hebrew language is absent from “early” books like Samuel and Kings or that it is at least uncommon there compared to its frequent appearance in incontestably late biblical writings like Chronicles. Elsewhere, however, we have shown that this belief actually does not accurately reflect the linguistic facts of BH. All the biblical texts we have studied have at least some “late” Hebrew, and often the frequency of this “late” language is higher in the “earlier” than in the “later” writings. Thus, for example, we have argued that “early” (MT) 1 Kgs 22 has more “late” Hebrew than “late” (MT) 2 Chr 18.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, many passages in MT Samuel display a reasonable quantity of “late” Hebrew. Elsewhere we and others have discussed the examples of 1 Sam 1–2,<sup>71</sup> 1 Sam 13:1–14:9,<sup>72</sup> 1 Sam 17,<sup>73</sup> 2 Sam 6:1–7:12,<sup>74</sup> 2 Sam 6:16–23,<sup>75</sup> and 2 Sam 22:1–51.<sup>76</sup> In this section we give another illustration: the story of

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<sup>69</sup> There are other passages where the MT has similar revisions. See the discussions of 2 Sam 6:13 (MT  $\text{ויהי}$ ), 16 (MT  $\text{והיה}$ ) in Rezetko, *Source*, 189–96 (192), 236–38 (237–38).

<sup>70</sup> See chapter 5 (5.4.5.2) and *LDBT* 1:134, 137, 353–58. More generally see the chapter on accumulation, especially the table, in *LDBT* 1:111–42 (132–36).

<sup>71</sup> Ehrensverd, “Linguistic,” 184–85; cf. above, 6.3.2.2.

<sup>72</sup> *LDBT* 1:134.

<sup>73</sup> A. Rofé, “The Battle of David and Goliath: Folklore, Theology, Eschatology,” in *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (ed. J. Neusner, B. A. Levine, and E. S. Frerichs; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 117–51 (128–31).

<sup>74</sup> *LDBT* 1:134–35.

<sup>75</sup> *LDBT* 1:103–5.

<sup>76</sup> *LDBT* 1:135, 137; cf. chapter 5 (5.4.2).

David and Bathsheba in 2 Sam 11–12. We mentioned this narrative, which is largely absent from the synoptic book of Chronicles,<sup>77</sup> and which has been considered as either an early source or a late supplement, in the brief synopsis of the production of the book of Samuel (6.2). We aim to illustrate two points in the following discussion. First, this text has a number of instances of “late” Hebrew linguistic items. Second, this language fluctuates in some cases between the surviving textual witnesses. The latter point is significant when we recall Grund’s study of the *Mirror of Lights*, in which he points out that “the nature of the source may have an impact on the quantitative results as well as qualitative conclusions about a certain case of morpho-syntactic variation.”<sup>78</sup>

### 6.3.3.2. 2 SAMUEL 11–12

There are many orthographic, linguistic, and content variants between the versions of the David–Bathsheba story. These involve pluses/minuses, substitutions, and rearrangements of various kinds and lengths, including two long pluses in the Greek translation in 11:21 (LXX<sup>L</sup>) and 11:22 (LXX<sup>B,L</sup>). The content variants relate to a variety of conceptual matters. Each of the MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, and the LXX recensions has some unique historiographical, ideological, and theological accents, although these do not represent multiple literary editions of the story as is the case with the story of Hannah in 1 Sam 1–2 and some other passages in the book. In this section, however, we are not concerned with the majority of these differences, including such matters as the so-called euphemisms in the MT,<sup>79</sup> but rather with the orthographic and linguistic variants that are often linked with differences between “early” and “late” varieties of Hebrew. By “late” we mean mainly LBH, QH, and MH. In what follows we will not discriminate rigidly between these varieties of Hebrew. We only intend to indicate that the “later” form/use under consideration is usually considered not to be a part or characteristic of “early” or preexilic BH.

<sup>77</sup> 2 Sam 11:1; 12:26//1 Chr 20:1; 2 Sam 12:30–31//1 Chr 20:2–3; thus Chronicles does not have the content of 2 Sam 11:2–27; 12:1–25, 27–29.

<sup>78</sup> Grund, “Manuscripts,” 111. See the discussion in chapter 4 (4.3.1).

<sup>79</sup> Compare MT ירִבֶּשֶׁת, LXX<sup>B</sup> ἱεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Νηρ, LXX<sup>L</sup> ἱεροβααλ (11:21); MT דָּבָר יְהוָה, LXX<sup>B</sup> τὸν λόγον κυρίου, LXX<sup>L</sup> τὸν κύριον (12:9); MT אִיבִי יְהוָה, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> דָּבָר יְהוָה, LXX<sup>B</sup> τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κυρίου, LXX<sup>L</sup> ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις τὸν κύριον (12:14), LXX<sup>C</sup> τῷ κυρίῳ. In the καίγει section of *Kingdoms* the cursives boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> (LXX<sup>L</sup>) usually give superior access to the Old Greek translation. In the first two examples it is probable that LXX<sup>L</sup> has the earliest attested reading which has been “euphemized” in the MT and elsewhere. In the third example a single Greek cursive manuscript (c/376) seems to have the earliest attested reading (see D. W. Parry, “The ‘Word’ or the ‘Enemies’ of the Lord? Revisiting the Euphemism in 2 Sam 12:14,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* [ed. S. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, and W. W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 367–78).

Also, the following list of points is illustrative. We do not intend to provide here thorough discussion or documentation.<sup>80</sup>

Orthography:<sup>81</sup>

- David is spelled defectively (דוד) in the MT (x41 in chs. 11–12) but *plene* (דויד) in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (11:5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 17; 12:15). The *plene* spelling is characteristic of “later” Hebrew, including Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles in the MT Bible,<sup>82</sup> whereas the defective spelling is normal elsewhere.
- Jerusalem is usually spelled defectively (ירושלם) in the MT (11:1, 12; 12:31) compared to several *plene* spellings (ירושלים) elsewhere in the (L)BH of the MT (Jer 26:18; Esth 2:6; 1 Chr 3:5; 2 Chr 25:1; 32:9; elsewhere in the MT—both EBH/SCH and LBH/PCH—the spelling is always defective).
- The MT has a mixture of defective and *plene* spellings of “no” (לא: 11:9, 10 [x2], 13; 12:6, 10, 13, 17 [x2], 18, 23; הלוא: 11:3, 10, 20, 21). Only הלוא in 11:10 has survived in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.
- Elsewhere in these chapters, where 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has survived, the scroll is orthographically “fuller” than the MT (11:5, 11, 17; 12:13, 15, 16, 17, 29).<sup>83</sup>
- Other orthographic peculiarities of the MT include the “extra” *’aleph*, which in some situations is considered an Aramaism,<sup>84</sup> in 11:1 (המלאכים [vs. (ה)מלכים]); 11:24 (x2; ויראו [vs. וירו; cf. 11:20; המוראים [vs. (ה)מורים]); 12:1, 4 (ראש) [vs. ראש], also 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in 12:1 [vs. רש; cf. 12:3]; 12:17 (ברא; vs. ברה; 4QSam<sup>a</sup>: ברה).<sup>85</sup>

Prepositions:

- The MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in these chapters usually agree on the prepositions אל (11:4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 19; 12:15, 18) and ל (11:5; 12:15, 18) for “to.” However, there are several exceptions, including MT לאוריה vs. 4QSam<sup>a</sup> [אוריה] אל in 11:8, and MT עליו vs. 4QSam<sup>a</sup> אליו

<sup>80</sup> Many of these issues are discussed in Qumran Samuel. In the following footnotes the references to *LDBT*, mainly to the “Tables of Linguistic Features Suggested to be LBH in Major Publications” (*LDBT* 2:160–214), are not definitive and are simply intended to guide the reader to some other discussions of these issues. See the “Analytical Outline of Subjects” in *LDBT* 2:284–95 to find more detailed treatments of some of these matters.

<sup>81</sup> *LDBT* 2:178 (#87).

<sup>82</sup> Elsewhere: 1 Kgs 3:14; 11:4, 36 (דוד many times elsewhere); Ezek 34:23 (דוד in 34:24; 37:24, 25); Amos 6:5; 9:11; Ps 122:5 (דוד many times elsewhere in the Psalms); Song 4:4.

<sup>83</sup> See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 13–14.

<sup>84</sup> See, for example, *LDBT* 2:169 (#38) and the discussion of ראש in JM §80k, p. 199.

<sup>85</sup> See also אתם (MT) vs. אותם (4QSam<sup>a</sup>) in 12:17.

in 12:17. The confusion of אַל and עַל is often regarded as an aspect of later Hebrew.<sup>86</sup> Elsewhere, where 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has not survived, and against the normal pattern of agreement in these chapters, the MT has אַל and the LXX seems to reflect עַל (11:16 LXX<sup>B,L</sup>], 23 [LXX<sup>B,L</sup>], 24 [LXX<sup>L</sup>]), or the MT has עַל and the LXX seems to reflect אַל (12:17 [LXX<sup>L</sup>]). It is difficult to reach conclusions about the earlier reading in these cases.

- In 12:16 the MT has אַתְּ-הָאֱלֹהִים whereas 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has מִן הָאֱלֹהִים. It has been argued that the latter reflects later Hebrew.<sup>87</sup>

#### Object Marker:

- The apparent use of אַתְּ on the subject, as in 11:25 (MT—4QSam<sup>a</sup> is not extant), is often considered a characteristic of later Hebrew.<sup>88</sup>
- It is commonly believed that verb plus object suffix is a later construction than verb plus אַתְּ plus suffix.<sup>89</sup> The MT in these chapters clearly prefers the “later” construction without אַתְּ, by a substantial ratio of 18 to 1 (11:4 [also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>], 12, 13, 22, 25 [x2], 27; 12:3, 4, 7 [x2], 10, 17 [also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>], 22, 23, 24, 28, 29; vs. 12:31).

#### Pronouns:

- The MT has the first common singular personal pronoun אֲנִי three times (11:5 [also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>]; 12:7 [x2]) and אַנִּי five times (11:11; 12:12, 23 [x2], 28) in these chapters. A common view is that early Hebrew prefers the former whereas late Hebrew the latter.<sup>90</sup>
- The ordinary feminine singular demonstrative pronoun in BH is זֹאת, as in 11:3 [also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>]; 12:5, 11. The form זֹה (11:25) is characteristic of MH and is generally described as distinctive of “northern” or “late” language when found in BH.<sup>91</sup>

#### Theophoric Names:

- Names with *-yah* are commonly considered to be later than names with *-yahu*.<sup>92</sup> In these chapters we find אֹרִיָה (x24, of which 4QSam<sup>a</sup> preserves four [11:7, 8, 17; 12:15]; contrast אֹרִיָהוּ in Jer 26:20, 21, 23) and יְדִידִיָה (12:25).

<sup>86</sup> *LDBT* 2:203 (#255).

<sup>87</sup> I. Teshima, “Textual Criticism and Early Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia* (ed. J. Krašovec; JSOTSup 289; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 165–79 (177–78 n. 38).

<sup>88</sup> *LDBT* 2:172 (#53). See, for example, Rooker, *Biblical*, 88–90. For other possible explanations of this phenomenon see JM §125j, pp. 416–17.

<sup>89</sup> *LDBT* 2:174 (#64).

<sup>90</sup> *LDBT* 2:181 (#26).

<sup>91</sup> *LDBT* 2:188 (#95). Elsewhere: Judg 18:4; 1 Kgs 14:5; 2 Kgs 6:19; Ezek 40:45; Hos 7.16 (וְזֶה); Ps 132:12 (וְזֶה; or relative pronoun?); Qoh 2:2, 24; 5:15, 18; 7:23; 9:13.

<sup>92</sup> *LDBT* 2:192 (#137).

## Pluralization:

- In 12:31 the MT has **וּבַחֲרָצֵי הַבְּרֹזֶל** (“and with iron picks”) whereas 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has **[וּבַחַ]רֵץ הַבְּרֹזֶל** (“[and with] an [iron] pick”). One possible interpretation is that the plural form in the MT reflects a tendency of “later” Hebrew to pluralize nouns that normally appear in the singular.<sup>93</sup>

Paragogic *He* (הֶ-):

- We find **שְׁלַח** in MT 11:6 but **שְׁלַחָה** in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. A common idea is that the lengthened imperative *decreases* in later Hebrew.<sup>94</sup>
- In contrast, the lengthened *waw* consecutive (*waʿeqtlah*) is often thought to *increase* in later Hebrew, based on its usage in the LBH of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, QH, and the SP.<sup>95</sup> Twice in 12:8 the MT has **וַאֲתֵנָה** instead of **וַאֲתֵן**.

Long III-*He* *Wayyiqtol*:

- The MT has several examples of the long III-*He wayyiqtol* in 11:23 (**וְנָהִי**; cf. **וְנָהִי**) and 12:22 (**וַאֲבָכָה**; cf. **וַאֲבָכָה**) which is frequently described as a characteristic of later Hebrew.<sup>96</sup>

Long II-*Waw* *Wayyiqtol*:

- The MT has an example of the long II-*Waw wayyiqtol* in 11:24 (**וַיִּמְתּוּ**; cf. **וַיִּמְתּוּ**) which could be regarded as a later Hebrew form. Elsewhere, and excluding *yiqtol*, infinitive, and *Polel* forms which regularly exhibit the *waw*, the middle radical of the verb **מִוֵּת** is recorded only here and in Job 1:19 (**וַיִּמְתּוּ**) and Ruth 1:5 (**וַיִּמְתּוּ**) in the MT.

## Hiphilization:

- Normally when one “anoints him/herself” the root **סָוַךְ** is found in the *Qal* stem (e.g., Deut 28:40; 2 Sam 14:2). In 12:20, however, the form is pointed as a *Hiphil* (**וַיִּסְוֹךְ**; cf. **וַיִּסְוֹךְ**).<sup>97</sup> It is often argued that later Hebrew has a tendency to use the *Hiphil* stem of certain roots with an equivalent sense to the *Qal*.<sup>98</sup>

## Active vs. Passive Verbs:

- Twice in these chapters the MT has an active verb that is paralleled by a passive verb in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>: In 11:10 the MT has **וַיִּגְדּוּ לְדָוִד** (“and they told David”) against 4QSam<sup>a</sup>’s **[וַיִּגְדּוּ] לְדָוִד** (“and it was told to

<sup>93</sup> *LDBT* 2:169 (#42).

<sup>94</sup> *LDBT* 1:355–56; cf. *LDBT* 2:168 (#32).

<sup>95</sup> *LDBT* 2:168 (#32).

<sup>96</sup> *LDBT* 1:357; cf. *LDBT* 1:132–35 for examples in various passages.

<sup>97</sup> *HALOT* 2:745–46.

<sup>98</sup> *LDBT* 2:167 (#29).

David”), and in 12:14 we find מוֹת יָמוּת (“he will indeed die”) in the MT but מוֹת יוֹמָת (“he will indeed be put to death”) in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (and probably also in the LXX). Many consider that later Hebrew has a preference for active over passive constructions.<sup>99</sup>

#### *Weqatal* Verbs:

- Above we discussed the view that iterative *weqatal* decreased or disappeared in later Hebrew (6.3.1.2.2), and we cited 12:16 where the MT has three *weqatal* forms compared to two *wayyiqtol* forms in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. It is also possible that the *weqatal* forms relate simple past rather than iterative action. Also, consideration of the LXX evidence underlines the complexity of the text-critical situation in this verse. In the final verse of this passage (12:31) the MT has וְהֵעֵבִיר which is frequently interpreted as having simple past action, and it is widely thought that such a usage of *weqatal* is characteristic of later Hebrew. Note also that this verb and its clause are absent from Chronicles. Finally, in 12:22, following מִי יוֹדֵעַ (“who knows”), the MT *Kethiv* is a *yiqtol* (יִחַנְנִי; cf. [both late?] Joel 2:14; Jonah 3:9) whereas the *Qere* is a *weqatal* (וְחַנְנִי), and in general it is often thought that simple tenses tended to replace so-called converted tenses in later Hebrew.<sup>100</sup>

#### Infinitive Preceded by its Object:

- In the MT, and apparently also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, of 11:19, there is an example of the object of an infinitive clause before its predicate, כְּבִלְוֹתָךְ אֵת כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה לְדַבֵּר (literally: “when you finish all the words of the war to speak”), and this construction is often considered to be a characteristic of later Hebrew.<sup>101</sup>

#### Aramaisms:

- It has been argued that וַיִּשְׁלַח in MT 12:25 has the Aramaic sense “to make wholly over to, to deliver up [the child]” rather than “he sent [a message],” but most commentators prefer the conventional interpretation.<sup>102</sup> It has also been argued that מִלְכָן in MT 12:31 (*Kethiv*) was originally an Aramaic plural participle (“Molechs”),<sup>103</sup> but in this case most commentators prefer the *Qere* מִלְבָּן (“brickkiln”).

Two conclusions can be drawn from this list of features. First, approaching the text from the conventional perspective on “early” vs. “late” Hebrew periodization, there is a significant quantity of probable or possible “late”

<sup>99</sup> *LDBT* 2:166 (#22).

<sup>100</sup> *LDBT* 2:162 (#1).

<sup>101</sup> *LDBT* 2:127–28.

<sup>102</sup> For discussion see Driver, *Notes*, 293.

<sup>103</sup> G. C. O’Ceallaigh, “And So David Did to All the Cities of Ammon,” *VT* 12 (1962): 179–89; cf. the comments in Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 73.

linguistic items in the MT of 2 Sam 11–12.<sup>104</sup> These relate to the entire gamut of language, including orthography, morphology, and syntax. Second, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has survived to attest only about one-fifth of the MT story of David and Bathsheba,<sup>105</sup> yet even within this small amount of parallel material there are some variants between the two texts that are often linked to differences between EBH or “early” Hebrew and LBH or “late” Hebrew, and it is important to observe that the “movement” from “early” to “late” does not proceed in a single direction but, rather, sometimes the MT, and sometimes 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, has the “later” forms/uses.

#### 6.4. EVALUATION OF MT/DSS LINGUISTIC VARIANTS IN THE BOOK OF SAMUEL

##### 6.4.1. TYPES OF VARIANTS

The summary of thirteen linguistic issues in 6.3.1.1 and the two illustrations in 6.3.1.2 give an impression of the variation between the MT and Qumran Samuel. A perusal of the table of contents in appendix 2 will underline further the many differences between our *only* surviving ancient Hebrew textual witnesses to the book. In sum, the linguistic variants we have discovered relate to all the conventional levels and divisions of language, including orthography, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon, and verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, particles (prepositions, conjunctions, etc.), and phrase and clause structures. In fact, the linguistic variation between the manuscripts is even more widespread than we have described in Qumran Samuel. For example, there are some issues that we have not considered at all, such as verb gender (e.g., 4QSam<sup>a</sup> הִיָּה vs. MT הִיָּתָה in 2 Sam 3:37; 13:32) and verb number (e.g., singular vs. plural in 1 Sam 2:16, 20, 29), and in other cases we have provided only some illustrative examples, as we did with conjunctions (Qumran Samuel, 8.2). Furthermore, careful reading of the commentary reveals that many of the variations touch on issues that are traditionally highlighted in discussions of “early” and “late” BH.

We might state our overall conclusion in this way: *Biblical manuscripts, as far as the surviving evidence goes, can be relied on as evidence for the basic and common linguistic forms/uses of ancient Hebrew, because these are quite stable in the textual witnesses, and also between “early” and “late” BH;*

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<sup>104</sup> From the variationist perspective it is perfectly natural for “old” and “young” forms to coexist during a period of time (chapter 7), but our point here is that from the conventional linguistic dating perspective held by many Hebraists, it is arguable that MT Samuel has an “accumulation” of “late” forms in this passage.

<sup>105</sup> The MT of 2 Sam 11–12 has 979 graphic units. 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, counting both complete and partial forms, has 173. Thus 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has survived to attest only about 18% of the MT chapters.

however, the manuscripts do not provide secure evidence of the attestation and distribution of less common linguistic items in the biblical compositions—which are generally the kinds of items that are focused on in historical linguistic studies of ancient Hebrew—because these forms/uses are highly fluid in manuscript transmission.

#### 6.4.2. STATISTICS OF VARIANTS

Most of the common and basic linguistic forms/uses of ancient Hebrew remain stable in textual transmission, such as *wayyiqtol* verbs, verb stems, pronominal objects attached to verbs or אַתָּה, the personal pronoun הוּא, pronominal suffixes, the relative אֲשֶׁר, the definite article, and so on. In many other cases the variable linguistic phenomena we have described in Qumran Samuel are infrequent or isolated and thus are not conducive to statistical analysis. Elsewhere, however, as summarized in 6.3.1, there are significant degrees of variation between the MT and Qumran Samuel. Two examples of categorical disagreement (100%) are the spelling of “David” and the use of the predicative infinitive absolute. An example of frequent disagreement (68%) is the iterative *weqatal*. Sometimes the MT has a mixture of forms whereas Qumran Samuel is consistent, as with the spelling of “Jonathan” and assimilated/non-assimilated מִן plus definite article. In the cases of other linguistic variables the rates of variation fall between about 30% and 50%, or 1/3 and 1/2, as for example with interchanges of some prepositions (e.g., אֶל, עַל, אֶת, עִם).

Because of the fragmentary nature of Qumran Samuel and the infrequency of attestation of many linguistic phenomena, it is impossible to calculate with precision and reliability the rates of (in)variance of linguistic forms/uses in Samuel. Nevertheless, we would like to give a general impression of the rates of general variation and linguistic variation between the MT and Qumran Samuel.

Samuel is one of the longest books of the Bible (6.1). The MT has approximately 35,109 words or 24,300 graphic units.<sup>106</sup> The four Qumran scrolls have substantially less material. Our calculations of the graphic units<sup>107</sup> and the percentage of the MT<sup>108</sup> that are attested by each scroll are as follows:

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<sup>106</sup> To give an example of what we mean by words and graphic units, וַיִּבְרָא is four words but only one graphic unit. The figure 35,109 comes from BibleWorks. The figure 24,300 is reported by *TLOT* and Greenspahn (*TLOT* 3:1444; F. E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment Since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms* [SBLDS 74; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984], 199.). *VOT* gives 24,301 (*VOT* 24).

<sup>107</sup> The decision to use “graphic units” rather than morphemes for counting and registering variants is based on precedent, simplicity, and suitability for Hebrew and other Semitic languages. In addition to *TLOT*, *VOT*, and Greenspahn’s book, cited in the preceding footnote, graphic units are used in *LDBT* (cf. *LDBT* 1:130 n. 41); Young,

	1QSam	4QSam <sup>a</sup>	4QSam <sup>b</sup>	4QSam <sup>c</sup>
Complete Graphic Units <sup>109</sup>	70	1,430	258	178
Incomplete Graphic Units <sup>110</sup>	47	1,451	78	120
Incomplete Graphic Units Halved <sup>111</sup>	23.5	725.5	39	60
Total Complete Plus Incomplete Graphic Units	117	2,881	336	298
Total Complete Plus Incomplete Graphic Units Halved	93.5	2,155.5	297	238
Percent of MT Attested Based on Complete Plus Incomplete Graphic Units	0.48%	11.86%	1.38%	1.23%
Percent of MT Attested Based on Complete Plus Incomplete Graphic Units Halved	0.38%	8.87%	1.22%	0.98%

1QSam, 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, and 4QSam<sup>c</sup> have survived to attest only a very small part of the book (~1%). Using the figure of complete plus incomplete graphic units for 4QSam<sup>a</sup> we arrive at the figure of 11.86%. If we use instead the figure of complete plus incomplete graphic units halved the figure is 8.87%. Averaged together we arrive at 10.37%. We might say, then, that 4QSam<sup>a</sup> attests about 10% of the MT book of Samuel. This figure coincides with previous estimates.<sup>112</sup>

Leaving to the side orthographic variants, 649 variants are cited in the editions of the Qumran scrolls by Cross et al. and Ulrich (see 6.2). Of these, 469

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“Biblical Scrolls”; idem, “Textual.” For more detailed discussion and justification of this procedure, see the treatment of “semogenic units” in Hobson, *Transforming*, 24–28.

<sup>108</sup> This figure does not take into consideration non-parallel material, or pluses/minuses, but such material is negligible and does not compromise the estimate for each book.

<sup>109</sup> No letters of a graphic unit are inside brackets in Cross et al., *Samuel*.

<sup>110</sup> At least one letter of a graphic unit is inside brackets in Cross et al., *Samuel*.

<sup>111</sup> We include this figure because on average only half these incomplete “words” are visible and variants can, and often do, involve the beginning and end of words. This procedure thus provides more realistic figures for the actual surviving data. See Young, “Textual,” 177.

<sup>112</sup> Ulrich says “less than 10% (Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 257). Parry, citing Ulrich, says “only 10 percent” (D. W. Parry, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the Tetragrammaton,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* [ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 106–25 [122]). According to Abegg, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has 3,656 words (Abegg, “Profile,” 25 n. 3). Therefore, since MT Samuel has 35,109 words, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has about 10.4% of the book.

are variants between the Qumran scrolls and the Leningrad Codex (L).<sup>113</sup> These figures can be broken down as follows:

	<b>Total Variants Cited</b>	<b>Variants from MT (L) Cited</b>
1QSam	10	8
4QSam <sup>a</sup>	531	377
4QSam <sup>b</sup>	77	55
4QSam <sup>c</sup>	31	29

On the basis of these figures we can calculate the frequencies of non-orthographic variants between the MT and Qumran Samuel scrolls in their surviving portions. The second set of numbers in each row is the average number of variants normalized to one-hundred word (graphic unit) segments.

	<b>Complete Plus Incomplete Graphic Units</b>	<b>Complete Plus Incomplete Graphic Units Halved</b>
1QSam	1 per 14.63 words, or 6.84 per 100 words	1 per 11.69 words, or 8.55 per 100 words
4QSam <sup>a</sup>	1 per 7.64 words, or 13.09 per 100 words	1 per 5.72 words, or 17.48 per 100 words
4QSam <sup>b</sup>	1 per 6.11 words, or 16.37 per 100 words	1 per 5.40 words, or 18.52 per 100 words
4QSam <sup>c</sup>	1 per 10.28 words, or 9.73 per 100 words	1 per 8.21 words, or 12.18 per 100 words

According to these figures, the MT and, for example, the larger Qumran Samuel scroll (4QSam<sup>a</sup>) are at variance from one another about once every 7.64 or 5.72

<sup>113</sup> Here we say “L” instead of the more general “MT” since in fifteen cases the Masoretic manuscripts vary between themselves. In four cases the Qumran scrolls and L agree and in eleven they disagree. Also, most of the variants cited that are not between the MT and the scrolls are between the MT/scrolls and the Septuagint. Finally, here we are relying on the variants that are cited in the editions of Cross et al. and Ulrich. However, there are some other potential variants that they do not identify. For example, Cross et al. and Ulrich do not note the (apparently) missing אַת in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> at 1 Sam 2:23 (אַת־דַּבְּרִיכֶם) (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 39, 43; Ulrich, *Biblical*, 262, 264). In fact the Accordance Biblical DSS Manuscripts Variants module gives 504 variants, rather than 469, but we have not collated the variants to determine any (legitimate or illegitimate) discrepancies from Cross et al.’s and Ulrich’s editions.

words, or 13.09 or 17.48 variants per one-hundred words, depending on whether we weigh incomplete graphic units as full or halved. The second column of figures, e.g., 5.72 and 17.48, is probably closer to reality, given that variants often involve the beginning or end of words (e.g., conjunction *waw*, definite article, pronominal suffixes). Be that as it may, the figure of 1 variant about every 8 words between the MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> *would be quite average in the context of the scrolls more generally*.<sup>114</sup>

Another way to describe the textual variation between the MT and Qumran Samuel is to determine the number of variant graphic units between the MT and each scroll, and then to calculate the percentage of variant graphic units by dividing the number of variant graphic units by the number of complete plus incomplete graphic units (non-halved and halved). When we do this we find that 5–6% of the words in 1QSam are variant non-orthographically from the MT (L), 17–23% in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, 16–18% in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, and 10–12% in 4QSam<sup>c</sup>.<sup>115</sup> In other words, for example, about 1/5th to 1/4th of the words (graphic units) in Samuel have a variant when the MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> are compared word by word.

An interesting point to contemplate on the basis of the above data is the potential overall rate of variation between the MT and a scroll when extrapolated from the surviving portions of the scroll to the entire book. For example, based on the 377 variants between the MT (L) and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in the 2,881 words of the scroll, which represent only about 10% of the book, we might expect to find *more than 3,500* variants between the MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. Of course, this projected rate of variation for the entire book might actually be lower—or higher.

Our focus in this book, however, is language, and so we should also estimate the rate of linguistic variation between the MT and Qumran Samuel. As mentioned above (6.3.1.1), we generally understand linguistic variants to be the kinds of things, morphological and syntactical, that are discussed in grammars of BH (GKC, JM, WO, etc.). But we should point out as well that often it is difficult, impossible, or at least arbitrary to draw a straight line between linguistic variants, content variants, and even some orthographic variants.<sup>116</sup> Consequently, our calculations of linguistic variants between the MT and Qumran Samuel should be interpreted as approximations or “ballpark figures” rather than absolute and conclusive statistics.

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<sup>114</sup> See Young, “Biblical Scrolls.”

<sup>115</sup> Our calculation of the number of variant graphic units for each scroll is: 1QSam: 6; 4QSam<sup>a</sup>: 499; 4QSam<sup>b</sup>: 46; 4QSam<sup>c</sup>: 34.

<sup>116</sup> See the discussion in Hobson, *Transforming*, 8–28; cf. Young, “Textual,” 177–80.

In Qumran Samuel we mention or discuss about 251 “linguistic” variants.<sup>117</sup> Some of these, however, are arguably not primarily linguistic variants, meaning that they edge more toward content variants. In our subjective judgment, conservative estimates of the number of variants with immediately recognizable linguistic significance between the MT and Qumran Samuel are as follows:

1QSam	5
4QSam <sup>a</sup>	167
4QSam <sup>b</sup>	23
4QSam <sup>c</sup>	16
Total	211

It is arguable that each of these numbers should be raised.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, we will stay with these numbers here. We think it is sufficient to indicate, and shocking to consider, that given even 167 linguistic variants between the MT and the surviving portions of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, we might expect to find *more than 1,500* linguistic variants between these if the entire scroll had survived.

Approaching this matter from a different slant underlines further the significant number of linguistic variants between the MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. There is one linguistic variant between the MT and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> about every 13 to 17 words. Is that a lot? Relatively speaking, yes. In fact, this rate of linguistic variation is *more* frequent than the rate of linguistic variation between parallel passages of “early” BH Samuel–Kings and “late” BH Chronicles in the MT.<sup>119</sup> In other words, MT Samuel and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>—two versions of *the same book*—diverge more

<sup>117</sup> The numbers for the individual scrolls are: 1QSam: 7; 4QSam<sup>a</sup>: 192; 4QSam<sup>b</sup>: 30; 4QSam<sup>c</sup>: 22. The number 251 includes all the items discussed in parts 3–6 and 8 of Qumran Samuel, including those related to pluses/minuses, but excluding orthographic differences (part 2) and vocabulary substitutions (part 7) as well as a second citation of any particular item (e.g., נַמְדָּד in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam 8:2 is counted only once although it is discussed twice, in 4.4.8 and 4.5.2.4.2). As a point of interest, if we include six items in the section on orthography (2) that are listed in the main apparatuses of Cross et al., *Samuel*, and Ulrich, *Biblical*, and all 82 in the section on vocabulary (7) of which all are cited by Cross et al. and Ulrich in their main apparatuses, then in total we have mentioned or discussed 339, or 72%, of the 469 non-orthographic variants that are recorded by Cross et al. and Ulrich.

<sup>118</sup> Consider, for example, that these figures include only cases where both texts evidence varying linguistic forms, and they do not include the many linguistic forms found in pluses in both texts. They also do not include most cases of vocabulary substitution, pluses/minuses of conjunctions except where significant for verbal forms, nor many cases of word order variation. We say again: Every variant is potentially a linguistic variant.

<sup>119</sup> Young, “Textual,” 182.

often in their language than do the MT of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles—*different books*—in their shared material. Yet we have been told that many such differences between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles are, at least in part, indicative of the different historical settings and language systems of their original authors. This is an interesting finding since it is the case that often only slight and sporadic differences between MT Samuel–Kings and Chronicles constitute their different “diachronic” linguistic profiles, and also because—certainly for MT Samuel and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and perhaps also for MT Samuel–Kings and Chronicles—the differences are editorial and scribal—*not* authorial.

#### 6.4.3. PATTERNS OF VARIANTS

Based largely on Kutscher’s monograph on 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, Hebraists have come to assume that usually the MT will have earlier or “original” language whereas the Qumran scrolls, both the non-biblical and biblical scrolls, will have diachronically later linguistic items. Or, stated differently, the MT Bible will have the typologically classical item and the biblical DSS will have the typologically later counterpart. In other words, they believe that when all the evidence is in, we will observe patterns of language change *from* the MT *to* the biblical DSS. This widespread belief, however, is at best problematic and at worst false. We discussed this general stance toward the manuscript evidence in chapters 3 and 4 (4.4.2) and we have put forward some illustrations in chapters 4–6. Now we address the question: What about the book of Samuel? Here are some representative examples. A rare example of categorical distribution is the MT’s defective (“early”) spelling of “David” which is always *plene* (“late”) in Qumran Samuel (Qumran Samuel, 2.1). Another rare situation is mixed usage in the MT, as with the spelling of “Jonathan,” in contrast with 4QSam<sup>a</sup> which always has (“early”) “Jehonathan” while 4QSam<sup>b</sup> always has (“late”) “Jonathan” (Qumran Samuel, 5.1). Similarly, whereas the MT has both the assimilated and non-assimilated *nun* of ם plus definite article, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has an absolute preference for the non-assimilated form (Qumran Samuel, 6.3). These patterns of distribution, however, are actually the exception rather than the rule. What we find much more often is that there is an inconsistent “direction of (early/late) movement” between the MT and Qumran Samuel. Above we gave the illustrations of (“early”) directive *he* and (“early”) iterative *weqatal*, regarding which the MT has pluses, respectively, 2 and 5.5 times (6.3.1.2.1, Qumran Samuel, 5.2), and Qumran Samuel has pluses, respectively, 7 and 4 times (6.3.1.2.2, Qumran Samuel, 4.4). Similarly, the MT and Qumran Samuel each has two pluses of the “early” particle of entreaty ם (Qumran Samuel, 6.14).

Our final example in this chapter is the preposition ם for which slightly more evidence has survived. Rooker remarks: “It has been widely known that the preposition ם became more prominent in LBH [and even more so in QH

and MH] at the expense of the preposition לָא.”<sup>120</sup> Then, several pages later, he gives five examples of the “replacement” of לָא in the MT by לָע in the DSS biblical texts, “to illustrate the increasing tendency for the preposition לָע to be used at the expense of BH [*sic!*] לָא at Qumran.”<sup>121</sup> In other words, the conventional perspective is that לָע gradually replaces לָא over time, and so when we look closely we will find that the DSS biblical texts have more examples of לָע for MT לָא than vice versa. The evidence, in fact, calls this outlook into question. Based on careful consideration of biblical usage and text-critical data (Qumran Samuel, 6.1), we and others arrive at these conclusions regarding the “direction of movement” between the MT and Qumran Samuel:

1	MT לָא = Qumran Samuel לָא	x55
2	MT לָע = Qumran Samuel לָע	x31
3	Change from לָא → לָע in Qumran Samuel	x3 <sup>122</sup>
4	Change from לָא → לָע in MT	x1 <sup>123</sup>
5	Change from לָע → לָא in Qumran Samuel	x3 <sup>124</sup>
6	Change from לָע → לָא in MT	x8 <sup>125</sup>

Hebraists are usually quick to pick up on the situation where MT לָא is paralleled by Qumran לָע (scenario 3). So, for example, two of Rooker’s five biblical examples are 2 Sam 14:30 (4QSam<sup>c</sup>) and 20:10 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>), which in fact are two of only three surviving examples of this phenomenon in Samuel.<sup>126</sup> In contrast, these three examples of “early” to “late” from MT to Qumran Samuel are met by three examples of the exact opposite situation (scenario 5), where לָא replaces לָע in the scrolls. In our mind, however, the more noteworthy facts are, first, the stability of both לָא and לָע in the biblical texts (scenarios 1–2), and, second, the more pronounced trend for “early” לָא to substitute for “late” לָע in the MT when compared to the scrolls (scenario 6). In short, the surviving manuscript evidence

<sup>120</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 127; cf. 127–31; *LDBT* 2:203 (#55) for other references.

<sup>121</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 130. Note that for Rooker the biblical DSS are, apparently, not BH (!), illustrating again Hebraists’ common belief that the MT is “the Bible.”

<sup>122</sup> 1 Sam 20:40, 4QSam<sup>b</sup> (Qumran Samuel, 6.1.19); 2 Sam 14:30, 4QSam<sup>c</sup> (6.1.21); 20:10, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.14).

<sup>123</sup> 2 Sam 23:1, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (Qumran Samuel, 6.1.16).

<sup>124</sup> 1 Sam 27:10, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (Qumran Samuel, 6.1.4); 2 Sam 12:17, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.11); 13:39, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.13).

<sup>125</sup> 1 Sam 14:32, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (Qumran Samuel, 6.1.1); 20:27, 4QSam<sup>b</sup> (6.1.17); 27:10, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.3); 27:10, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.4); 31:3, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.5); 2 Sam 3:29, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.7); 3:33, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.8); 6:3, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (6.1.9); 14:30, 4QSam<sup>c</sup> (6.1.22).

<sup>126</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 130. Rooker does not cite 1 Sam 20:40 (4QSam<sup>b</sup>). He does, however, cite 2 Sam 15:3 (4QSam<sup>c</sup>), where the spelling with ‘ayin is a scribal mistake (cf. Qumran Samuel, 6.1.23).

presents a mixture of scenarios, and the scenario that historical linguists of Hebrew have traditionally believed (scenario 3), is represented only marginally.

In summary, the largest proportion of linguistic variations between the MT and Qumran Samuel are individual variants as opposed to large-scale systematic variations, and in cases where generous data are available the conventional historical linguistic perspective is usually not supported by the manuscript evidence. These conclusions coincide with the results of our previous studies of Qumran biblical manuscripts,<sup>127</sup> and they also square with the widespread argument by literary and textual scholars that there are many late adjustments and additions to biblical writings and—contrary to what many Hebraists assert would *have* to be the case if they were *really* late changes—these are typically “unmarked” by “late” linguistic forms and uses.

## 6.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter on the CTVA of Samuel manuscripts from Qumran is far from comprehensive. There is room for a lot more methodical research on the surviving Hebrew, Greek, and other witnesses to this book, and then on all the other books of the Bible and their witnesses as well. One issue that we want to underscore at the end of this chapter is that we are convinced, and have in fact argued elsewhere, that the book of Samuel had a complex history of production that lasted from the early monarchic period to the late postmonarchic period, that is, from early in the First Temple period until late in the Second Temple period, and so the language of the book is, in reality, a witness to written Hebrew throughout this entire extended period of time. Consequently, the frequent assertion by many historical linguists of BH that the book, or its constituent parts such as the so-called Court History/Succession Narrative, *must have* been written in the preexilic period, and *could not have* changed much afterward, because the book reflects mainly (but not entirely; cf. 6.3.3) so-called Early Biblical Hebrew, is a view which we believe is implausible based on historical, literary, and textual data, and which we believe the linguistic data, studied using CTVA (chapters 4–6) and VA (chapters 7–9), fail to support as well. More generally, our argument in these chapters on textual criticism (chapter 3) and CTVA is that *any historical linguistic research on BH that simplistically assumes the integrity or “originality” of the MT as a primary source, and downplays or disregards the substantial quantity of linguistic variation between the surviving textual witnesses to the biblical writings, is unsound in theory and ill-conceived in method.*

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<sup>127</sup> For example, our study of Judges in Rezetko, “Qumran.” In particular see parts “5.2. The ‘Fluidity’ (or ‘Changeability’) of Language in Biblical Manuscripts” and “5.3. The ‘Non-Directionality’ (or ‘Patternlessness’) of Linguistic Variants in Biblical Texts.”

## Chapter 7

### Variationist Analysis: Theory and Method

#### 7.1. INTRODUCTION

We have commented that any theory of the history and periodization of BH should account for at least two sorts of linguistic facts: variation within the corpus of the MT biblical writings, because the MT is the only complete Hebrew text of the Bible, and variation between the MT and other textual traditions of individual biblical books. Accordingly, in the preceding chapters we used CTVA to examine linguistic variants in some parallel passages in the MT and in the MT and DSS manuscripts of the book of Samuel. In this chapter we discuss a second method for studying variation in the biblical corpus: variationist analysis (VA). Our objective is to provide a general introduction to VA theory and method while engaging more closely the questions we asked in chapter 1 (1.2) and the issues we introduced in chapter 2 (2.4). This chapter has the following sections related to VA: fundamental ideas (7.2), significant issues (7.3), English illustration (7.4), and BH application (7.5).

#### 7.2. FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS

Languages are characterized by variation. Their sounds, forms, and uses are in a constant state of orderly flux, or structured heterogeneity. One person may use a certain word in one moment, and then employ a different term in another instance, as we just did, or two people or groups of people may occasionally or habitually talk differently. American children eat “cookies” and play “soccer” while English children prefer “biscuits” and “football.” Or Sarah declares “I did not laugh” in the NRSV or “Y leizede not”<sup>1</sup> (“I laughed not,” notably without

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<sup>1</sup> In ME alphabets, <ȝ> is referred to as “yogh.” From the thirteenth century onwards, <ȝ> is recessive, being replaced by <y> initially and <gh> medially (Horobin and Smith, *Introduction*, 47, 61).

operator-*do*<sup>2</sup>) in Wycliffe's Bible (ME; c. 1390). Language variations relate to all kinds of circumstances, because the speakers/writers live in different times or places, or have different demographics (age, gender, etc.), and so on. The main linguistic fields that deal with these sorts of issues are sociolinguistics and, in past-time contexts, historical sociolinguistics. In this book we are interested especially in the quantitative approach of variationist historical sociolinguistics. In a moment we will unpack these terms. Before that, however, we should remember the basic ideas related to language variation and change that we introduced in chapter 2 (2.4). We recall that variation and change are continual and inseparable processes; variation is "competition" between different ways of saying the same thing (variants of a variable); and change is the outcome of diffusion of a variant(s) in a community/society. We also introduced the important ideas of stable, unstable, and stabilized variation, and independent factors that constrain language variation such as dialect, sociolect, idiolect, style, register, and so on. The main objective of VA, then, is to describe and explain patterns of variation in language as they relate to times and places and individuals and groups. VA "deals with systematic and inherent variation in language, both in the present (synchrony) and in the past (diachrony). The goal of LVC [Language Variation and Change] studies is to understand the mechanisms which link extra linguistic phenomena (the social and cultural) with patterned linguistic heterogeneity (the internal, variable, system of language)."<sup>3</sup>

Variationist analysis is a hybrid discipline which in a chronological framework is connected to historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, variationist sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, historical sociolinguistics, and quantitative methods. Historical linguistics is the general topic of chapter 2 and we briefly discuss quantitative methods in 7.3.7. Here we introduce the other linguistic fields.

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<sup>2</sup> See chapter 2 (2.5).

<sup>3</sup> S. A. Tagliamonte, *Variationist Sociolinguistics: Change, Observation, Interpretation* (Language in Society 40; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), xiv. Rissanen describes VA as "an attempt to describe and discuss development in terms of changing variant fields. A variant field is the pattern formed by the variants expressing one and the same meaning or relationship, and it should be defined not only by enumerating the variants and giving information on their proportion of occurrence, but also by discussing the factors, both internal and external, which affect the choice of the variant. Perhaps the most important of these factors is the textual one - it opens the door to variation pertaining to style, medium, subject-matter, the author's social and educational background, etc. The development of language can be traced by comparing variant fields which date from successive points in time. Changes may appear as loss or emergence of variants; more often, however, they assume the form of meaningful alterations in the frequency of use of one or another variant" (M. Rissanen, "Variation and the Study of English Historical Syntax," in *Diversity and Diachrony* [ed. D. Sankoff; CILT 53; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986], 97-109 [97]).

As the name suggests, sociolinguistics is the study of language in the context of society.<sup>4</sup> It “focuses on the relationship between linguistic behavior and social situations, roles, and functions. Rather than concentrating mainly on individuals, sociolinguistics is centered on the speech community, defined as any group of people who share some set of social conventions, or sociolinguistic norms, regarding language use.”<sup>5</sup> Sociolinguistics is connected closely with the social sciences, including geography, anthropology, psychology, and, obviously, sociology. The essence of the discipline is that language variation is socially-dependent, and therefore sociolinguists seek to determine the social correlates of language variability. A major finding of modern sociolinguistics is that each linguistic variable is in principle socially unique and therefore linguistic changes do not follow a single path of transmission.<sup>6</sup>

Sociolinguistics arose much later than historical linguistics, in the 1960s, and its main ideas were crystallized to some degree in opposition to Chomsky’s abstraction of language away from everyday contexts (“an ideal speaker–listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community”). “Sociolinguistics is concerned with language *in situ* and *in vivo*...” whereas “[t]he non-hyphenated

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<sup>4</sup> For comprehensive introductions to the field of sociolinguistics see U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. J. Mattheier, and P. Trudgill, eds., *Sociolinguistics* (3 vols.; HSK 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004); R. Bayley, R. Cameron, and C. Lucas, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); A. Bell, *The Guidebook to Sociolinguistics* (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2013); J. K. Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory* (2d ed.; Malden: Blackwell, 2003); F. Coulmas, ed., *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 1998); J. Edwards, *Sociolinguistics: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); R. A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); C. Llamas, L. Mullany, and P. Stockwell, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics* (London: Routledge, 2007); R. Mesthrie, ed., *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); R. Mesthrie, J. Swann, A. Deumert, and W. L. Leap, *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (2d ed.; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Meyerhoff, *Introducing Sociolinguistics*; L. Milroy and M. Gordon, *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation* (Language in Society, 34; London: Blackwell, 2003); S. Romaine, *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); B. Spolsky, *Sociolinguistics* (Oxford Introductions to Language Study; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); P. Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society* (4th ed.; London: Penguin, 2000); R. Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 4; 5th ed.; Malden: Blackwell, 2006); R. Wodak, B. Johnstone, and P. Kerswill, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (London: Sage, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> M. Meechan and J. Rees-Miller, “Language in Social Contexts,” in *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction* (ed. W. O’Grady, J. Archibald, M. Aronoff, and J. Rees-Miller; 5th ed.; Boston: Bedford, 2005), 485–529 (485).

<sup>6</sup> Nevalainen, “Synchronic,” 362.

fields of linguistics” like phonology, morphology, syntax, and so on, “focus on the language system ideally abstracted from all social context.”<sup>7</sup> Labov is widely regarded as one of the fathers, if not the father, of sociolinguistics.<sup>8</sup> His seminal article, “The Social Motivation of a Sound Change,” was published in 1964, and his influential book, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, in 1966.<sup>9</sup> A hallmark of Labov’s technique is quantitative methods, and his pioneering approach has been so influential that it is considered a subfield of sociolinguistics with its own name, *variationist sociolinguistics*. It is also referred to as variational sociolinguistics, Labovian sociolinguistics, microsociolinguistics, variationism, the variationist approach, or variationist analysis (thus our VA). Labov’s approach was one of the first branches of linguistics to adopt a quantitative approach to data analysis,<sup>10</sup> and in any one of Labov’s publications one encounters numerous statistics in tables and graphics of numbers of speakers who are carefully correlated with extra-linguistic factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, social class and network, education, occupation, income, geography, and so on. In a nutshell, the “Labovian paradigm” centers on three key tenets: variation is inherent to linguistic structure; a socially realistic linguistics offers valuable insights to the study of language; and quantitative methods can reveal patterns where casual observation sees only chaos.<sup>11</sup>

The key concept underlying variationist sociolinguistics is the linguistic variable.<sup>12</sup> The key objective of VA is to *describe and explain the distribution of*

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<sup>7</sup> Spolsky, *Sociolinguistics*, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Alongside Labov are mentioned, for example, the other American scholars Fishman, Ferguson, Gumperz, and Hymes, and the British scholar Bernstein. See the section “History of Sociolinguistics” in Wodak, Johnstone, and Kerswill, eds., *Handbook*, 9–84.

<sup>9</sup> W. Labov, “The Social Motivation of a Sound Change,” *Word* 19 (1964): 273–309; reprinted in idem, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 1–42; idem, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). His *magnum opus* is Labov, *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 1: Internal Factors*; idem, *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 2: Social Factors*; idem, *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 3: Cognitive and Cultural Factors* (Language in Society 39; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> J. Grieve, “Sociolinguistics: Quantitative Methods,” in *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (ed. C. A. Chapelle; 10 vols.; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 9:5286–93 (5286).

<sup>11</sup> Gordon, *Labov*, 78.

<sup>12</sup> Variationist sociolinguistics is a major topic in most sociolinguistic works (cf. n. 4). Wolfram, “Variation,” is a lucid discussion. In-depth treatments of all issues are provided in J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes, eds., *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2002); republished as J. K. Chambers and N. Schilling, eds., *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; 2d ed.;

*variables*. The description depends on quantitative methods that capture the distribution of variables in different speech acts or written specimens. The explanation connects the distribution of variables (dependent variables) with extra-linguistic phenomena (independent variables) that license or disfavor their use. The patterns of distribution change from speaker to speaker and writer to writer whose language choices are influenced by many different parameters. Therefore the concentration of the variables also fluctuates through time and space. The variation model of change is illustrated in this table which gives two examples of the hypothetical period of variation and coexistence between new and old forms in the process of change:<sup>13</sup>

<b>Stage of change</b>		<b>E<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>E<sub>2</sub></b>
1	Categorical status, before undergoing change	X	X
2	Early stage, begins variability in restricted environment	X/Y	X
3	Change in full progress, greater use of new variant in E <sub>1</sub> where change first initiated	X/Y	X/Y
4	Change progresses towards completion with categorically of new variant first in E <sub>1</sub> where change initiated	Y	X/Y
5	Completed change, new variant categorical	Y	Y

The table “shows the change from the categorical use of one form, X, to another, Y, in two different linguistic environments, E<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>2</sub>. Fluctuation between the forms is indicated by X/Y.”<sup>14</sup> “Furthermore,” Wolfram observes, “the systematic variability of fluctuating forms will correlate synchronic relations of ‘more’ and ‘less’ to diachronic relations of ‘earlier’ or ‘later’ stages of the change.”<sup>15</sup> Therefore, while variation may be synchronic (at one point in time) or diachronic (at subsequent points in time), in a historical framework VA aims to

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Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); S. F. Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation and Change* (Edinburgh Sociolinguistics; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011); W. Maguire and A. McMahon, eds., *Analysing Variation in English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); S. A. Tagliamonte, *Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation* (Key Topics in Sociolinguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); idem, *Variationist*; Walker, *Variation*. A synthesis of Labov’s writings on the topic is provided in chapter 4 of Gordon, *Labov*, 77–102.

<sup>13</sup> Wolfram, “Variation,” 338; cf. 337–39; W. Wolfram and N. Schilling-Estes, “Dialectology and Linguistic Diffusion,” in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (ed. B. D. Joseph and R. D. Janda; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2003), 713–35 (716; cf. 715–21).

<sup>14</sup> Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, “Dialectology,” 716.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 716.

calculate the changing proportions of occurrence of two or more variables, or ways of saying the same thing, the increasing frequency of a new form/use and/or the decreasing frequency of an old one. The “competition” or “rivalry” between alternative variants may go on for decades or centuries until one, *perhaps*, completely supersedes the other.

Variationist analysis is closely related to corpus linguistics.<sup>16</sup> Corpus linguistics deals with the construction and analysis of corpora of spoken or written language samples. Corpora are usually large bodies of machine-readable text that contain thousands or millions of words (or tokens). Thus corpus linguistics is large-scale study of language. The compilation of corpora involves three main steps: collecting, computerizing, and annotating the texts. The annotation of texts usually provides information about the language of the texts, such as part-of-speech and grammatical markup, and information about the texts in general (metadata) in a file header, such as their title, author, author’s demographics (age, gender, etc.), time and place (dialect) of origin, genre, and so on. Software programs can be used for the quantitative and qualitative analyses of such corpora. Each of the preceding areas entails a variety of considerations. For example, the selection of texts for diachronic study has to be sensitive to the types, numbers, and lengths of texts that have survived by sheer chance and which relate to a variety of different times, places, genres, and writer demographics. Also, when comparing corpora<sup>17</sup> it is important to eliminate

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<sup>16</sup> Most works on sociolinguistics and variationist sociolinguistics have discussions of corpus linguistics (cf. n. 4 and n. 12). For concise definitions, on which this paragraph is partly based, see P. Baker, A. Hardie, and T. McEnery, *A Glossary of Corpus Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006) (“corpus,” pp. 48–49, “corpus linguistics,” pp. 50–51). Standard introductions to corpus linguistics include P. Baker, *Sociolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); D. Biber, S. Conrad, and R. Reppen, *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use* (Cambridge Approaches to Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); G. Kennedy, *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics* (Studies in Language and Linguistics; London: Longman, 1998); H. Lindquist, *Corpus Linguistics and the Description of English* (Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language—Advanced; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); T. McEnery and A. Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory and Practice* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); T. McEnery, R. Xiao, and Y. Tono, *Corpus-Based Language Studies: An Advanced Resource Book* (Routledge Applied Linguistics; London: Routledge, 2006); C. F. Meyer, *English Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction* (Studies in English Language; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Several handbooks provide thorough discussion of all relevant issues in corpus linguistics, including A. Lüdeling and M. Kytö, eds., *Corpus Linguistics: An International Handbook* (2 vols.; HSK 29; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008); A. O’Keeffe and M. McCarthy, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (Routledge Handbooks in Applied Linguistics; London: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> See the comments on inter-textual variable analysis in chapter 4 (4.2).

“noise” by comparing corpora that have similar characteristics, such as length, and to normalize the results if the lengths are not similar. In chapter 2 (2.3.1) we mentioned Schneider’s four basic requirements for written texts to be useful for variationist analysis, and we briefly discussed the first one, that texts should be as close to speech, and especially vernacular styles, as possible. His other three basic requirements are:

2 To facilitate correlations with extralinguistic parameters, the texts should be of different origins, i.e. stem from several authors from different social classes, possibly also age groups, and both sexes, and should represent varying stylistic levels.

3 Texts must display variability of the phenomenon under investigation, i.e. the use of functionally equivalent variants of a linguistic variable.

4 With quantification being the staple methodology of variationism, texts must fulfill certain size requirements...<sup>18</sup>

We make some additional comments on corpora and tokens below (7.3.7).

Most of Labov’s work and much of variationist sociolinguistics focus on present-day or real-time variation, which however as we have indicated is indivisibly linked to (potential) change in progress: “Change is essentially variation projected in the temporal dimension.”<sup>19</sup> Labov himself talks, for example, about “the use of the present to explain the past.”<sup>20</sup> Many others have gone on to apply VA explicitly to historical language states.

Historical sociolinguistics, sometimes called sociohistorical linguistics, is a relatively new field which began to develop in the 1980s. Suzanne Romaine’s *Socio-Historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology* is often cited as the seminal publication.<sup>21</sup> Historical sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary field that

<sup>18</sup> Schneider, “Investigating,” 2002:71; 2013:59–60.

<sup>19</sup> Gordon, *Labov*, 161.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Labov, *Internal Factors*, 9–27. On “Labov as historical linguist” see Gordon, *Labov*, 161–90.

<sup>21</sup> S. Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 34; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Fifteen major historical sociolinguistic works published in the quarter-century from 1982 to 2007 are listed in J. C. Conde Silvestre and J. M. Hernández Campoy, “Introduction,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 1–8 (3–4; but note that there are a few errors in titles, subtitles, and dates). To their list we would add the following publications: Anipa, *Critical*; Ayres-Bennett, *Sociolinguistic*; A. Balestra, G. A. Martínez, and M. I. Moyna, *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Linguistic Heritage: Sociohistorical Approaches to Spanish in the United States* (Houston: Arte Público, 2008); R. M. Millar, *English Historical Sociolinguistics* (Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language—Advanced; Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2012); P. Trudgill, *Investigations in Sociohistorical Linguistics: Stories of Colonisation and*

merges the principles and practices of both historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. “Ultimately, the aim of historical sociolinguistics is the description and explanation of historical variation and change [i.e., historical linguistics] in relation to purposeful speaker activity in varied and changing social contexts [i.e., sociolinguistics].”<sup>22</sup> Historical sociolinguistics also builds on other linguistic disciplines in addition to these, such as philology (chapter 2, 2.3.2), as illustrated in the following diagram:<sup>23</sup>

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*Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); van der Wal and Rutten, eds., *Touching*. Excellent short introductions to historical sociolinguistics are given elsewhere in T. Nevalainen, “Historical Sociolinguistics,” in *The Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (ed. R. Wodak, B. Johnstone, and P. Kerswill; London: Sage, 2011), 279–95; idem, “Historical Sociolinguistics and Language Change,” in *The Handbook of the History of English* (ed. A. van Kemenade and B. Los; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 558–88; idem, “New Perspectives, Theories and Methods: Historical Sociolinguistics,” in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (ed. A. Bergs and L. Brinton; 2 vols.; HSK 34; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 2:1438–57; S. Romaine, “Historical Sociolinguistics,” in *Sociolinguistics* (ed. U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. J. Mattheier, and P. Trudgill; 3 vols.; 2d ed.; HSK 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 2:1696–1703; D. N. Tuten and F. Tejedo-Herrero, “The Relationship between Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics,” in *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics* (ed. M. Díaz-Campos; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 283–302. Other helpful sources on the discipline are the Historical Sociolinguistics Network (<http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/hison/>); the online journal, *Historical Sociolinguistics and Sociohistorical Linguistics* ([http://www.hum2.leidenuniv.nl/hsl\\_shl/articles.htm](http://www.hum2.leidenuniv.nl/hsl_shl/articles.htm)); and the ePublication Volumes of VARIENG, the Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English at the University of Helsinki (<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/index.html>). The fields of sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics obviously are related disciplines and some practitioners have authored monographs related to both fields (e.g., James/Lesley Milroy, Romaine, Trudgill).

<sup>22</sup> Tuten and Tejedo-Herrero, “Relationship,” 285–86. Or, simply, historical sociolinguistics is “the reconstruction of the history of a given language in its socio-cultural context” (Conde Silvestre and Hernández Campoy, “Introduction,” 1).

<sup>23</sup> Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, “Historical,” 27.

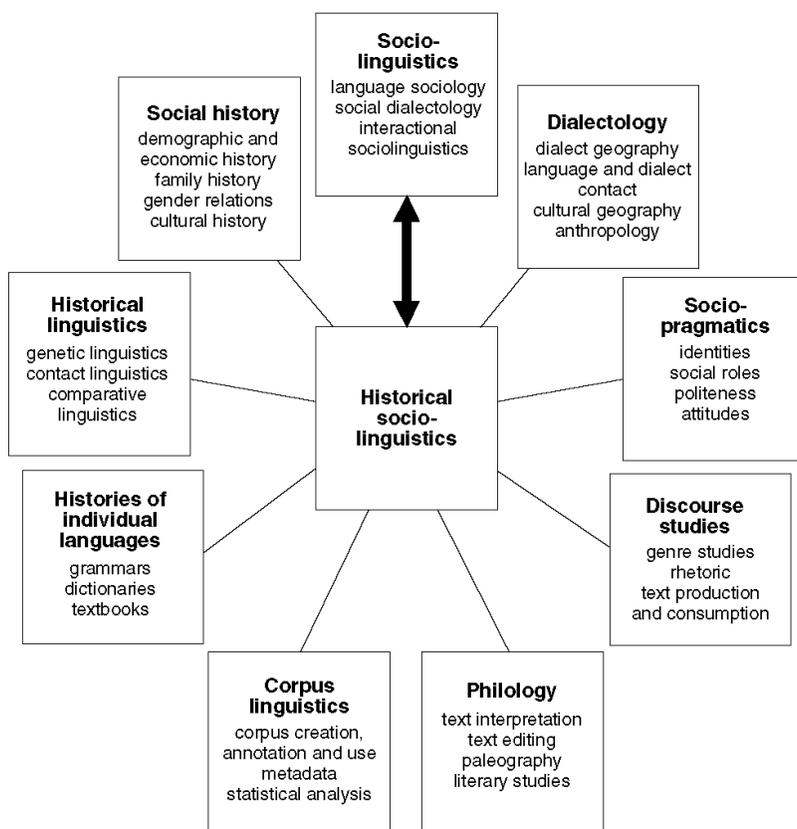


Figure 7.1

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In the following section we survey some significant issues for the study of historical linguistic variation and change. These matters are generally discussed in the historical linguistic, sociolinguistic, and historical sociolinguistic literature.

### 7.3. SIGNIFICANT ISSUES

#### 7.3.1. CHANGE IN REAL VS. APPARENT TIME

We discussed change in real vs. apparent time in chapter 2 (2.2). Most historical sources, especially as the depth of time increases, are unyielding to scrutiny of change in apparent time because the demographics of individual writers are unknown. In other words, usually we know little or nothing about the age and other characteristics of individual writers who wrote in the distant past.

## 7.3.2. STABLE VS. UNSTABLE VS. STABILIZED VARIATION

We also discussed in chapter 2 (2.4) the differences between stable, unstable, and stabilized variation, and the related issue of change in progress vs. completed change. We comment on several other issues below that relate to the (in)stability of variation.

## 7.3.3. CHANGE FROM ABOVE VS. BELOW

The distinction between change from above vs. change from below originated with Labov in some of his earliest publications and since then has been widely discussed by him and others.<sup>24</sup> The difference is linked to the dimension of awareness or consciousness. Generally speaking the two loci of change can be characterized as follows:

<b>Change from Below</b>	<b>Change from Above</b>
occurs below social awareness	occurs above social awareness, often with full public awareness
is unconsciously chosen	is consciously chosen
is socially unnoticed	is socially noticed and considered prestigious
appears first in vernacular or spontaneous speech, then moves to more formal varieties of speech	appears first in careful speech or more formal styles
represents the operation of internal linguistic factors	represents the operation of external linguistic factors such as borrowing
is unnoticed until nearing completion	is noticed from the beginning
is introduced by any social class, mostly inner classes, including lower middle and upper working classes	is introduced mostly by the dominant (not necessarily the highest) social classes
women use higher frequencies of innovative forms than men	women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men
is acquired in childhood	is acquired in adulthood
diffuses in a more natural and even direction	diffuses in a less natural and uneven direction
the distribution of old and new forms/uses is more predictable and systematic	the distribution of old and new forms/uses is less predictable, or sporadic and unsystematic
is definitive and irreversible	is indefinite and reversible

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Labov, *Internal Factors*, 78; idem, *Social Stratification*, 203–9, 240 n. 24; idem, *Sociolinguistic*, 178–81.

Change from Below	Change from Above
is a reliable indicator of chronology	is not a reliable indicator of chronology <u>given that it is largely stylistic</u>
appears in written documents in oral text types	appears in written documents in literate text types

Two issues related to Labov's distinction between changes from above vs. below are especially significant when dealing with matters of language variation and change in literary productions written in a High dialect or standard literary language. The first issue is the link between change from above and style. Style and stylistic variation are ubiquitous in Labov's sociolinguistic model.<sup>25</sup> His analysis is founded on the notion of consciousness which relates in turn to the formality of the context. The basic idea is that a more formal context triggers more attention to language, hence it is more aware, careful, intentional, and so on.<sup>26</sup> Aesthetics also plays a role in stylistic variation: a speaker or writer (or a group of speakers or writers) often has attitudes about what constitutes "good style" resulting in the manipulation of language for aesthetic purposes.<sup>27</sup> On the scale of formality, writing is usually, but not always, more formal than speech, and literary writing is habitually more formal than other genres of writing. Thus literary writing in itself triggers careful attention to language, and encourages conscious selection and implementation of change.<sup>28</sup>

Another interesting issue is the link in some literate societies between change from above and institutionally instigated and standardized language. The connection between these is often underlined.<sup>29</sup> A potent illustration is Meurman-Solin's work on Scottish English.<sup>30</sup> Basing her study on 850,000 words of running text in the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (1450–1700) and the Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (1540–1800), she is able to relate

<sup>25</sup> For example, in Labov, *Social Stratification*. For an explicit remark see p. 240 n. 24.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, T. Kristiansen, "Attitudes, Ideology and Awareness," in *The Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (ed. R. Wodak, B. Johnstone, and P. Kerswill; London: Sage, 2011), 265–78 (267–71); N. Schilling, "Investigating Stylistic Variation," in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (ed. J. K. Chambers and N. Schilling; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; 2d ed.; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 327–49 (329–32).

<sup>27</sup> D. Biber and S. Conrad, *Register, Genre, and Style* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 18–19.

<sup>28</sup> Some illustrations are given in chapter 4 (4.3.1, English; 4.3.2, French; 4.3.3, Spanish).

<sup>29</sup> For a brief statement see Romaine, "Historical," 1698; cf. 1698–99.

<sup>30</sup> A. Meurman-Solin, "Change from Above or Below? Mapping the *Loci* of Linguistic Change in the History of Scottish English," in *The Development of Standard English 1300–1800: Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts* (ed. L. Wright; Studies in English Language; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 155–70.

changes “from above” to five extra-linguistic variables, including (1) “supranational—national—regional—local” (or “‘centre’ against ‘periphery’”), (2) “formal—informal,” (3) “competent and experienced writers (mostly men)—less competent and inexperienced writers (including women),” (4) “conservative genre—innovative genre,” and (5) “written idiom—spoken idiom.” She concludes that the most central factors conditioning major diachronic developments in Scots were related to the social function of formal written texts and their audience and that the features of the national norm spread from the administrative, legal, political, and cultural institutions to private domains.

### 7.3.4. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

We also discussed in chapter 2 (2.4) independent or extra-linguistic variables of language variation and change, including principally diatopic (dialect/region), diastratic (society/sociolect), diaphasic (idiolect, style), and diasituative (register, situation) dimensions.<sup>31</sup> “Style” is a hazy or, perhaps better, an elastic rubric under which linguists have included a variety of phenomena relating to identity, formality, aesthetics, and so on.<sup>32</sup> A “register” is a variety of language used for a particular linguistic activity or in a particular group setting (e.g., journalese vs. sermons). Sociolect, the speech or “dialect” of a social group, and idiolect, the speech or “dialect” of a single individual, are especially influenced by speaker/writer demographics such as age, gender, ethnicity, rank, social class and network, education, occupation, ideology, etc. Some of these mechanisms of language variation and change are difficult or impossible to isolate concretely in historical sources of data without documentary evidence and/or extra-linguistic knowledge, for example about speaker/writer demographics. This is a significant problem for historical

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<sup>31</sup> In general on internal/endogenous/linguistic vs. external/exogenous/extra-linguistic factors related to language variation and change see R. Hickey, “Internally- and Externally-Motivated Language Change,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 387–407.

<sup>32</sup> See the remarks above and the following representative publications: P. Auer, ed., *Style and Social Identities: Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity* (Language, Power and Social Process, 18; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007); N. Coupland, *Style: Language Variation and Identity* (Key Topics in Sociolinguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); P. Eckert and J. R. Rickford, eds., *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); J. Haynes, *Style* (Language Workbooks; London: Routledge, 1995). The relationship between style and stance is explored in A. Jaffe, ed., *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

linguistics since it is proven that considerable variation, even in the linguistic usage of contemporaries, often hinges on such matters (7.3.6).

### 7.3.5. DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS

The stock-in-trade method for displaying the diffusion of innovations,<sup>33</sup> or the gradual spread of new linguistic features, is the s-shaped diffusion curve, or simply s-curve.<sup>34</sup> A standard model of the diffusion of innovations was popularized by Rogers in his book, first published in 1962, *Diffusion of Innovations*.<sup>35</sup> “Diffusion is the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system.”<sup>36</sup> Innovations happen all the time in connection with agriculture, business, medicine, transportation, and many other areas. The basic idea is that new ideas or items are introduced by innovators and then spread throughout the population as a whole as they are successively adopted by individuals and groups which Rogers calls early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. The following graph shows a common frequency distribution of adopters divided into five categories.<sup>37</sup> Time is on the horizontal axis. Percentage of adoption is on the vertical axis. The hypothetical s-curve is in yellow. According to Rogers, “the S-shaped diffusion curve ‘takes off’ at about 10 to 20 percent adoption, when interpersonal networks become activated so that a critical mass of adopters begin using an innovation.”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Helpful surveys of this topic are given in D. Britain, “Innovation Diffusion in Sociohistorical Linguistics,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 451–64; J. K. Chambers, “Patterns of Variation including Change,” in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (ed. J. K. Chambers and N. Schilling; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; 2d ed.; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 297–323. Both articles interact with the important publications by Labov and Milroy, who propose different social loci for innovating individuals, social class and social network, respectively.

<sup>34</sup> Other terminology includes s-shaped curve, s-shaped curve of adoption, s-curve of diffusion, diffusion curve, s-curve slope, sigmoid curve or function, logistic curve or function, etc. Simply stated, an s-curve is a line chart that graphically represents data for the purpose of comparison.

<sup>35</sup> E. M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations* (5th ed.; New York: Free Press, 2003).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>37</sup> The graph is adapted from Wikipedia, “Diffusion of Innovations” ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diffusion\\_of\\_innovations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diffusion_of_innovations); cited November 15, 2013). The Wikipedia graph is based on Rogers, *Diffusion*.

<sup>38</sup> Rogers, *Diffusion*, 12.

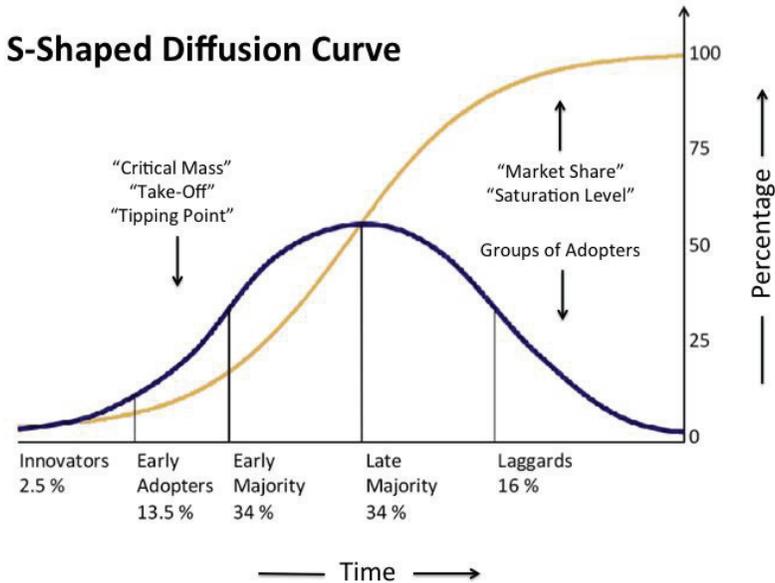


Figure 7.2

As we mentioned already, the s-curve has become widely accepted as a “template” for the diffusion of linguistic innovations.<sup>39</sup> Early, middle, and late adopters of new linguistic items are describable as leaders or progressives, moderates, and conservatives or laggards, respectively. For the case studies they summarize, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg find it useful to divide ongoing changes into five stages, covering the different areas of the slope of the s-curve and relating to the proportion of incoming items: incipient (below 15%), new and vigorous (15–35%), mid-range (36–65%), nearing completion (66–85%), and completed (over 85%).<sup>40</sup> Observe that the diffusion of new items begins

<sup>39</sup> See the following selected publications: D. Denison, “Log(ist)ic and Simplistic S-curves,” in *Motives for Language Change* (ed. R. Hickey; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 54–70; Labov, *Internal Factors*, 65–67; Nevalainen, “Synchronic,” 358–60; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 53–58; M. Ogura, “The Timing of Language Change,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 427–50; Wolfram, “Variation,” 338–39; K. Zuraw, “Language Change: Probabilistic Models,” in *ELL* 6:349–57 (354–56). These publications discuss the foundational works by Bailey and Kroch.

<sup>40</sup> Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 54–55. Tagliamonte suggests how these stages might be linked to social factors: incipient: no age or social correlates;

slowly, increases rapidly in mid-course, and slows down as it nears completion. We are not particularly interested in the specific numbers, but only in the observation that linguistic innovations are gradually adopted over time by the total group of people who are exposed to them. The s-curve has been applied to all levels of language including phonology, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon.<sup>41</sup> As we describe in more detail below (7.5), we make use of the “s-curve” idea as a heuristic model or technique for displaying the distributional patterns of coexisting “old” and “new” linguistic items. The following observations are important to keep in mind in relation to VA and s-curves:

- The slope of progression is not as simple or uniform as is sometimes assumed. It is an ideal or prototypical pattern. It is probabilistic. It is not absolute. It does not apply to *all* instances of innovation and diffusion.
- The initial appearance of an “innovation” in writing should not be interpreted as its “beginning”: “The examples above [of periphrastic *do*] are sporadic and they are the earliest dates at which the form is attested in the surviving written sample, which is not the same thing as the earliest dates of the actual change. Moreover, a linguistic phenomenon probably becomes noticeable in written texts long after it has become fairly widespread in spoken language.”<sup>42</sup>
- Not all innovations lead to change. In fact, most innovations fail to diffuse. Rogers gives numerous illustrations of unsuccessful diffusion.<sup>43</sup> Tarde suggests that given one-hundred different innovations conceived of at the same time, ten will spread and ninety will be forgotten.<sup>44</sup>
- The arrival of a new item commonly does not coincide with the loss of an old one. Old and new items in “competition” may coexist for a considerable period of time, for days, weeks, months, years, decades, or centuries. So, for instance, not all speakers (or writers) adopt a linguistic innovation simultaneously. An old item can linger on in certain linguistic environments, dialects, genres, and so on. In fact, an old linguistic item may *never* disappear from the speech (or writing) of some individuals and groups.

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new and vigorous: social factors become significant; mid-range: social factors weaken; nearing completion: social differences level out (Tagliamonte, *Variationist*, 61–62).

<sup>41</sup> An assortment of case studies, fourteen in total, are summarized in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 58–78.

<sup>42</sup> Ogura, “Timing,” 432. Moreover, “there seems to be no easy way for empirical studies of change in progress to identify in the data the crucial distinction between innovators and early adopters,” and, “the individuals or groups that we identify as carrying linguistic changes are likely to be early adopters of the change rather than innovators” (Milroy, *Linguistic*, 184, 201).

<sup>43</sup> Rogers, *Diffusion*, 1–5.

<sup>44</sup> G. Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation* (New York: Holt, 1903), 140. Milroy cites this suggestion as valid for linguistic innovations (Milroy, *Linguistic*, 195). What Tarde called “imitation” is today called “adoption.”

- Most speakers belong to the in-between group of moderates. The same people are rarely conservative or progressive in several simultaneous changes underway. The same group of people may promote some ongoing changes while remaining in-between or even conservative with regard to others.<sup>45</sup>
- Returning to the first point, the contour of the s-shaped curve of diffusion *must be established independently*. This is a crucial point in the context of the present book. Rogers explains: “The S-curve of diffusion is so ubiquitous that students of diffusion often expect every innovation to be adopted over time in an S-shaped pattern. However, certain innovations do not display an S-shaped rate of adoption, perhaps for some idiosyncratic reason...The main point here is not to assume that an S-shaped rate of adoption is an inevitability. *Rather, the shape of the adopter distribution for a particular innovation ought to be regarded as an open question, to be determined empirically.* In most cases when this has been done in past research, an adopter distribution is found to follow a bell-shaped, normal curve or is S-shaped on a cumulative basis.”<sup>46</sup> In other words, the adopter distribution or temporal dimension of the s-curve *must flow from the distribution of the data and not be written over the top of the data.*
- Building on the previous point, “the recalcitrant nature of [the linguistic] data is displayed in three common features of change in progress: 1 Linguistic changes show a sporadic character, beginning and ending abruptly at times that are not predicted by any universal principles. 2 Stable, long-term variation that persists over many centuries in much the same form is perhaps even more common than changes which go to completion. 3 It is not uncommon to find retrograde movements, where the direction of change reverses, or opposing directions of movement in parallel communities.”<sup>47</sup> The sporadic, stable, and retrograde aspects of language variation and change that are underlined by Labov reinforce Rogers’s point that “the shape of the adopter distribution for a particular innovation ought to be regarded as an open question, to be determined empirically.” We return to this matter in 7.5, because it is a crucial issue that has been disregarded in recent applications of the s-curve idea by Hebraists.

Keeping the preceding remarks in mind we will now look more closely at several other related issues: groups and individuals, corpora and tokens, and standardization and invariance.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> On these issues see T. Nevalainen, H. Raumolin-Brunberg, and H. Mannila, “The Diffusion of Language Change in Real Time: Progressive and Conservative Individuals and the Time Depth of Change,” *LVC* 23 (2011): 1–43.

<sup>46</sup> Rogers, *Diffusion*, 277 (emphasis added). Note also Rogers discussion of independent and dependent variables (*ibid.*, 128–29).

<sup>47</sup> Labov, *Social Factors*, 75.

<sup>48</sup> For the purposes of this book we do not feel it is necessary to discuss another related issue, the “Constant Rate Effect” (CRE), also called the “Constant Rate

## 7.3.6. GROUPS VS. INDIVIDUALS

Here we turn our attention from groups to the individuals who make them up. A frequent problem with corpus-based studies is, to turn the idiom upside down, not seeing the trees for the forest. In our discussion of homogeneity in the section on periodization in chapter 2 (2.5), we mentioned Harre's remark that some Spanish writers were more conservative while others were more progressive in their use of *tener* ("to have") plus past participle. Her point is that there can be considerable differences in the participation of individuals in ongoing linguistic changes.<sup>49</sup> Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg discuss this issue at more length.<sup>50</sup> One of their illustrations is a previous study in which they found great divergence between two early sixteenth-century merchant brothers, John and Otwell Johnson, in their adoption of incoming morphosyntactic forms, such as *you* for *ye* and *are* for *be*.<sup>51</sup> John preferred the newer forms *you* and *are* (98% and 92%, respectively) whereas Otwell favored the older forms *ye* and *be* (97% and 81%, respectively).<sup>52</sup> In other words, these contemporaries display nearly opposite trends in their use of old and new variants. Hudson discusses several similar examples of variation in groups of speakers in Tehran and Edinburgh.<sup>53</sup> He comments that it is typical of the literature to report group averages rather than individual scores, and while merging separate figures into averages has some benefits, such as increasing the statistical significance of any differences between scores, a regrettable consequence is that "[a] reliance on group scores alone conceals the amount of variation within each group."<sup>54</sup> It is meaningless or misleading, for example, to talk about a group score of 2, or 5,

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Hypothesis" (CRH) or "Uniform Rate Hypothesis" (URH), which argues that the rate of change is uniform across the linguistic environments in which the change occurs. On this matter see the following selected publications: Denison, "Log(ist)ic," 64; Janda and Joseph, "Language," 140–41 n. 21; K. Matsuda, "Constant Rate Hypothesis," in *ELL* 3:54–56; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 57, 186–87; Ogura, "Timing," 429–33; Wolfram, "Variation," 338; Zuraw, "Language," 352–53, 355. These articles interact with the important publications on this issue by Bailey and Kroch.

<sup>49</sup> See also the example of Hittite *-ma* in chapter 2, n. 107.

<sup>50</sup> T. Nevalainen and H. Raumolin-Brunberg, "Historical Sociolinguistics: Origins, Motivations, and Paradigms," in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 22–40 (32–36).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 32–33. We also mentioned these changes in English in chapter 4 (4.3.1) in the discussion of editions of the Book of Common Prayer.

<sup>52</sup> H. Raumolin-Brunberg and T. Nevalainen, "Social Embedding of Linguistic Changes in Tudor English," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th Birthday* (ed. R. Hickey and S. Puppel; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 701–17 (706).

<sup>53</sup> Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, 177–81.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

when the individuals have scores of 1 and 3, or 0 and 10, respectively.<sup>55</sup> We will refer to the concept introduced here as the principle of individuality.

### 7.3.7. CORPORA AND TOKENS

Corpora should match the research questions they seek to answer. Other than that there is a lot of flexibility in the design of corpora. The key issues are balance, representativeness, and comparability, particularly in relation to size and coverage of genres, times, and places.<sup>56</sup> As for size, the general feeling is that “bigger is better,” but smaller corpora have been designed for specific purposes. Comparability is important “in order to avoid too much ‘noise’”<sup>57</sup> and this is especially true for diachronic analyses since “comparing diachronic corpora that differ in other ways (such as size, genre or region) means that it may be difficult to determine whether research findings are due to change over time or some other factor.”<sup>58</sup>

A token is a single linguistic unit, most often a word.<sup>59</sup> We need to discuss three related issues in more detail: Which variables are the object of analysis? How many tokens of a variable are needed? How should we count tokens?

*Which variables are the object of analysis?* The short answer is “all of them.” The longer answer is “all of them, but not all variables are created equal.”<sup>60</sup> According to Labov: “The most useful items are those that are high in frequency, have a certain immunity from conscious suppression, are integral units of larger structures, and may be easily quantified on a linear scale. By all

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<sup>55</sup> Some additional thoughts on “individual scores and group scores” are given in Milroy, *Linguistic*, 136–37. See also Fisiak’s remark on OE and ME that we cited in chapter 2, n. 151.

<sup>56</sup> These matters and others are discussed in most works on corpus linguistics (cf. n. 16).

<sup>57</sup> P. Cantos Gómez, “The Use of Linguistic Corpora for the Study of Linguistic Variation and Change: Types and Computational Applications,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 99–122 (104).

<sup>58</sup> Baker, *Sociolinguistics*, 60.

<sup>59</sup> Baker, Hardie, and McEnery, *Glossary*, 159.

<sup>60</sup> For brief discussion see Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, 169–75; Nevalainen, “Synchronic,” 357; Wolfram, “Variation,” 334–35. For more detailed treatment see, for example, Kiesling, *Linguistic*, 14–17, 129–68; Tagliamonte, *Analysing*, 70–98; idem, *Variationist*, 3–8, 15–19, 177–348; Walker, *Variation*, 9–11, 45–92. See also chapters 12–16 on orthographic, phonological, grammatical, lexical-semantic, and pragmatic variables in Hernández Campoy and Conde Silvestre, eds., *Handbook*, 213–306. These works give many examples of different kinds of variables. Note that the following discussion does not consider orthographic, pragmatic, and some other kinds of variables.

these criteria, phonological variables appear to be the most useful.”<sup>61</sup> And indeed phonetic and phonological variables are studied most often in variationist sociolinguistics, followed by grammatical variables (morphology and syntax), and, more rarely, lexical variables. In contrast, diachronic studies have focused more often on morphosyntactic variables since the sounds of language largely fall outside the scope of empirical research. In addition to the frequency requirement, which we will return to shortly, comparability is another important criterion. Phonological variables and most morphological variables readily fulfill the requirement of semantic equivalence. Lexical variables and syntactic variables, however, are often less certain in this regard. Frequently it is difficult to know whether two (apparent) lexical variants or syntactic variants have precisely the same meaning (the principle of synonymy). Another significant factor related to the lexicon (excluding function words) is randomness of attestation, and even a large corpus of writings sometimes cannot provide adequate tokens for reliable quantitative generalizations. Altogether syntax has at least the following drawbacks:

1. Some syntactic units may require large quantities of writings to obtain enough tokens to find patterns of usage (frequency requirement).
2. Syntax is abstract and sometimes it may be difficult to define the variable context (or semantic equivalence) (comparability requirement).
3. Syntax is sensitive to genre differences and so controlling for genre is crucial when comparing different constructions (genre requirement).
4. Syntactic change is gradual or, conversely, syntax is relatively stable, so that writings covering a long period of time are usually needed in order to uncover development (time requirement).
5. Sometimes other disciplines—Hudson gives several examples related to psycholinguistics and discourse analysis<sup>62</sup>—may offer better explanations for the differences between two “synonymous” syntactic constructions.

In summary, different linguistic variables have their own ups and downs, and there is really no way around this problem except by being sensitive to them on a case by case basis.

*How many tokens of a variable are needed?* In the preceding paragraph we mentioned the requirement of frequency. In terms of statistical significance, which we will turn to shortly, larger numbers of tokens are better. But how many? This is actually an unsolved problem. And it relates more to grammatical and lexical variables since studies of phonological variables usually have large quantities of data at their disposal. Several scholars have looked explicitly at this

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<sup>61</sup> Labov, *Social Stratification*, 32 (emphasis original); cf. idem, “Social Motivation,” 7–10 (frequent, structured, highly stratified/asymmetric distribution over ordered strata of society).

<sup>62</sup> Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, 172.

issue and their conclusions are often cited in the literature. Albó studied an assortment of phonological, prosodic, grammatical, and lexical variables in Cochabamba Quechua.<sup>63</sup> In a summary of his findings on relevant sample size he concludes that the number of required tokens to produce representative results fluctuates widely, from as few as one or two to one hundred or more:

In summary, there is no single criterion to determine the number of occurrences necessary to have representative results for a given speaker. In complex variables and in type countings even more than one hundred occurrences may not be enough. But in other well defined and patterned variables less than ten and even one single occurrence might show the pattern. For most of the variables, one hundred occurrences yield an accuracy where variations are below 5% and twenty or thirty occurrences are enough to show many contrastive patterns.<sup>64</sup>

Guy studied final stop (/t, d/) deletion in Philadelphia English.<sup>65</sup> He demonstrates that “most of the deviations from the majority patterns for the grammatical status and following environment factor groups occur in the range below 10 tokens. Above 10 tokens there is 90% conformity with the expected pattern, whereas below 10 tokens only 63% of the relationships are as expected. Above 35 tokens, there is 100% conformity.”<sup>66</sup> Hence “in order to achieve a reasonable degree of reliability and accuracy...the figure of 30 tokens per factor seems to be an appropriate goal if reliable results are to be obtained.”<sup>67</sup> Note that his figure of *thirty tokens* applies to *individual speakers* and not to the group as a whole. Guy also views his conclusion as a caution about when it might be appropriate to lump together data for several people as a way of obtaining sufficient data for a valid analysis.<sup>68</sup> In a related study, Guy and Boyd state categorically that “[m]eaningful analytical results cannot be obtained if there are fewer than 10–15 tokens of the target category in a data set...Speakers for whom we have less than this number of tokens cannot be analyzed individually.”<sup>69</sup> Other scholars have confirmed these findings in both sociolinguistic and

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<sup>63</sup> X. Albó, “Social Constraints on Cochabamba Quechua” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1970).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 316–17.

<sup>65</sup> G. R. Guy, “Variation in the Group and the Individual: The Case of Final Stop Deletion,” in *Locating Language in Time and Space* (ed. W. Labov; New York: Academic Press, 1980), 1–36.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 19–20.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 26. In a footnote Guy remarks: “It is interesting to note that  $N = 30$  is the approximate dividing line between ‘large’ and ‘small’ samples in statistics...” (*ibid.*, 26 n. 13).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 20–21.

<sup>69</sup> G. R. Guy and S. Boyd, “The Development of a Morphological Class,” *LVC* 2 (1990): 1–18 (7).

historical sociolinguistic studies.<sup>70</sup> The ideal number of tokens per individual, or any further subdivision by environment or for some other purpose, is thirty, and working with less than ten tokens is hazardous.

This conclusion echoes a common sentiment about linguistic analysis in general that is nicely stated in a completely different context by Marantz: “It’s very difficult to argue anything from idiosyncrasies—one argues from systematic differences.”<sup>71</sup> When dealing with historical data, however, this sensible admonition is a double-edged sword. We mentioned above the problem of a so-called “first attestation” in written documents (7.3.5). Another issue is the absence or near absence of tokens or variants of a particular variable. As a rule we can have very little confidence about unusual, uncommon, or even unattested items. Why aren’t they there? Were they unknown or “unavailable,” or “available” and simply unused for some reason or another? This is the well-known problem of “negative evidence” (in the sense of “non-occurrence”), “missed opportunities,” “accidental gaps,” and so on.<sup>72</sup> “We simply cannot know whether the form/construction or experimental effect is missing for a principled reason or not showing up by coincidence, for example, because we just did not look at a large enough data set.”<sup>73</sup>

*How should we count tokens?* Here we briefly summarize three matters: raw frequency, normalized frequency, and statistical significance. Raw frequencies, or absolute or simple counts of numbers of occurrences, cannot be meaningfully compared if the corpora from which those raw frequencies are derived are dissimilar in their sizes. Rather, it is necessary to work with normalized (or standardized) frequencies. There are two ways to do this. One common method

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<sup>70</sup> R. Bayley, “The Quantitative Paradigm,” in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (ed. J. K. Chambers and N. Schilling; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; 2d ed.; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 85–107 (86–89); Hernández Campoy and Schilling, “Application,” 67; L. Milroy, *Observing and Analysing Natural Language: A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Method* (Language in Society 12; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 134–37; Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 163–64; Romaine, *Socio-Historical*, 105–14; Tagliamonte, *Variationist*, 136.

<sup>71</sup> A. Marantz, “No Escape From Syntax: Don’t Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon,” in *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics, Volume 4.2: Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium* (ed. A. Dimitriadis, L. Siegel, C. Surek-Clark, and A. Williams; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 201–25 (214).

<sup>72</sup> Allen, *Genitives*, 28–30; Britain, “Innovation,” 456–57; T. J. Faarlund, *Syntactic Change: Toward a Theory of Historical Syntax* (TiLSM 50; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 16–18; Janda and Joseph, “Language,” 15.

<sup>73</sup> M. Penke and A. Rosenbach, “What Counts as Evidence in Linguistics? An Introduction,” *Studies in Language* 28 (2004): 480–526 (486; cf. 486–87). Penke and Rosenbach go on to explain that the value of negative absence is relative to the regularity or marginality of the construction in question and they give several examples relating to OE and ME.

is to normalize the counts to a common base, for example, to 1,000 or 1,000,000 words.<sup>74</sup> The common base for normalization should be comparable to the sizes of the corpora, or to the sizes of the individual constituents when dealing with a single corpus. Another common method for a two-variant variable is to express the variants as proportions of their respective variable. For example, 175 tokens of “couch” and twenty-five of “sofa” used in a writing for “a long upholstered piece of furniture for several people to sit on,” have percentages of 87.5% and 12.5%, respectively. This method is sometimes referred to as a “distributional analysis.”<sup>75</sup> When using this method it is crucial to adhere to the principle of accountability:

Accountability requires that all the relevant forms in the subsystem of grammar that you have targeted for investigation, not simply the variant of interest, are included in the analysis. The idea is that the analyst cannot gain access to how a variant functions in the grammar without considering it in the context of the subsystem of which it is a part. Then, each use of the variant under investigation can be reported as a proportion of the total number of relevant constructions, i.e. the total number of times the function (i.e. the same meaning) occurred in the data...<sup>76</sup>

Finally, when handling samples of tokens from a population or corpus, or samples from dissimilar sizes of populations or corpora, since the differences observed could have arisen by chance, linguists may invoke tests of statistical significance.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Baker, Hardie, and McEnery, *Glossary*, 149; Biber, Conrad, and Reppen, *Corpus*, 263–64; McEnery, Xiao, and Tono, *Corpus-Based*, 52–53.

<sup>75</sup> Baker, Hardie, and McEnery, *Glossary*, 149; Tagliamonte, *Variationist*, 11–12; Walker, *Variation*, 21–23; cf. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 214–17.

<sup>76</sup> Tagliamonte, *Variationist*, 10; cf. 9–11, 19–21; “principle of accountability[:] a methodological axiom; all contexts of a variable must be taken into account, including all contexts in which the variants occurred, as well as those in which they could have occurred but did not” (Tagliamonte, *Analysing*, 265).

<sup>77</sup> McEnery, Xiao, and Tono, *Corpus-Based*, 55–57; Walker, *Variation*, 27–29. For more detailed discussion see, for example, S. Th. Gries, “Useful Statistics for Corpus Linguistics,” in *A Mosaic of Corpus Linguistics: Selected Approaches* (ed. A. Sánchez and M. Almela; SRSIK 66; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 269–91; P. Cantos Gómez, *Statistical Methods in Language and Linguistic Research* (London: Equinox, 2013).

## 7.3.8. STANDARDIZATION AND INVARIANCE

We discussed above the connection between standard literary language and change from above, or consciously-chosen language (7.3.3).<sup>78</sup> Invariance is another hallmark of standard literary language when contrasted with natural language. Milroy remarks that “the main linguistic symptom of standardization is invariance”<sup>79</sup> and “[s]tandardization consists of the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects...a standard variety recognizes only one form of any word, pronunciation, or grammatical structure as the accepted form, and other variants, which may actually exist abundantly in the language, are rejected.”<sup>80</sup> This has a number of implications, including avoidance of innovations, or delayed attestation of new forms, and retention or imitation of archaisms, or delayed removal of old forms. Either way, the linguistic facts of the standard language variety are out of sync with those of the natural or current spoken variety. This is a key reason why diachronic linguistic studies largely exclude literary writings.<sup>81</sup>

## 7.4. ENGLISH ILLUSTRATION

Our aim in this section is to give a short, simple, and clear illustration of a case of linguistic change in the history of English. Several convenient publications with many discussions and illustrations of lexical and grammatical diffusion and the s-curve are Conde Silvestre’s *Sociolingüística Histórica* and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg’s *Historical Sociolinguistics*.<sup>82</sup> The

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<sup>78</sup> Previously we commented on standardization in chapter 2 (2.3.1 and 2.3.2) and chapter 3 (3.3).

<sup>79</sup> Milroy, *Linguistic*, 129; cf. 123–31. The word “invariance” is used in Hernández Campoy and Schilling, “Application,” 68. Others speak about “invariability.”

<sup>80</sup> J. Milroy, “Sociolinguistics and Ideologies in Language History,” in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (ed. J. M. Hernández Campoy and J. C. Conde Silvestre; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 571–84 (576; cf. 575–77).

<sup>81</sup> We recall the words on this matter in Schneider, “Investigating,” 2002:71; 2013:59.

<sup>82</sup> Several other helpful articles from a methodological standpoint (VA, s-curve, Constant Rate Effect, etc.) are A. Kroch, “Syntactic Change,” in *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory* (ed. M. Baltin and C. Collins; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2001), 699–729; S. Pintzuk, “Variationist Approaches to Syntactic Change,” in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (ed. B. D. Joseph and R. D. Janda; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2003), 509–29. The latter studies the loss of the verb-second constraint in the history of English. We only want to underline one point here, which we will highlight again below, and that is Pintzuk’s repeated references to *writings whose dates are independently established before the data in the texts are plotted and examined*: “Suppose that, within a group of

example we have selected is the change of the third-person singular verbal ending *-th* to *-s* in the course of Early Modern English (c. 1500–1800).<sup>83</sup> Consider, for example, Prov 3:12 in the 1611 KJV compared to the NRSV:

For whom the Lord loueth, he correcteth, euen as a father the sonne, in whom he delighteth. (KJV)

For the Lord reproves the one he loves, as a father the son in whom he delights. (NRSV)

Observe in particular the *-th/-s* difference between the verbal endings of *loveth* and *loves*, *correcteth* and *reproves*, and *delighteth* and *delights*. Two scholars who have studied this change in detail and in multiple publications are Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg.<sup>84</sup> In keeping with the objective of this section we will not address many issues related to this development in the

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historical texts with a range of dates of composition, we can identify one particular linguistic change that we want to study, in which a new form alternates with and eventually replaces an older form in a variety of linguistic contexts. For each text, we can count the number of times each of the two forms appears in each context. We can then plot the frequency of the new form against the dates of the texts and examine the time course of the change” (Pintzuk, “Variationist,” 511–12); “This is not, however, an easy task: quantitative diachronic syntactic research requires the use of large historical corpora, containing well-documented data which represent a broad range of genres, dialects, authors, and dates of composition” (ibid., 515); “Date of composition” as label of x-axis in graph (ibid., 523); “As discussed in section 1, we can count the number of times verb-second order appears in each clause type for each text, and then plot the frequency of verb-second order against the dates of the texts and examine the time course of the change” (ibid., 523); cf. ibid., 527 n. 9, 528 n. 18 and n. 19. It would be a fundamental misuse of the s-curve to try to use it to sequence or date linguistic phenomena or the writings containing them when the dates of origin of those writings have not been determined independently beforehand.

<sup>83</sup> For a brief description of this development see van Gelderen, *History*, 168–69.

<sup>84</sup> Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 67–68, *passim* (cf. “-s,” “-TH,” and “third-person singular suffix” in the subject index, ibid., 264–65). They cite their other publications on this issue at various points. Conde also comments at length on this change, basing his discussions mainly on the work of Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (Conde Silvestre, *Sociolingüística*, 88–91, 133–42, 146–47, 161–62, 185–86). In a more recent article Gries and Hilpert use variability-based neighbor clustering (VNC) and generalized linear mixed-effects modeling (GLMEM) using the lme4 package in R (<http://www.r-project.org>) in a bottom-up and data-driven method that controls simultaneously for the effects of most relevant internal and external variables. Their results share substantial ground with the study of Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg. Unfortunately, however, the crucial factor of regional variation or dialect is excluded from Gries and Hilpert’s study (298 n. 2, 315). See S. Th. Gries and M. Hilpert, “Modeling Diachronic Change in the Third Person Singular: A Multifactorial, Verb- and Author-Specific Exploratory Approach,” *ELL* 14 (2010): 293–320.

history of English. We are mainly interested in the big ideas and a few key points.

Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg's study is based on the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC)*.<sup>85</sup> The corpus consists of 2.7 million words of running text. The text is composed of 6,039 letters, mostly autographs, written by people in England in the timespan between c. 1410 and 1681, a period of 270 years. The 778 writers represent mainly the upper ranks of society, and men (610) outnumber women (168).<sup>86</sup>

The quantitative data for *-th* and *-s*, undifferentiated by age, gender, social class, dialect, and register is summarized in the following table.<sup>87</sup>

Period	-TH	-S	% -S	Total
1410?–1459	611	2	0	613
1460–1499	1,258	199	14	1,457
1500–1539	1,134	75	6	1,209
1540–1579	1,749	197	10	1,946
1580–1619	1,487	1,161	44	2,648
1620–1659	711	3,305	82	4,016
1660–1681	157	1,802	92	1,959

It is evident that in general there is a gradual increase in the frequency of usage of *-s* from the earliest to the latest time, from 0% to 92%, respectively. (We comment below on the decrease in usage of *-s* in part of the sixteenth century.) When the percentages of usage of *-s* are plotted against the known dates of the writers/letters an s-curve with the following shape is produced:<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> See <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/domains/CEEC.html>.

<sup>86</sup> Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, *Historical*, 43–49; cf. 223–34 for descriptions of the writers and their letters, including names and dates.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>88</sup> Our s-curve is nearly identical to the one in *ibid.*, 68.

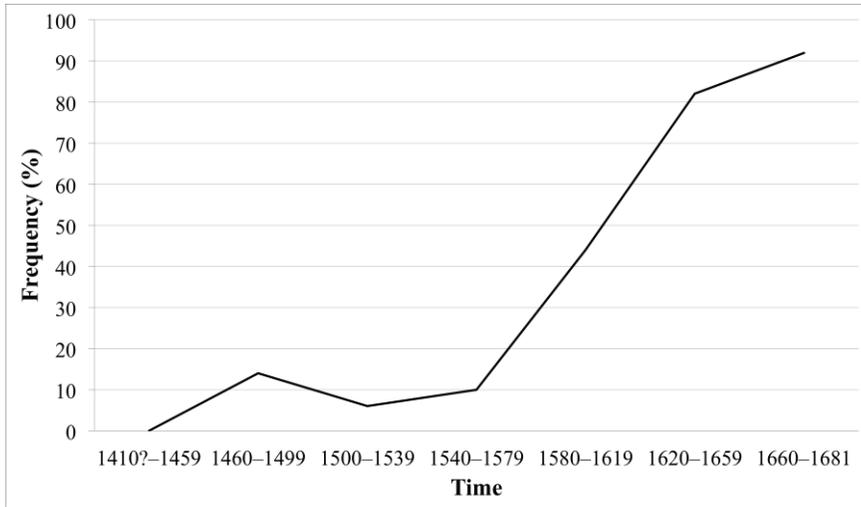


Figure 7.3

This s-curve is a helpful visual aid and while it does not have a perfect s-shape it is close. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg explain the decrease in usage of *-s* in part of the sixteenth century by two waves of diffusion, one in the latter half of the fifteenth century, when *-s* failed to diffuse into the upper strata, and a “second coming” a century later when the diffusion was successful.<sup>89</sup> But, when we look more carefully at the underlying data, the fairly neat s-curve breaks up into a complex web of interrelated yet different patterns. In short, the advance of *-s* is impacted simultaneously and differently according to the age, gender, social stratification, dialect, genre, and register of the writers.<sup>90</sup> Here are a few key points:

- *Age*: Different uses can be observed between the age groups (apparent time), however the generational pattern does not emerge as expected, there is no unfailing correspondence between the age of an informant and his or her choice of variant, and it does not seem true on the basis of this variable, and the other ones studied, that people at an early age acquire the forms and frequencies they will use all their lives.
- *Gender*: “Women systematically favour *-s* in the first two periods, but the gender difference is neutralized when the change approaches completion in the third.”<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 67–68, 122, 150, 153, 178, 195.

<sup>90</sup> Age (apparent time): *ibid.*, 86–92; gender: *ibid.*, 122–24, 130–31, 195, 199; social stratification: *ibid.*, 123, 139–41, 144–45, 147, 149–50, 152–54, 191; dialect (regional variation): *ibid.*, 68, 177–80, 182, 195, 199; genre: *ibid.*, 192; register (family and friends vs. non-family): *ibid.*, 195, 199.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

- *Social stratification*: The diffusion began in everyday speech in the lower social ranks (thus a double meaning of “change from below”) and gradually reached into the upper ranks.
- *Dialect*: The diffusion began in the north and advanced to the south; *-s* is after all of northern origin.
- *Genre*: The diffusion was “most advanced in private letters in the period 1560–1640, official letters and trial proceedings coming second, while diaries, histories and sermons lag behind them considerably.”<sup>92</sup>
- *Register*: Register differences played only a minor role in this change.

We have to draw attention to two more issues, and underscore them. First, there are considerable differences between contemporaries with respect to which verbal ending they use (variable grammars). For example, while the older generation of Celys did not participate in the change at all, the range of variation among contemporaries of the younger generation is very broad, so that the use of *-s* is 0% for Robert Cely but 95% for Richard Cely II, to give just one example.<sup>93</sup> Second, the ending *-s* did not diffuse through the English lexical stock at the same rate, and some highly frequent items such as *have* (*hath/has*), *do* (*doth/does*), and *say* (*saith/says*) lagged far behind other verbs. This is in addition to the general conservatism of some literary writings like the KJV (see above).<sup>94</sup>

To summarize, our survey of the change of the third-person singular verbal ending *-th* to *-s* in Early Modern English shows, on the one hand, the value of VA and the s-curve for displaying the broad-spectrum diffusion of new linguistic forms/uses. However, on the other hand, close inspection of the dated, localized, and demographically-delimited sources of data shows as well that there are many exceptions to the general trend, and that it would be *impossible* to employ the s-curve as a template for trying to distribute the individual sources of data along a temporal continuum on the basis of their proportions of language variables (see 7.3.5). The independent variables, such as age, gender, social stratification, dialect, genre, register, and so on, are simply too rich, volatile, and instrumental to admit such a facile approach.

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 90–98, 104–7; cf. Conde Silvestre, *Sociolinguística*, 88. Van Gelderen gives similar examples in contemporaneous literary writings (van Gelderen, *History*, 168–69).

<sup>94</sup> Van Gelderen gives examples in other literary writings (van Gelderen, *History*, 168–69).

## 7.5. BIBLICAL HEBREW APPLICATION

To our knowledge only a few scholars of BH have utilized VA and the s-curve idea in their publications.<sup>95</sup> They are Kim in his Ph.D. dissertation and its

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<sup>95</sup> In his recently published monograph *A Social History of Hebrew*, Schniedewind describes “a sociolinguistic approach” to the history of ancient Hebrew (ibid., 15–18). This approach, he says, “utilizes the tools and methods of the fields of linguistics and social theory” (ibid., 15). Throughout this section he describes the inseparable connection between language and society, and the social function of language, ideas which are the foundation of his book. The sociolinguist who Schniedewind cites most often is Labov, whose name is mentioned about thirty-five times. The other sociolinguists who he cites relatively often are Romaine (about five times) and Trudgill (about seventeen times). But there are several strange aspects to Schniedewind’s citations of these writers. To begin, the initial sentence in a section on “Mechanisms of Language Change” (ibid., 23–26) begins with these words: “As a rule, Peter Trudgill suggests, ‘we must be able to measure both linguistic and social phenomena so that we can correlate the two accurately’” (ibid., 23), and the quotation is from Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics*, 33. In the material which immediately follows in his book, Trudgill explains and illustrates what he means by this statement, which is “[m]easuring language” in the tradition of Labovian sociolinguistics. Then, on the next page, Schniedewind makes this statement: “There are mechanisms of language change as well as quantitative ways of measuring language and language change, which this study will employ” (Schniedewind, *Social*, 24). However, nowhere in his book does Schniedewind explain or illustrate what this might mean. In fact, the book does not include even one instance of the quantitative approach of variationist (historical) sociolinguistics. Therefore, when Schniedewind says he will “adapt the linguistic idea of the speech community” (ibid., 3), which is an idea connected to Labov and others, and when he says he will make use of “three particular sociolinguistic principles that can be modified and applied to the study of classical Hebrew” (ibid., 24), again referring to Labov, it is clear that Schniedewind is simply taking on various general ideas or principles while disregarding the empirical method on which they, in fact, are built. An example of Schniedewind’s use of Labov’s words is found in this statement: “The inconsistency of *yaḥad* orthography indicates that Qumran scribal practice was not ‘standard’ scribal practice, even for many of the *yaḥad* scribes. William Labov observes that ‘overt correction tends to be rather unsystematic when it occurs late in life, and it focuses on individual words rather than general rules.’ [Labov, *Sociolinguistic*, 292] The many orthographic inconsistencies in QH indicate that the system consciously went against well-entrenched scribal practice” (Schniedewind, *Social*, 182). What is unusual about Schniedewind’s use of this citation is that Labov is talking about a quantitative study of r-pronunciation in Hillsboro (North Carolina) in which it was found that older speakers tend to hold to earlier norms, not adopting new prestige norms which they only unsystematically adopt at later stages in their lives. The connection between orthography and a later scribal community (Qumran) and pronunciation and older speakers (Hillsboro) is incongruous. Another aspect of Schniedewind’s monograph also relates to his “adapting” and “modifying” of sociolinguistics to the situation of ancient Hebrew. We are referring to the fact that throughout his book Schniedewind refers to sociolinguistic ideas and writers, yet in a book dealing with the *past* there is not *even one reference* to

publication as a book,<sup>96</sup> and three authors in Miller-Naudé and Zevit's *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*: Cook, Drescher, and Holmstedt.<sup>97</sup> In the context of issues we have discussed to this point we find a number of shortcomings in their treatments of diffusion and adoption of the s-curve. The following points summarize our main misgivings with their approaches:<sup>98</sup>

- Important issues such as change from above vs. below, the number of tokens available vs. required, and other matters discussed above (7.3), are not considered (Cook, Drescher, Holmstedt; Kim partly).

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historical sociolinguistics. To be fair, the word “sociohistorical” does occur twice (*ibid.*, 19, 21), but not with reference to this burgeoning field of research. Indeed, it seems strange to us that Schniedewind cites Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics*, but not his *Investigations in Sociohistorical Linguistics*, and Romaine, *Language in Society*, but not her *Socio-Historical Linguistics*. Other significant authors and works which deal with sociolinguistics in the past, or historical sociolinguists, are also completely overlooked, such as the Milroys and their publications. In short, regardless of any possible virtues of his overall argument in *A Social History of Hebrew*, Schniedewind's book, contrary to what he seems to imply, is not a methodologically-conscious or data-driven sociohistorical treatment of language in the tradition of Labov, the Milroys, Romaine, Trudgill, and others. In terms of actual linguistic data, Schniedewind largely cites conventional EBH (SBH) vs. LBH items, without discussion or argumentation, as for example in the lists that are tagged on to the end of each chapter (*ibid.*, 50, 70–72, 97–98, 124–25, 161–63, 189–90, 202–3). More substantive citation and discussion of data is provided in relation to Egyptian, Akkadian, Aramaic, and Persian loanwords, *hapax legomena* (*ibid.*, 149–51, 201), “pseudoclassicisms” (*ibid.*, 149, 178, 186–87), asseverative *lamed* (*ibid.*, 151–53), enclitic *mem* (*ibid.*, 153–54), locative *heh* (*ibid.*, 154–55), and a few other aspects of grammar (*ibid.*, 167–68, 184–87). However, none of these data are reported, described, or analyzed using Labov's or any other (historical) sociolinguist's method or for that matter any other recognizable linguistic method.

<sup>96</sup> Kim, “The Use of Linguistic Evidence in the Dating of Biblical Hebrew Texts,” published two years later as *idem*, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability*. The linguistic items that Kim discusses are the pronunciation of the verb ending *-ing* as [n] or [ŋ] in Norwich, England; the replacement of the subject *ye* by *you* in the *CEEC*; ותיהם vs. ותיהו; כ/ב + inf. const. vs. ו + כ/ב + inf. const.; בית יהוה vs. בית יהוה; המלך plus king's name vs. king's name plus המלך; ...בין...ובין vs. ...ל...בין; מלכות vs. מלכות; בית האלהים vs. בית האלהים; זעק vs. צעק; קהל vs. עדה; מלכות vs. מלכות.

<sup>97</sup> Cook, “Detecting,” 88–93 (decline of the stative); Drescher, “Methodological,” 24–31, 33–36 (periphrastic *do* [see chapter 2, 2.5] and ממלכה vs. מלכות); Holmstedt, “Historical,” 101–4, 108–19 (apocopation and then suffixation of a final *heh* in first-person *wayyiqtol* forms; אשר vs. ש); cf. Givón, “Biblical,” 48 with n. 8; Miller-Naudé, “Diachrony,” 8; Naudé, “Diachrony,” 66, 72–73, 78–79. Note, however, that Givón and Naudé do not make use of VA or the s-curve. Apparently Holmstedt was unaware of Kim's dissertation when he said “the S-curve has not been invoked in ancient Hebrew studies” (Holmstedt, “Historical,” 103).

<sup>98</sup> See also Rezetko, “Evaluating”; *idem*, “Qumran,” 34–35, 40–42.

- The correlation of the independent variable of text type, narration vs. speech, with Labov's notion of above vs. below, respectively, misconstrues Labov's approach and misreads BH speech as "vernacular" speech as opposed to "literary" speech (Kim).
- Individual biblical books are grouped into larger wholes to enhance the statistical reliability of the data, but this procedure rests on the assumption that the books date to the same time period, it obscures preferences in individual books (i.e., the principle of individuality), and it overlooks that there can be considerable differences in the participation of individuals in ongoing linguistic changes (7.3.6) (Kim).
- "Out-of-place" occurrences and non-occurrences are often overlooked or insufficiently analyzed and it is often doubtful that the proportions of "old" and "new" forms/uses actually line up with any conventional or "philological" dates of biblical writings (Cook, Drescher, Holmstedt, Kim).<sup>99</sup>
- The principle of accountability, which requires all variants related to the variable context to be included in the analysis, is neglected (Holmstedt).
- The conventional periodization of biblical books, taken as undifferentiated wholes, is construed as an independent variable when in fact it is the dating of the books and their constituent parts that is in question (Kim).
- Variationist analysis and the s-curve seem to be envisioned as tools for establishing a relative sequence of BH linguistic variables and thus also of the biblical writings themselves, but this approach disregards the relationship between the independent (time) and dependent (innovativeness) variables, or, in other words, *the shape of the adopter distribution should be determined empirically* (7.3.5) (Cook, Drescher, Holmstedt).

What then do we want to accomplish with our VA of selected lexical and grammatical features of BH? It is helpful to begin by reminding ourselves of some difficulties with the linguistic analysis of BH. To begin we must confront

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<sup>99</sup> For example, the third and longest part of Cook's case study examines the decline of the *Qal* perfect of  $\text{yṭ}$  expressing a present state (Cook, "Detecting," 90–93). Over time, Cook argues, the *Qal* perfect refers to a past state and the *Qal* active participle and imperfect refer to a present state. On first glance many books—sources and books are undifferentiated (non-P and P, I, II, and II Isaiah, Psalms, Qumran scrolls, etc.)—seem to support the hypothesis (ibid., 92–3), but a closer look at the table (ibid., 92) and "s-curve" (ibid., 91) raises some doubts. In terms of the relative frequency of old and new forms, Ezekiel is between Judges and Amos, Zechariah is between Amos and Exodus, Jeremiah is between Joshua and Samuel, Samuel is between Jeremiah and Isaiah, Psalms and the wisdom books as a group are relatively innovative (genre?), and, although each has only a single token, Song of Songs and Daniel on the one hand and Nahum and Zephaniah on the other are at the "wrong" ends of the continuum. Postexilic Zechariah (3 tokens; 0% innovative) is interesting compared to postexilic Jonah (3; 66.7%), Esther (2; 100%), and Chronicles (3; 66.7%). Cook emphasizes "late" Jonah and Chronicles at the "late" high end of the curve (ibid., 93), but does not discuss "late" Zechariah at the "early" low end.

the problems of old sources in general (chapter 2, 2.3) and of BH sources in particular (chapter 3, 3.3). We are dealing with literary and religious writings that are long-duration literature, the final products of a complex process of composition and transmission, and their contents (including language) are authorial, editorial, and scribal. The corpus is relatively small, many books are quite short, and the books are unequal in size and genre. We are unable to establish *independently* the dates and places (including dialects) of the production of the writings. In short, the writings of the Hebrew Bible are non-authentic, composite, and/or unsituated in time and place. They are “philologically ambiguous.” As for the writers, we know almost nothing about them. They are anonymous or unidentifiable, and although we might be able to arrive at somewhat educated conclusions about some of their demographics (age, gender, ethnicity, rank, social class and network, education, occupation, ideology, etc.), we know far too little about these to be able to explain the distribution of particular linguistic variables consistent with social correlates.<sup>100</sup> The language of the writings as a whole, as we have seen, is relatively homogenous in its overall grammatical-lexical makeup, but it is highly fluid and variant in many smaller (or less common) details, the kinds of details which are often underlined as significant for sequencing the writings. Large-scale linguistic invariance of this sort is quite normal for literature that is written in a High dialect or standard literary language. For the most part, therefore, when we examine individual linguistic forms/uses we usually find only small differences of proportion or frequencies of occurrence between some individual sources and books. These differences may or may not result from diachronic factors. Furthermore, in many cases we have only a limited number of tokens, or at least of one variant, of any given morphological, syntactical, or lexical variable.

In addition to the problems relating to the sources of data, we should also be mindful of several methodological deficiencies in diachronic research on BH. Two persistent problems that we find recurrently in the historical linguistic literature on BH are overestimation of linguistic contrast *between* “early” and “late” BH and overestimation of linguistic uniformity *within* “early” or “late” BH.<sup>101</sup> The second issue relates to the problem of groups vs. individuals which we described above (7.3.6). When biblical books are combined into larger wholes the patterns and preferences of individual books and writers are obscured. The principle of accountability is also routinely neglected. Only one side of the story is told as if it were the whole story. In short, what is needed is

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<sup>100</sup> “One direction of the problem clearly resides in the strain—shared by all attempts at historical linguistic inquiry—of ‘making the best use of bad data’...: written materials from the past which have very often survived by mere chance and are isolated from their immediate communicative background, so that their original social and stylistic contexts of production and reception can not really be reconstructed” (Conde Silvestre and Hernández Campoy, “Introduction,” 102).

<sup>101</sup> See, for example, *LDBT* 1:83–90, 111–19; Rezetko, “What,” 241–51.

complete and accurate documentation of all variants of a linguistic variable, or a *complete* account of “distribution” and “opposition” in the wording of the conventional (Hurvitzian) linguistic dating approach to BH.

The truth of the situation as we see it is that it is largely impossible to undertake “normal” or conventional historical linguistic research on ancient Hebrew simply because the nature of the sources of data does not permit it. The study of language variation and change is complex seeing that it must embrace internal and external constraints, linked to senders, receivers, and settings and their interaction, individually and corporately, and involving diverse psychological and social dimensions. But we can do this only to a limited degree with BH, compared to contemporary languages, and even when compared to other premodern language varieties of English, French, Spanish, Akkadian, Hittite, and so on, which are far better documented by many non-literary writings that are authentic, non-composite, dated, and localized (chapter 2, 2.3; for a summary of key points see the final paragraph in section 2.3.4). So, given the problems of sources, which we cannot change, and deficiencies of method, which we can work toward improving, our VA of BH (and several other sources) has the following objectives. First, we will give full and explicit descriptions of selected BH linguistic features on a quantitative basis and according to the principle of accountability.<sup>102</sup> Second, we will accurately and clearly display the facts and distributional patterns (to the extent there are patterns) of selected BH linguistic features of individual biblical sources and books in assorted presentations of data.<sup>103</sup> Our method will involve showing the relative frequencies of the variants and expressing the variants as proportions of their respective variable (“distributional analysis”; see 7.3.7).<sup>104</sup> Third, we will take initial steps toward creating a matrix of selected BH linguistic features which shows in a rudimentary way how they do or do not cluster in individual biblical sources and books. We remind the reader that this book is mainly about data-mining, and as such our focus is largely on the question of *what* rather than

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<sup>102</sup> See the “standards for comparison” in Tagliamonte, *Variationist*, 167–68, though we admit up front that we intend to accomplish less than what she describes, mainly because of the large quantity of data, variables and tokens, that we examine.

<sup>103</sup> There are of course many other kinds of charts for comparing data and showing their distributions and relationships. Another helpful technique is cluster analysis which calculates degrees of resemblance or difference between objects which in turn are displayed in scatter plots and dendograms/tree diagrams.

<sup>104</sup> The method we employ in chapters 8–9 is widely accepted and used in variationist studies of linguistic phenomena, as we have documented in this chapter, and it is not subject to the criticism of “counting” or “numbering” as some Hebraists might want to claim, citing for example Driver’s criticism of Giesebrecht (cf. Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 41; A. Hurvitz, “The ‘Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts’: Comments on Methodological Guidelines and Philological Procedures,” in *DBH*, 265–79 [274]; idem, “Recent,” 202).

*why* (causes) and *how* (mechanisms), because we believe that much theorizing on the history of BH has been based more on extra-linguistic assumptions, intuitions, and ideologies than on the linguistic details of the biblical writings themselves (chapter 1, 1.3).<sup>105</sup>

## 7.6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have given a detailed introduction to the quantitative approach of variationist (historical) sociolinguistics, its theory and method. In chapters 8–9 we analyze numerous lexical and grammatical variables in BH, Ben Sira, and the non-biblical DSS from the variationist standpoint.

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<sup>105</sup> We use printed sources of data and the following software packages and modules: Accordance, BibleWorks, Logos, Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible, Andersen-Forbes Analyzed Text and Phrase Marker Analysis, Groves-Wheeler Westminster Hebrew Morphology, Holmstedt's Syntax of the Hebrew Bible, WIVU Database of the Hebrew Bible, and Accordance's Biblical DSS Manuscripts Variants module. The sources for the various Hebrew texts—MT, SP, biblical and non-biblical DSS, Ben Sira, MH, inscriptions—are documented in the software programs. In particular, we use version 10 of Accordance and version 9 of BibleWorks. Both incorporate the Groves-Wheeler Westminster Hebrew Morphology, version 4.14, released in 2010.



## Chapter 8

### Variationist Analysis: Lexical Studies

#### 8.1. INTRODUCTION TO LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL CASE STUDIES

##### 8.1.1. GENERAL COMMENTS

In the previous chapter we introduced the theory and method of variationist analysis. Chapter 7 is the fundamental background to this chapter and the next one where we present a series of lexical and grammatical case studies. In this chapter we focus on lexical examples, first the verb lexeme *ללמוד* for “to study” (8.2), and then a collection of ten “late” verb lexemes and their “early” variants (8.3). In addition, our first case study in the next chapter also addresses the “late” noun lexeme *מלכות* and its “early” counterpart *ממלכה* (“kingdom”; 9.2). In chapter 9 we turn to some grammatical examples: abstract nouns in *ות*- (9.2); the pronominal endings *ותם*- and *ותיהם*- (9.3); and the directive *הֵ* (*הֵ-*) (9.4). In the next two sections we explain why we selected these linguistic variables and what we aim to accomplish with the case studies.

##### 8.1.2. CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF VARIABLES

The selection of BH linguistic variables for variationist analysis, and indeed for historical linguistic study in general, presents a series of problems. Some of these problems have no simple solution and others have none whatsoever. In chapter 7, in the sections on “fundamental ideas” (7.2) and “corpora and tokens” (7.3.7), we introduced some basic requirements for written texts to be useful for variationist analysis. Schneider’s four points are a good place to start. The texts should (1) be as close to speech as possible, (2) have different origins (chronological, geographical, social, etc.), (3) display variability, and (4) fulfill certain size requirements.<sup>1</sup> The third requirement, that texts must display

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<sup>1</sup> Schneider, “Investigating,” 2002:71; 2013:59–60.

variability of the phenomenon under investigation, involving also semantic and functional equivalence, is satisfactorily met by many pairs (and sometimes more than two) of linguistic variants, as for example with מלכות and ממלכה. The first requirement is not met simply because of the nature of the corpus itself: it is a collection of literary writings of religious character that are written in a High dialect or standard literary language which stands at a considerable distance from speech. Other than abandoning the corpus, and thus for all practical purposes the study of ancient Hebrew altogether—we recall that BH makes up 80% of the corpus (chapter 3, 3.3)—there is no other option available to us but to accept and work with the corpus while acknowledging its limitations. The second requirement is also problematic since, although we can confidently assume that the sources and books of the Bible have different origins, there are no independent means of establishing their temporal, dialectal, social, and other parameters, which is precisely why, to begin with, there is so much discord between Hebraists and biblicists on the dates of the writings. They are, we repeat, unauthentic (unoriginal), composite (heterogeneous), and unsituated in time and place (undated and unlocalized, independently). Nevertheless, we propose below a heuristic or working periodization of the writings which we will employ in the various case studies. The fourth requirement also underscores some inherent difficulties of the diachronic study of BH, including the number of tokens in each source, the number of sources with tokens, and the disparate sizes of the sources with tokens. In particular, “late” variants tend to occur sporadically in only one or several “late” writings whereas their “early” counterparts are widely attested throughout both the “early” and “late” writings. In other words, we often have to deal with low-density items and non-categorical distributions.<sup>2</sup> In many cases, therefore, differences between the variants, relating to either incidence or usage, are apparently either imperceptible or inconsequential for diachronic analysis. Finally, other general matters that we discussed in chapter 7 include the concreteness vs. abstractness, transmission stability vs. instability, and individual vs. group usage of the variables.

Lexical variation and change, the subject of this chapter, can be divided into three categories as a matter of convenience: (1) loss or subtraction, (2) gain or addition, either via innovation or borrowing, and (3) semantic change or shift.<sup>3</sup> Each of these categories can be broken down further. Innovations, for example, might involve creations from nothing or compounds of two known words. Lexical studies have advantages and disadvantages. We mentioned some in

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<sup>2</sup> For illustrations of these statements see *LDBT* 1:83–90, 111–19. For example, only five LBH (or “late”) lexemes are used more than ten times in a single “late” biblical book, and these words are attested elsewhere only in three “late” books, two “late” books (twice), one “late” book, or no “late” books (cf. *LDBT* 1:113–15).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Campbell, *Historical*, 221–45.

chapter 7 (7.3.7) and have discussed those and others in more detail elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> For example, while on the one hand lexical change is much faster than grammatical change and the overall impression much easier to determine, on the other hand vocabulary items are more often indiscriminately attested or consciously changed in written transmission.<sup>5</sup>

In our selection of lexical and grammatical variables we have done our best to take into consideration all these issues, such as variability, frequency, comparability, and so on. Altogether the items we have chosen meet at least the following requirements: (1) each variable comprises at least two variants; (2) the variable appears relatively often—even if one variant is much more common than the other; (3) the variants are conventionally attributed to early and late, or preexilic and postexilic, writings or writers; and (4) each variable figures prominently in recent historical linguistic or linguistic dating literature, thus it has current relevance.<sup>6</sup> There were, of course, many other lexical and grammatical options available to us, and we can only hope that after all is said and done the reader will accept our selection of these variables rather than others as appropriate illustrations of the points we are arguing in this book.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *LDBT* 1:71, 83–90, 113–17, 351–53; 2:106–11; Rezetko, “Dating,” 237–38, 245–49; idem, “Late,” 379–82, 415–17.

<sup>5</sup> On the latter point see, for example, the illustrations in *LDBT* 1:351–53 and the discussion of פרוז in Qumran Samuel (7.2).

<sup>6</sup> Some similar thoughts are expressed in Kim, *Early*, 97–98.

<sup>7</sup> Practically speaking we gave consideration to many variables we have cited or discussed in other publications, such as in the case studies and tables of linguistic features in *LDBT* 2:106–214. As for works that appeared since *LDBT* was published (2008), we considered various journal articles and unpublished Ph.D. dissertations, and especially the following book-length publications which have collections and analyses of (“early”/“late”) linguistic data: Cohen, *Verbal*; Fassberg, Bar-Asher, and Clements, eds., *Hebrew*; Hornkohl, *Ancient*; A. Hurvitz, in collaboration with L. Gottlieb, A. Hornkohl, and E. Mastéy, *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period* (VTSup 160; Leiden: Brill, 2014); Joosten, *Verbal* (chapter 11); Kim, *Early*; Miller-Naudé and Zevit, eds., *Diachrony*; Notarius, *Verb*; Vern, *Dating*; F. Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of “Gift” in Ancient Hebrew* (SSN 54; Leiden: Brill, 2010). Some might wonder, for example, about the selection of verb lexemes in 8.3. We chose the ten sets of verbs from a much larger pool of verb lexemes, stems (*binyanim*), meanings (semantics), and constructions (syntagms, e.g., particular prepositions, subjects, objects, active vs. passive voice). There are approximately 1,350 unique verb lexemes in the Hebrew Bible. We estimate that about 200 of these have been deemed “late” for some reason or another. This figure takes into consideration the 112 verbs that are listed in the lexicon table in *LDBT* 2:179–214; all 43 verb lexemes that occur in Esther–Chronicles but not in Genesis–Kings; and all verbs labeled “late,” “chiefly late,” and so on in BDB, *HALOT*, and other publications. Note that we have discussed elsewhere some other verb lexemes, although not in the VA framework, including לעג *Hiphil* (Young, “Peshar Habakkuk,” 13–14, 17); נָתַן *Piel*

## 8.1.3. OBJECTIVES

In chapter 7 we described three aims for the variationist case studies in these chapters (see 7.5). The main objective of VA is to *describe* and *explain* patterns of variation (to the extent there are patterns) in language as they relate to times and places and individuals and groups. Our focus is mainly on description, but the descriptions are not meant to be comprehensive for all of ancient Hebrew and cognate languages. The data are analyzed with the quantitative method of variationist (historical) sociolinguistics. The Hebrew data to be described are located in the following sources: (1) the Bible, primarily the MT, and also the SP and biblical DSS when available and relevant;<sup>8</sup> (2) monarchic-era inscriptions; (3) QH, or the non-biblical DSS; (4) the book of Ben Sira; and (5) the Mishnah. The data are presented in chapter/verse references, frequency tables, and graphics, the latter mainly line charts and bar graphs, but also several scatter plots.<sup>9</sup>

For reasons summarized in chapter 7 (7.5), and discussed in more detail previously, the nature of the biblical sources limits the empirical certainty of all explanations that are given for the distributions that are plotted. The data can be mapped, and explanations for the distributional maps can be suggested, but decisive conclusions cannot be drawn since it is impossible to control for the crucial independent variables of time and place and other independent variables as well. Conversely, however, we are able to test the probability (more or less) and even more the categoricity (yes or no) of the conventional diachrony-only explanations for the data *as they have been stated and argued in the secondary literature*. For example, how certain can we be that דרש for “to study” is a linguistic innovation of the writers/writings of the Second Temple period and that writers/writings that do not attest this variant or attest a related different variant could or should be dated to the First Temple period?

In order to assess the conventional chronology-centered explanations of the linguistic data we study in these chapters it is helpful to have as a minimum a working periodization of biblical writings. This seems necessary simply to be able to engage in meaningful conversation since otherwise we would not have

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(LDBT 1:116–17; cf. Young, “Peshet Habakkuk,” 28); רשע *Hiphil* (Young, “Peshet Habakkuk,” 14–15, 17, 30); שבח (LDBT 1:209–10; Rezetko, review of R. M. Wright, 607–8).

<sup>8</sup> We remind the reader that historical linguists of *Biblical* Hebrew sometimes cite, strikingly, the evidence of the Samaritan *Pentateuch* or the *biblical* DSS among their *non-* or *extra-*biblical sources for BH, revealing therefore an unjustified, and unjustifiable in our estimation, MT bias (see chapter 3).

<sup>9</sup> We stress again that we are not using the line charts or “s-curves” to try to sequence or date biblical writings. That would be a misuse of the technique (see chapter 7, 7.3.5, 7.4, 7.5).

any hypothetical temporal framework in which to discuss the data.<sup>10</sup> We recognize, of course, that any suggestion about periodization is bound to bring countless criticisms from Hebraists and biblicists whose conceptions of the production of the Bible vary widely. In general, however, we feel that *many Hebraists working in the fields of historical linguistics and linguistic dating* will find the following outline of dates at least mostly agreeable:<sup>11</sup>

<b>Hypothetical Preexilic Books</b>	<b>Hypothetical Exilic Books</b>	<b>Hypothetical Postexilic Books</b>
Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, 1 Kgs 1– 2 Kgs 23, Isa 1–39 (I Isaiah), Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Psalms A (“Non-Late” <sup>13</sup> ), Job 3:1–42:6, Prov 10–29	2 Kgs 24–25, Isa 40– 55 (II Isaiah), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations	Isa 56–66 (III Isaiah), Joel, Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Psalms B (“Perhaps Late” <sup>14</sup> ), Psalms C (“Definite Late” <sup>15</sup> ), Job 1:1–2:13, 42:7–17, Prov 1–9, 30– 31, Ruth, Song of Songs, Qoheleth, Esther, Daniel Hebrew, Daniel Aramaic, Ezra Hebrew, Ezra Aramaic, Nehemiah, Chronicles Synoptic, Chronicles Non-Synoptic <sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> We stress, yet again, that we are not trying to date biblical writings. That is not a legitimate objective of historical linguistics (chapter 2, 2.2) and in any case would be impossible without firmly dated and localized sources (e.g., chapter 2, 2.3.3).

<sup>11</sup> Compare, for example, the discussion of postexilic BH books in Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 112–29.

<sup>12</sup> In the figures these sources will appear in the following order and abbreviations (Ben Sira and non-biblical DSS included): Gen, Exod, Lev, Num, Deut, Josh, Judg, Sam, 1 Kgs 1–2 Kgs 23, Isa 1–39, Hos, Amos, Obad, Mic, Nah, Hab, Zeph, Pss A (Non-Late), Job 3:1–42:6, Prov 10–29, 2 Kgs 24–25, Isa 40–55, Jer, Ezek, Lam, Isa 56–66, Joel, Jonah, Hag, Zech, Mal, Pss B (Per Late), Pss C (Def Late), Job 1:1–2:13 + 42:7–17, Prov 1–9 + 30–31, Ruth, Song, Qoh, Esth, Dan Heb, Dan Aram, Ezra Heb, Ezra Aram, Neh, Chr Syn, Chr Non-Syn, Ben Sira, DSS. In the scatter plots later in this chapter we use the following short forms, for technical reasons: KgsA (= 1 Kgs 1–2 Kgs 23), IsaA (= Isa 1–39), PssA, JobM (= Job 3:1–42:6, “Middle”), ProvM (= Prov 10–29, “Middle”), KgsB (= 2 Kgs 24–25), IsaB (= Isa 40–55), IsaC (= Isa 56–66), PssB, JobF (= Job 1:1–2:13 + 42:7–17, “Frame”), ProvF (= Prov 1–9 + 30–31, “Frame”), DanH, DanA, EzraH, EzraA, ChrS, ChrN, BenS.

<sup>13</sup> The classification of psalms as “non-late,” “perhaps late,” and “definite late” is based on Hurvitz, *Transition*, and E. Qimron, “Second Temple Language in the Book of Psalms” (Hebrew), *BM* 73 (1978): 139–50. “Non-late” means that the psalms in question do not have well-known “late” linguistic features. Psalms A (“non-late”) includes 1–18; 20–27; 29–32; 34–39; 41:1–13; 42–44; 46–62; 64–71; 72:1–17; 73–74; 76–102; 105; 108; 110; 114–115; 118; 120–122; 127; 130–132; 134; 138–142; 144:1–11; 149–150.

We stress that this is a working periodization for the purposes of clarity and transparency in the discussions in these chapters. The periodization is organized first according to three historical eras and then according to canon (the latter *not* in a suggested chronological order).<sup>17</sup> Biblical scholars dispute the dates of many of these sources and books, such as the origin of the Priestly (P) source/redaction in the Pentateuch and the composition of the Pentateuch in general, the origin and redaction of the Deuteronomistic History, the prophetic books of Joel and Jonah, the collections of Psalms and Proverbs, and Job, Ruth, Song of Songs, and Qoheleth.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, we have expressed our view elsewhere that we consider it simplistic and anachronistic to consider just about any given biblical book to be *the* product of *a* particular moment in time (e.g., chapter 3, 3.5.2), for example considering that the book of Samuel is a composition of *only* the preexilic period (e.g., chapter 6, 6.2). Nevertheless, for the purposes of the case studies in these chapters we will work with the conventional dates in mind, however implausible and reductionist we consider them to be.

## 8.2. VERB LEXEME דָּרַשׁ FOR “STUDY”

We read in the book of Ezra that “...Ezra had set his heart לְדַרוֹשׁ אֶת־תּוֹרַת יְהוָה [‘to study YHWH’s law], and to do it, and to teach the statutes and ordinances in Israel” (Ezra 7:10). Such an instance of the verb דָּרַשׁ has played a role in two separate but related discussions: linguistic change between “early” and “late” BH and (supposed) sociocultural development from orality to textuality between preexilic and postexilic Israel. The present discussion examines the first issue.

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<sup>14</sup> Psalms B (“perhaps late”; isolated late features) includes 19; 28; 33; 40; 45; 63; 75; 104; 106:1–46; 107; 109; 111–113; 116; 126; 128; 135; 137; 143; 146–148.

<sup>15</sup> Psalms C (“definite late”; concentrated late features) includes 41:14; 72:18–20; 103; 106:47–48; 117; 119; 123–125; 129; 133; 136; 144:12–15; 145.

<sup>16</sup> The classification of Chronicles is based on synoptic and non-synoptic items, not passages. In other words, synoptic items are parallel to the same items (even if with a different form/use) in the corresponding passages in Samuel–Kings, and non-synoptic items are not parallel to the same items in the corresponding passages in Samuel–Kings.

<sup>17</sup> Note that in this regard our approach overlaps with Drescher’s and Kim’s (Drescher, “Methodological,” 23–24; Kim, *Early*, 73–79; cf. 63, 68 n. 73, 84, 96, 98–99). However, we are much more guarded about the validity of the “plausible” or “independent” dates and regard them simply as a working or conversational framework.

<sup>18</sup> Compare the summary given in *LDBT* 1:11 and see the detailed discussions of the dates of biblical writings in *LDBT* 2:1–71.

The verb *דרש* (“seek”) appears a total of 164 times in the MT Bible.<sup>19</sup> Fourteen books have no examples,<sup>20</sup> thirteen have from one to four,<sup>21</sup> and nine have five or more: Genesis, Deuteronomy, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, Ezra, and Chronicles. The last, Chronicles, has forty-one occurrences, 1/4th of all occurrences in BH, and also the only two BH examples of the related noun *מדרש* (BDB: “study, exposition, midrash”). “Seeking,” especially the deity (God/YHWH), is a key motif of Chronicles.<sup>22</sup> The verb has both “secular” and “religious” uses throughout BH. The verb *בקש*, however, is more common for “seeking” in the “secular” realm. In the “religious” realm *דרש* usually operates in a cognitive sphere, as for example in “seeking YHWH” (e.g., Gen 25:22; Ezra 6:21). There are some marked differences of usage in different books and sets of books.<sup>23</sup> Here we will limit our study to the aspect of *דרש* that has concerned historical linguists.

Polzin, Qimron, and Sáenz-Badillos touch briefly on the linguistic chronology of *דרש* and *מדרש*.<sup>24</sup> Wright provides a clear and concise study of these terms.<sup>25</sup> He describes three areas or stages of usage in BH: seeking God directly (premonarchic period), seeking God through a prophetic word (monarchic period), and seeking God through the written word, that is, through the study of texts (postexilic period; *דרש* plus *תורה*, etc.).<sup>26</sup> Hurvitz has studied *דרש* in multiple publications, sometimes using it as one of several or as his only illustration of language change.<sup>27</sup> His main argument is that in postexilic BH

<sup>19</sup> 165 including both the *Kethiv* and *Qere* in Ps 24:6.

<sup>20</sup> Numbers, Joshua, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Ruth, Song of Songs, Daniel, Nehemiah.

<sup>21</sup> Exodus, Leviticus, Judges, Samuel, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth, Lamentations, Esther.

<sup>22</sup> C. Begg, “‘Seeking Yahweh’ and the Purpose of Chronicles,” *LS* 9 (1982): 128–41.

<sup>23</sup> For surveys of usage see BDB 205; Concise *DCH* 83; *DCH* 2:473–76; *HALOT* 1:233; *NIDOTTE* 1:993–99; *TDOT* 3:293–307; *TLOT* 1:346–51. *TDOT* and *TLOT* offer reasonable descriptions of conceptual changes throughout the biblical period.

<sup>24</sup> Polzin, *Late*, 141–42; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 90, 92; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 146.

<sup>25</sup> Wright, *Linguistic*, 64–67. He refers to Hurvitz “[f]or a fuller discussion” (*ibid.*, 66 n. 47).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 66–67.

<sup>27</sup> A. Hurvitz, “Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew,” in *Congress Volume Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Saebø; VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 143–60 (152–53); *idem*, “Continuity and Innovation in Biblical Hebrew: The Case of ‘Semantic Change’ in Post-Exilic Writings,” in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics* (ed. T. Muraoka; AbrNSup 4; Louvain: Peeters, 1995), 1–10 (7–9); *idem*, *Lexicon*, 98–100; cf. 161–64; *idem*, “Linguistic Dating,” 270–74, 275–76 n. 12; *idem*, “Recent,” 201; *idem*, *Transition*, 131–34.

דרש “underwent a far-reaching semantic development” from “seek/search/inquire of” God to “the *written* word of God.”<sup>28</sup>

Hurvitz argues, using his well-known criteria of distribution, opposition, and extra-biblical attestation, that דרש for “study, investigate, interpret (a *written* [scriptural] text)”<sup>29</sup> is a development attested in “late” biblical and postbiblical writings.<sup>30</sup> First, the “late” usage, that is, God’s law as the syntactical object of דרש, is found five times in BH in “late” writings: Ps 119:45, 94, 155; Ezra 7:10; 1 Chr 28:8; cf. מדרש in 2 Chr 13:22; 24:27 (*distribution*).<sup>31</sup> Second, the combination of דרש with God’s law is unknown in “early” biblical writings and the usage in “early” and “late” writings can be contrasted: Gen 25:22 vs. Ezra 7:10; Deut 6:17 vs. 1 Chr 28:8; Isa 9:12 vs. Ps 119:155; and Ps 77:3 vs. Ps 119:45, 94 (*opposition*). Third, the “late” usage of דרש as “examine/investigate/study/interpret” continues in postbiblical Hebrew, as for example in IQS 6:6; Sheqalim 1:4; and Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael to Exod 21:19 (*extra-biblical attestation*). In summary, this usage is, according to Hurvitz, “an idiom characteristic of LBH”<sup>32</sup> and its “appearance on the biblical scene marks a relatively late stage in the linguistic development of the root דרש within Hebrew.”<sup>33</sup>

In a more recent publication Hurvitz repeats these arguments.<sup>34</sup> His stated objective is to reassess select concrete examples of “linguistic lateness”<sup>35</sup> against what he views as a non-diachronic approach to BH in certain writings.<sup>36</sup> His study is concerned with “lateness”<sup>37</sup> and “dating.”<sup>38</sup> Hurvitz begins by mentioning that the noun מדרש appears twice in BH, in passages in Chronicles in which the parallels in Kings lack the word (1 Kgs 15:7//2 Chr 13:22; 2 Kgs 12:20//2 Chr 24:27). He adds: “These data alone do not necessarily imply that the word is a postexilic innovation, because many more than two occurrences of the word in a single book are required to make a compelling argument for

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<sup>28</sup> Hurvitz, “Can,” 152–53.

<sup>29</sup> Hurvitz, “Linguistic Dating,” 271.

<sup>30</sup> For a summary of the methodology see *LDBT* 1:20–22.

<sup>31</sup> Hurvitz argues elsewhere that Ps 119 is a late psalm (Hurvitz, *Transition*, 130–52).

<sup>32</sup> Hurvitz, “Continuity,” 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>34</sup> Hurvitz, “Linguistic Dating.”

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>36</sup> Rezetko, “Late,” 399–400, 405–6. These terms are mentioned or discussed many times in *LDBT* (cf. index in *LDBT* 2:296, 302, 309).

<sup>37</sup> Hurvitz, “Linguistic Dating,” 271, 274, 275.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 265, 270, 274.

linguistic lateness.<sup>39</sup> Two further pieces of linguistic evidence substantiate the lateness of the term *מְדַרֵּשׁ*: the semantic range of *דַּרַשׁ* in Hebrew generally and the root's distributional pattern in BH in particular.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, the remainder of Hurvitz's discussion focuses on the semantic range and distributional pattern of *דַּרַשׁ*. Hurvitz's point regarding the semantic range of *דַּרַשׁ* is that it has the broad meaning "to look for, seek, search for (objects, persons, and particularly God [or his oracular word])" and the specialized meaning "to study, investigate, interpret (a *written* [scriptural] text)" when associated with God's law.<sup>41</sup> His remarks on distribution in LBH, QH, and MH were summarized above. Therefore, he concludes, there was a "semantic shift" in the use of *דַּרַשׁ* in its linguistic history within BH;<sup>42</sup> "...the LBH application of *דַּרַשׁ* is a linguistic innovation of later generations";<sup>43</sup> "...it is clear that the new collocation...at first competed with but eventually replaced the earlier idiom..."<sup>44</sup>

Aside from his literary and textual assumptions—for example, some biblical writings are late and others are "early," and the five "late" occurrences of *דַּרַשׁ* are authorial rather than editorial/scribal—a difficulty with Hurvitz's argument relates to what he leaves unspoken or unexamined. He does not give a clear and complete account of distribution and opposition of the broad meaning (*דַּרַשׁ* = seek deity), the specialized meaning (*דַּרַשׁ* = study law), and other idioms that the construction with the "late" specialized meaning "replace[s]," including constructions like *שמר* + deity's law. In regard to the latter, Hurvitz underlines the contrast between *יהוה אלהיכם יהוה את-מצות שמור תשמרון את-מצות* ("you will diligently keep the commands of YHWH your God") in Deut 6:17 and *שמרו ודרשו כלי-מצות*

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<sup>39</sup> For this reason, and because of the technical nature of the word, Polzin (and Rezetko) concluded: "...we would refrain from making any judgment on its chronological usage" (Polzin, *Late*, 142; cf. 141–42). Note that Hurvitz does not mention this point or other information given (see below) in the discussion he is criticizing (Hurvitz, "Linguistic Dating," 274). His remark on counting/numbering/tabulating words is also misplaced (Hurvitz, "Linguistic Dating," 274). Rezetko's point was that the appearance of *מְדַרֵּשׁ* in Chronicles, and not in a different ("late") book, is unsurprising, given that *דַּרַשׁ* is such an important thematic item in the book, and occurs more often there than in any other book, regardless of usage (see above). We might add here that it is unclear how adding five total occurrences of *דַּרַשׁ* in Psalms, Ezra, and Chronicles to two of *מְדַרֵּשׁ* in Chronicles constitutes "many more than two occurrences" since only one more of those is in Chronicles.

<sup>40</sup> Hurvitz, "Linguistic Dating," 271.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 272, 274.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 273. Other descriptions include: "late semantic development" (*ibid.*, 271); "a late development in the history of biblical literature" (*ibid.*, 271); "a characteristically late idiom" (*ibid.*, 273, 275 n. 12); "a distinctively late meaning" (*ibid.*, 273); "the profound transition in meaning and function that *דַּרַשׁ* underwent in postexilic times" (*ibid.*, 273); and "a chronological marker" (*ibid.*, 275 n. 12).

יהוה אלהיכם (“observe and seek out [‘study’] all the commands of YHWH your God”) in 1 Chr 28:8.<sup>45</sup> In the context of his larger argument, Hurvitz’s point is that the addition of דרש in 1 Chr 28:8 “replace[s],” supplements, or interprets שמר in Deut 6:17 and elsewhere. In other words, שמר + deity’s law and דרש + deity’s law are diachronic variants, “early” giving way to “late,” respectively. Furthermore, דרש + deity’s law is also a development from or replacement of דרש + deity. Consequently, we consider it important to study all three of שמר + deity’s law, דרש + deity, and דרש + deity’s law in order to adhere to the principle of accountability (chapter 7, 7.3.7) and to adjudicate whether the specialized meaning of דרש could function as “a late chronological marker” for some BH writings as opposed to others.<sup>46</sup> A variationist analysis is a useful method for studying these expressions and coming to a clearer appreciation of their distribution.<sup>47</sup>

In the following table we give the number of occurrences and references in BH (MT), Ben Sira, and the non-biblical DSS for שמר when its object is the deity’s law, דרש when its object is the deity, and דרש when its object is the deity’s law.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> For example, Hurvitz, “Linguistic Dating,” 272; idem, *Transition*, 131.

<sup>46</sup> Hurvitz, “Linguistic Dating,” 270, 275 with n. 12. This issue is mentioned in Rezetko, “Late,” 405–6 n. 139, but Hurvitz overlooks it.

<sup>47</sup> We will not deal with מדרש in this analysis.

<sup>48</sup> Notes on the table: (1) “Deity” means the following nominal adjuncts: אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים, or pronominal suffixes on verbs or אֵת referring to one of these. (2) “Law” means the following nominal adjuncts when they refer to general divine commands and laws: אֱמֶר, אֱמֶרָה, דְּבַר, חֻק, חֻקָּה, מִצְוָה, מִשְׁפָּט, מִשְׁפָּט, עֲדוּת, סִפָּר, פְּקוּד, and תּוֹרָה. (3) Examples of שמר + לעשות + one of the above adjuncts are included. (4) Examples of שמר with the following adjuncts are excluded: the above adjuncts when they refer to human commands or laws, or specific divine commands or laws such as the Passover, Sabbath, ordination of priests, care or service of a sanctuary (tabernacle/temple), and also ברית and דְּרָךְ unless combined with another adjunct, משמרת for “service” (e.g., Numbers, Ezekiel, Chronicles), and משפט for “justice.” (5) Throughout BH אֱלֹהִים and יהוה may occur with or without אֵת. This is also normally the situation in synoptic and non-synoptic Chronicles: 1 Chr 16:11 (//Ps 105:4); 21:30; 2 Chr 12:14; 14:3, 6; 15:12; 16:12; 18:7 (//1 Kgs 22:8); 19:3; 22:9; 26:5 (x2); 30:19; 34:21 (//2 Kgs 22:13); cf. 1 Chr 15:13; 28:9; 2 Chr 14:6; 15:2. However, twice Chronicles uses the preposition *beth*, once where Kings has אֵת: 1 Chr 10:14; 2 Chr 34:26 (//2 Kgs 22:18, אֵת). In addition, eight times Ezra and (non-synoptic) Chronicles use the preposition *lamed*: Ezra 4:2; 6:21; 1 Chr 22:19; 2 Chr 15:13; 17:4; 20:3; 31:21; 34:3. The *lamed* is also used twice in QH: 4Q385a 16a-b:7; 18:ii:3. (6) In regard to the verbs under study here there are no pertinent textual variations between the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS. (7) Uncertain examples in the fragmentary non-biblical DSS are excluded. (8) In this and the following case studies we cite printed sources of data, but usually we have found that Accordance provides more complete data and so we follow it even when we do not say so explicitly.

Table 8.2 Constructions with שמר and דרש in the Hebrew Bible (MT), Ben Sira, and the Dead Sea Scrolls			
Book	שמר + Deity's Law	דרש + Deity	דרש + Deity's Law
Genesis <sup>49</sup>	1	1	0
Exodus <sup>50</sup>	3	1	0
Leviticus <sup>51</sup>	12	0	0
Deuteronomy <sup>52</sup>	46	1	0
Joshua <sup>53</sup>	6	0	0
Samuel <sup>54</sup>	1	1	0
1 Kgs 1–2 Kgs 23 <sup>55</sup>	20	5	0
Isa 1–39 <sup>56</sup>	0	2	0
Isa 40–55 <sup>57</sup>	0	1	0
Isa 56–66 <sup>58</sup>	0	3	0
Jeremiah <sup>59</sup>	1	4	0
Ezekiel <sup>60</sup>	9	8	0
Hosea <sup>61</sup>	0	1	0
Amos <sup>62</sup>	1	2	0
Zephaniah <sup>63</sup>	0	1	0
Zechariah <sup>64</sup>	1	0	0
Malachi <sup>65</sup>	2	0	0

<sup>49</sup> שמר + deity's law: Gen 26:5. דרש + deity: Gen 25:22.

<sup>50</sup> שמר + deity's law: Exod 15:26; 16:28; 20:6. דרש + deity: Exod 18:15.

<sup>51</sup> שמר + deity's law: Lev 18:4, 5, 26, 30; 19:19, 37; 20:8, 22; 22:9, 31; 25:18; 26:3.

<sup>52</sup> שמר + deity's law: Deut 4:2, 5–6, 40; 5:1, 10, 29; 6:2, 17, 25; 7:9, 11, 12; 8:1, 2, 6, 11; 10:13; 11:1, 8, 22, 32; 12:1, 28; 13:1, 5, 19; 15:5; 16:12; 17:19; 19:9; 26:16, 17, 18; 27:1; 28:1, 9, 13, 15, 45, 58; 29:8; 30:10, 16; 31:12; 32:46; 33:9. דרש + deity: Deut 4:29.

<sup>53</sup> שמר + deity's law: Josh 1:7, 8; 22:3, 5 (x2); 23:6.

<sup>54</sup> שמר + deity's law: 1 Sam 13:13. דרש + deity: 1 Sam 9:9.

<sup>55</sup> שמר + deity's law: 1 Kgs 2:3 (x2); 3:14; 6:12; 8:58, 61; 9:4 (//2 Chr 7:17), 6 (cf. 2 Chr 7:19); 11:11, 34, 38; 13:21; 14:8; 2 Kgs 10:31; 17:13, 19, 37; 18:6; 21:8 (//2 Chr 33:8); 23:3 (//2 Chr 34:31; cf. Jer 35:18). דרש + deity: 1 Kgs 22:8 (//2 Chr 18:7); 2 Kgs 3:11; 8:8; 22:13 (//2 Chr 34:21), 18 (//2 Chr 34:26).

<sup>56</sup> דרש + deity: Isa 9:12; 31:1.

<sup>57</sup> דרש + deity: Isa 55:6.

<sup>58</sup> דרש + deity: Isa 58:2; 65:1, 10.

<sup>59</sup> שמר + deity's law: Jer 16:11. דרש + deity: Jer 10:21; 21:2; 29:13; 37:7.

<sup>60</sup> שמר + deity's law: Ezek 11:20; 18:9, 19, 21; 20:19, 21; 36:27; 37:24; 44:24. דרש + deity: Ezek 14:3, 7; 20:1, 3 (x2); 20:31 (x2); 36:37.

<sup>61</sup> דרש + deity: Hos 10:12.

<sup>62</sup> שמר + deity's law: Amos 2:4. דרש + deity: Amos 5:4, 6.

<sup>63</sup> דרש + deity: Zeph 1:6.

<sup>64</sup> שמר + deity's law: Zech 3:7.

Book	שִׁמְר + Deity's Law	דִּרְש + Deity	דִּרְש + Deity's Law
Psalms A ("Non-Late") <sup>66</sup>	6	11	0
Psalms C ("Definite Late") <sup>67</sup>	21	2	3
Job 3:1–42:6 <sup>68</sup>	0	1	0
Prov 1–9, 30–31 <sup>69</sup>	1	0	0
Prov 10–29 <sup>70</sup>	2	0	0
Qoheleth <sup>71</sup>	1	0	0
Lamentations <sup>72</sup>	0	1	0
Daniel Hebrew <sup>73</sup>	1	0	0
Ezra Hebrew <sup>74</sup>	0	2	1
Nehemiah <sup>75</sup>	4	0	0
Chronicles Synoptic <sup>76</sup>	2	4	0
Chronicles Non-Synoptic <sup>77</sup>	7	22	1
Ben Sira <sup>78</sup>	6	2	1
Dead Sea Scrolls <sup>79</sup>	30	14	14

<sup>65</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: Mal 3:7, 14.

<sup>66</sup> Psalms 9, 14, 19, 22, 24, 34, 53, 69, 77, 78, 89, 99, 105, 132. שִׁמְר + deity's law: Pss 19:12; 78:56; 89:32; 99:7; 105:45; 132:12. דִּרְש + deity: Pss 9:11; 14:2; 22:27; 24:6; 34:5, 11; 53:3; 69:33; 77:3 (אֲדַנִּי); 78:34; 105:4 (//1 Chr 16:11).

<sup>67</sup> Psalm 119. שִׁמְר + deity's law: Ps 119:4, 5, 8, 9, 17, 34, 44, 55, 57, 60, 63, 67, 88, 101, 106, 134, 136, 146, 158, 167, 168. דִּרְש + deity: Ps 119:2, 10. דִּרְש + deity's law: Ps 119:45 (חֲקִיד), 94 (פְּקוּדִיד), 155 (חֲקִיד).

<sup>68</sup> שִׁמְר + deity: Job 5:8 (אֶל־אֱלֹהִים).

<sup>69</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: Prov 4:4.

<sup>70</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: Prov 28:4; 29:18.

<sup>71</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: Qoh 12:13.

<sup>72</sup> דִּרְש + deity: Lam 3:25.

<sup>73</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: Dan 9:4.

<sup>74</sup> דִּרְש + deity: Ezra 4:2 (לְאֱלֹהֵיכֶם); 6:21 (לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). דִּרְש + deity's law: Ezra 7:10 (אֶת־תּוֹרַת יְהוָה).

<sup>75</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: Neh 1:5, 7, 9; 10:30.

<sup>76</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: 2 Chr 7:17 (//1 Kgs 9:4); 34:31 (//2 Kgs 23:3). דִּרְש + deity: 1 Chr 16:11 (//Ps 105:4); 2 Chr 18:7 (//1 Kgs 22:8); 34:21 (//2 Kgs 22:13); 34:26 (בִּיהוָה); //2 Kgs 22:18, (אֶת־יְהוָה).

<sup>77</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: 1 Chr 10:13; 22:12, 13; 28:8; 29:19; 2 Chr 33:8 (//2 Kgs 21:8); 34:21 (cf. 2 Kgs 22:13, (שִׁמְר). דִּרְש + deity: 1 Chr 10:14 (בִּיהוָה); 15:13; 21:30; 22:19 (לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל); 28:9; 2 Chr 12:14; 14:3, 6 (x2); 15:2, 12, 13 (לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל); 16:12; 17:4 (לְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבִיו); 19:3; 20:3 (לִיהוָה); 22:9; 26:5 (x2); 30:19; 31:21 (לְאֱלֹהֵיוֹ); 34:3 (לְאֱלֹהֵיוֹ). דִּרְש + deity's law: 1 Chr 28:8 (כִּלְמִצּוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם).

<sup>78</sup> שִׁמְר + deity's law: Sir 15:15; 32:18, 23 (x2); 37:12; 44:20. דִּרְש + deity: Sir 32:14 (x2). דִּרְש + deity's law: Sir 32:15. Note that Ben Sira has both uses of דִּרְש and also שִׁמְר in 32:14, 15, 18, 23.

Book	שמר + Deity's Law	דרש + Deity	דרש + Deity's Law
Total	184	90	20

Before discussing the distribution of these variants it is helpful to view the data in several figures. Because we are dealing with only a handful of examples of דרש + deity's law—five in the entire Bible—there is no advantage to normalizing the numbers. The figures are organized according to the hypothetical order of dates of biblical books we gave above (8.1.3). In the first figure overleaf one should observe especially the relative frequencies, or changing proportions, of the variants. The second figure overleaf presents דרש + deity's law as a percentage of the variants we are studying here. For example, there are nine total examples of the three variants in Ben Sira, and דרש + deity's law constitutes one, or about 11%, of the total.

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<sup>79</sup> שמר + deity's law: CD 2:18, 21; 3:2, 3; 19:2 (cf. Deut 7:9); 1QSb 1:1; 1QpHab 5:5; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:22, 26; 1Q22 1:ii:1; 1Q29 5-7:4; 4Q175 1:3-4 (cf. Deut 5:29), 17; 4Q176 16:4; 4Q252 5:5; 4Q254 4:3; 4Q364 30:4 (cf. Deut 11:8); 4Q375 1:i:1-2; 4Q377 2:ii:4-5; 4Q379 18:5; 4Q380 1:ii:2; 4Q385a 18:ii:8; 4Q417 1:i:16; 4Q418 43-45:ii:12; 81+81a:8; 4Q426 1:i:2; 4Q461 1:8; 4Q471 2:2; 11Q19 55:13 (cf. Deut 13:19); 59:16 (cf. Lev 26:3; Deut 28:1). דרש + deity: CD 1:10; 6:6; 1QS 1:1-2; 5:11 (cf. Zeph 1:6); 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6, 14, 15, 16; 4Q165 25:7 (cf. Isa 31:1); 4Q372 1:19; 4Q385a 16a-b:7; 18:ii:2, 3; 4Q389 2:1. דרש + deity's law: CD 6:7; 7:18; 1QS 6:6, 7; 8:12; 4Q159 5:6; 4Q174 1-2:i:11; 4Q177 10-11:5; 4Q251 1-2:5 (cf. Isa 34:16); 4Q259 3:2; 4Q266 2:i:4; 3:iii:19; 4Q268 1:6; 4Q385a 18:ii:8. Note that 1QH<sup>a</sup> has both שמר + deity's law and דרש + deity. Note that CD, 1QS, and 4Q385a have both uses of דרש, and CD and 4Q385a also have שמר. For discussion of שמר in the non-biblical DSS see *TWOT* 15:303-5.

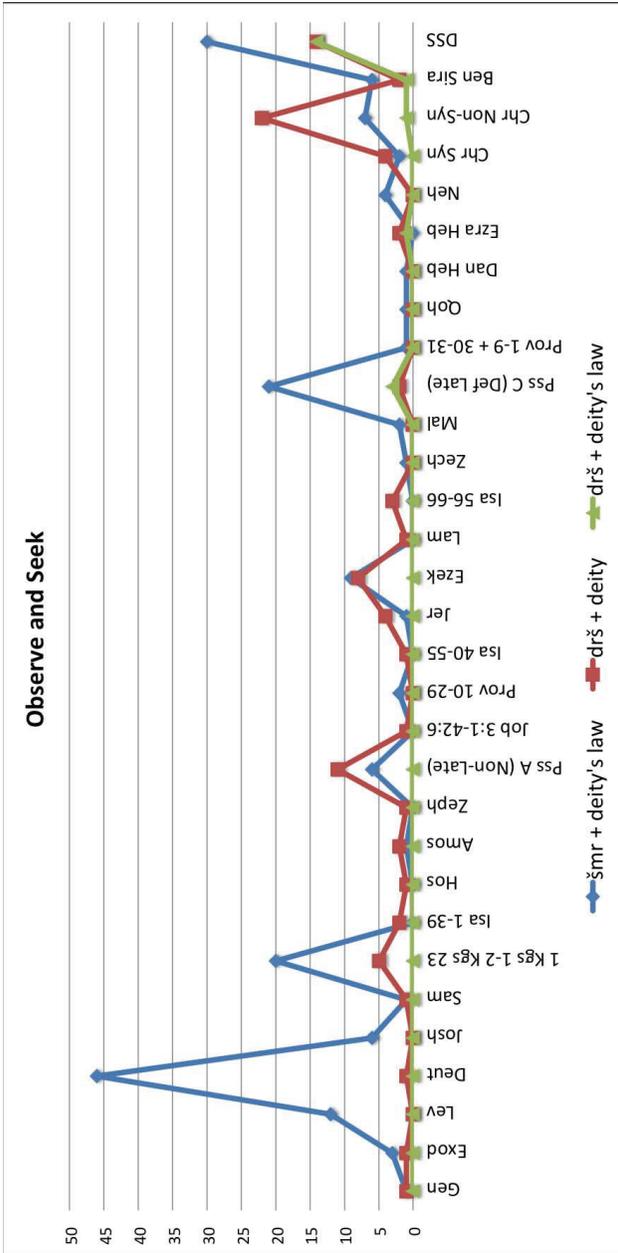


Figure 8.1



Figure 8.2

To the preceding data we could add the evidence of מדרש in Chronicles, Ben Sira, and the non-biblical DSS,<sup>80</sup> as well as the Mishnah and other rabbinic literature where דרש and related terms such as דרישה and מדרש are predominant and relate mainly to textual study, interpretation, and exposition.<sup>81</sup>

Our first observation is that דרש + deity's law is obviously more ubiquitous numerically and proportionately in the DSS (x14 and 24%, respectively). In contrast, albeit attested, the occurrences and/or rates are less impressive in Ezra (x1, 33%), Ps 119 (x3, 12%), Ben Sira (x1, 11%), and (non-synoptic) Chronicles (x1, 3%). These writings share the "late" feature but it is hardly characteristic of them. Rather, שמר + deity's law and דרש + deity outweigh דרש + deity's law in these books by 106 to 20, or 62 to 5 without the DSS. The "early" items fluctuate across the graph but their usage, in terms of individual and combined frequency, is not substantively different to the left or right. We can talk about the relative continuity of the "early" items throughout all the writings.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, in contrast to Ps 119, Ezra, and (non-synoptic) Chronicles, we find that other presumably exilic (II Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations) and postexilic (III Isaiah, Zechariah, Malachi, Qoheleth, Daniel, Nehemiah) writings have 36 examples of the "early" item and none of the "late" one. Similarly, most of the non-biblical DSS, with the exceptions of the Damascus Document, the Rule of the Community, and 4QPseudo-Moses<sup>a</sup> (4Q385a), show complementary (i.e., opposite) distribution of the three constructions. Accordingly, Hurvitz's conclusion, "...it is clear that the new collocation...at first competed with but eventually replaced the earlier idiom...",<sup>83</sup> is difficult to apply to premishnaic Hebrew because it does not accurately describe the data in "late" BH, Ben Sira, or QH. Furthermore, whereas it may be the case that in the long course of its history דרש underwent a change in meaning (see below), or at least a change of frequency of usage of different meanings, this change is perceptible in only several "late" biblical writings and not in others, that is, it could attest change

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<sup>80</sup> 2 Chr 13:22; 24:27; Sir 51:23; CD 20:6; 1QS 6:24; 8:15, 26; 4Q174 1-2:ii:14; 4Q249 1V:ii:1; 4Q256 9:1; 4Q258 1:1; 7:1; 4Q266 11:20; 4Q270 7:ii:15; cf. 4Q259 3:6.

<sup>81</sup> M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (2 vols.; London: Luzac & Co, 1903), 1:325; cf. 323, 735; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), 156–57; cf. 292; idem, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 353–55.

<sup>82</sup> Similarly, בקש is used in both BH and QH for "seeking" the deity (cf. *DCH* 2:255–56) and even תורה in QH (4Q216 2:13; 4Q306 2:3; 4Q398 11-13:7; elsewhere for the deity: 1QS 5:11 [cf. Zeph 1:6]; 4Q387 2:ii:2; 4Q427 16:2; 4Q461 1:5 [cf. 2 Chr 15:4]; 4Q521 2:ii:3).

<sup>83</sup> Hurvitz, "Linguistic Dating," 273.

underway but not completed change. Consequently, while *דרש* + deity's law may be "a late chronological marker indicative of postexilic times," it does not follow that the absence of this (ongoing) change, from Daniel or Nehemiah, or from Deuteronomy or Samuel, is a marker of chronological earliness, which is ultimately Hurvitz's manner of reasoning in this treatment of "the linguistic dating of biblical texts." One might suggest, for example, that the writers who chose to use *דרש* + deity's law were early adopters of the innovation, whereas other writers chose not to use it. Finally, it is evident that there is not much of an s-curve in the plot of the linguistic data, and even if we reorganized the data strictly according to varying proportions in an effort to sequence the writings,<sup>84</sup> following the logic through we would have to conclude that some books originated early when in fact they undoubtedly did not.

To this point we have treated the three expressions as if they were variants of a single variable, since we wanted to interact with the conventional linguistic dating argumentation of Hurvitz and others, who contend that the meaning of *דרש* developed over time and *דרש* + deity's law gradually substituted for *דרש* + deity and *שמר* + deity's law. However, do these items have semantic equivalence and did *דרש* undergo semantic development? To answer these questions adequately would take us beyond the purpose and space of this chapter. We provide therefore the following brief remarks.

Unlike the words, forms, and uses we discuss in 8.3 and chapter 9 (e.g., *צעק* vs. *זעק*), it seems obvious that these are not semantically equivalent expressions that appear in the same variable context with the same significance and function. "Seeking" the deity and "seeking" and "observing" the deity's law may be different sides of the same "theological" coin, but they are distinguished in the language of the various sources, and they are not used interchangeably or promiscuously alongside one another in texts like Ps 119:2–10; 1 Chr 10:13–14; and 2 Chr 34:21. Furthermore, when considering writings where *דרש* has as its object some sort of spoken words or written texts, we agree that it is appropriate to separate out several references that envision a "one-time" prophetic communication,<sup>85</sup> but it also seems to us that the three "late" occurrences, even if "syntactically" similar,<sup>86</sup> do not necessarily encompass the same "written pentateuchal law...and...commandments" or "written law and commandments,"<sup>87</sup> and they do not necessarily envision the same sort of "seeking" in regard to those words/texts either. In particular, *דרש* seems to have a different "flavor" in Ezra 7:10 where "study" seems like a more viable reading

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<sup>84</sup> But see the remark above in n. 9.

<sup>85</sup> 1 Kgs 22:5//2 Chr 18:4 (*דרשנא כיום את־דבר יהוה*); cf. 2 Kgs 1:16 (*לדרש בדברו*); MT plus).

<sup>86</sup> Hurvitz, "Linguistic Dating," 273, 274.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 273, 274.

than in Ps 119:45, 94, 155 and 1 Chr 28:8 where “seek with care” or “apply oneself diligently” seems equally suitable.

If דרש + deity’s law, notably as “study YHWH’s law” (Ezra 7:10), is an example of semantic development from דרש + deity and/or other uses of דרש, then it may be a case of semantic narrowing (sometimes called reduction, restriction, or specialization), where the context or referent is gradually constrained, and often to a more concrete or technical sense.<sup>88</sup> This explanation seems likely when later rabbinic literature is considered alongside earlier BH and QH. However, the data above show that in the best case scenario this development was only beginning and was scarcely adopted by most writers of Second Temple literature, thus writers who did not use the innovation did not necessarily write earlier. But there is an additional piece of evidence that, as far as we can see, has not been included in the linguistic dating and historical linguistic discussion: דרשו מעל-ספר יהוה וקראו (Isa 34:16). The bearing of this sentence on the current discussion hinges on several matters, including the date of the so-called little apocalypse (Isa 34–35),<sup>89</sup> which some literary critics often assign to the late exilic or postexilic period,<sup>90</sup> the authenticity of the sentence, which is sometimes considered a gloss,<sup>91</sup> and the meaning of דרש and the referent of יהוה ספר (a prophetic book? the book of Isaiah?). However, as it stands, the sentence is frequently read as “Study in the book of YHWH and read” or “Study and read from the book of YHWH.”<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, in his study of the terms דרש and מדרש, Schiffman concludes that “[p]hrases such as occur in Is. 34:16 and Ezra 7:10 refer to assiduous investigation for the purpose of fulfilling God’s Law.”<sup>93</sup> In short, even if דרש underwent a semantic shift during the biblical period, to mean “study, investigate, interpret (a written [scriptural]

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, Campbell, *Historical*, 223–24; E. R. Luján, “Semantic Change,” in *Continuum Companion to Historical Linguistics* (ed. S. Luraghi and V. Bubenik; London: Continuum, 2010), 286–310 (294–95). Note that old and new meanings typically coexist for some time in different contexts.

<sup>89</sup> For a synopsis see C. R. Seitz, “Isaiah, Book of: First Isaiah,” in *ABD* 3:472–88 (485).

<sup>90</sup> Hebraists generally regard these chapters, like the larger whole to which it belongs (Isa 1–39), as a specimen of early or preexilic Hebrew.

<sup>91</sup> For some discussion see J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39* (AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 454; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM, 1974), 359–60; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39: A Continental Commentary* (trans. T. H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 338.

<sup>92</sup> For example, Abegg et al. translate the identical sentence in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> as “Study and read from the book of the LORD” (M. G. Abegg, Jr., P. W. Flint, and E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* [San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999], 322); cf. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 312.

<sup>93</sup> L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 54–60 (54).

text),”<sup>94</sup> it is unclear when (or how early) that change began. This uncertainty, and our variationist analysis in which we demonstrated that שמר + deity’s law and דרש + deity are in fact the common expressions in (late) BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS, should raise some doubts about דרש + deity’s law as an indication of linguistic lateness and its value for linguistic dating, in the sense that works with this collocation are late and works without it are early.

### 8.3. TEN “LATE” VERB LEXEMES

#### 8.3.1. INTRODUCTION

In this section we survey ten “late” verb lexemes and their “early” variants.<sup>95</sup> In eight cases the variants relate to different roots and in two the same root is involved but the verbs appear in different stems (*Piel* rather than *Qal* or *Hiphil*). Because of space and for economy sake the individual surveys are not intended to be comprehensive studies. The discussion of each set of verbs generally follows the same basic format: (1) a conventional statement of linguistic chronology; (2) a synopsis of attestation in extra-BH, focusing on monarchic-era inscriptions, the book of Ben Sira, the non-biblical DSS, and MH; (3) a summary of linguistic distribution in the MT Bible, illustrated in several figures; we also point out any relevant textual variants, especially interchanges, between the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS; (4) some specific observations on the particular verb in question. Following the discussions of individual verbs we give a brief cluster analysis of the ten sets of verbs as a whole.

#### 8.3.2. “HASTEN”: “EARLY” חפז, מהר vs. “LATE” בהל, דחף

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The verbs בהל and דחף with the meaning “to hasten, hurry,” instead of the verbs חפז and מהר, are considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, Bergey says:

Semantically, from a synchronic BH perspective, בהל is polysemous (i.e., has more than one meaning)—“disturb, terrify” and “hasten.” Diachronically, however, the latter sense is a development marked first in the post-exilic period...The evidence gathered from the Hebrew literary sources points to the semantic development of בהל “hasten” in post-exilic times, resulting in its extension to the semantic sphere of two other lexemes occurring in EBH—מהר and חפז. This development, no doubt, contributed to the decline of חפז, which

<sup>94</sup> Hurvitz, “Linguistic Dating,” 271.

<sup>95</sup> We are accepting here the conventional view, assumed or argued in treatments of these verbs by other scholars, that the sets of verb lexemes are semantically equivalent, or at least function in the same variable context.

nowhere occurs in LBH prose. On the other hand, מהר continued in the later period; nevertheless, בהל, following its semantic extension, shared a relatively even incidence in LBH with its earlier counterpart, as is the case in Esther.<sup>96</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* These verbs are unattested in Hebrew inscriptions. Ben Sira has seven examples of מהר,<sup>97</sup> and a single occurrence of דחה with the sense “to drive, expel, push away.”<sup>98</sup> The DSS do not use דחה, but they do have בהל in both its “late” (x3) and “early” (x3) senses.<sup>99</sup> There are also five examples of חפו but with the meaning “to panic” or something similar.<sup>100</sup> Songs of the Sage has the interesting fragmentary reading [זון ויחפ] (4Q511 37:5) in a broken context, and perhaps it should be construed along the lines of “they shall be terrified and pani[c],”<sup>101</sup> that is, with the “early” meaning of בהל alongside חפו. Finally, מהר is used twenty times in the DSS.<sup>102</sup> Pseudo Ezekiel

<sup>96</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 111–12. For additional statements and discussion of the view that בהל and דחה with the meaning “to hurry, make haste” are characteristic of the later stage of BH see, on בהל, Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 45–47; J. Joosten, “On the LXX Translators’ Knowledge of Hebrew,” in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 165–79 (173–74); D. G. Kroeze, “A Semantic Study of the Lexical Field of ‘Fear’ Terms in Biblical Hebrew” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004), 63–64; Polzin, *Late*, 129; M. Wagner, *Die Lexikalischen und Grammatikalischen Aramaismen im Alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1966), 33; Wright, *Linguistic*, 82–84, 128; and on דחה, see van Peursen, *Verbal*, 158; Polzin, *Late*, 133.

<sup>97</sup> *BBS* 193, 410. *DCH* says five (*DCH* 5:165) or six (*Concise DCH* 206). Numbers of occurrence that are given in *DCH* should be read in light of the comment in *DCH* 1:33, cited in chapter 3, n. 16.

<sup>98</sup> *BBS* 121, 406; *Concise DCH* 77; *DCH* 2:431.

<sup>99</sup> M. G. Abegg, Jr., J. E. Bowley, and E. M. Cook, in consultation with E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, Volume 1: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (1 vol. in 2; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:131. *DCH* says there are three (*DCH* 2:97) or five total examples (*Concise DCH* 41). Bergey did not know of these examples of בהל in the DSS (Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 112 n. 2). בהל as “to hasten, hurry”: 4Q215 1-3:5 (x2); 4Q385 4:2. בהל as “to dismay, terrify”: 4Q177 12-13:i:3; 4Q510 1:3, 4; 4Q511 37:5. In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest four examples of בהל (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:798).

<sup>100</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:272. *DCH* says three (*Concise DCH* 127; *DCH* 3:286).

<sup>101</sup> Translation from *Concordance*, “Qumran Non-Biblical Manuscripts: A New English Translation (QUMENG),” based on M. O. Wise, M. G. Abegg, Jr., and E. M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (rev. ed.; New York: HarperCollins, 2005), though fragment 37 is not translated in the printed edition.

<sup>102</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:429. *DCH* says eleven (*Concise DCH* 206; *DCH* 5:165).

has an interesting example: ויתבהלו הימים מהר עד אשר יאמרו האדם הלא ממהרים הימים, “And the days will pass rapidly until [all the sons of] man say: «Are not the days hastening on...»”<sup>103</sup> (4Q384 4:2–3), with בהל and מהר in parallel. Turning to the Mishnah, there are no relevant examples of דחף (used for BH הדף) or חפז, but we find one of בהל in Avot 5:7<sup>104</sup> and nine of מהר including four in Avot 5:12.<sup>105</sup>

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>106</sup> The “late” verbs appear in the following passages in BH: בהל in “early” Prov 20:21 (*Qere* מְבַהֵלֶת; *Kethiv* מְבַחֵלֶת); 28:22; and in “late” Qoh 5:1; 7:9; 8:3; Esth 2:9; 6:14; 8:14; 2 Chr 26:20; 35:21; and דחף in Esth 3:13; 6:12; 8:14; 2 Chr 26:20. It is also possible that נבהלה in Zeph 1:18 has the meaning “hasty” instead of “terrifying, terrible.”<sup>107</sup> Thus there is a total of 14 (or 15) “late” tokens in BH. There are also three examples of בהל in Aramaic Daniel (2:25; 3:24; 6:20). Elsewhere in “early” and “late” BH we find either the “early” verbs or the non-“late” meanings of the “late” verbs (x120). The figures overleaf give the frequencies of the verbs מהר/חפז (together) and דחף/בהל (together), and the percentage of דחף/בהל verbs relative to both sets of verbs, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead*, 2:769.

<sup>104</sup> Compare Polzin, *Late*, 129.

<sup>105</sup> Compare Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 112 n. 2.

<sup>106</sup> *BDB* 96, 191, 342, 554–55, 1084 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 41, 77, 127, 206; *DCH* 2:97–98, 431–32; 3:286; 5:165–67; *HALOT* 1:111, 219, 339; 2:553–54; 5:1832 (Aramaic).

<sup>107</sup> See E. Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah* (BZAW 198; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 133–34. The interpretation “hasty” is supported by the LXX (σπουδῆς) and Vulgate (*cum festinatione*) translations and some contemporary commentators and translations, but as far as we know historical linguistic studies have not mentioned this possible example, perhaps because it is in “early” BH.

<sup>108</sup> We have not included the possible example in Zeph 1:18.

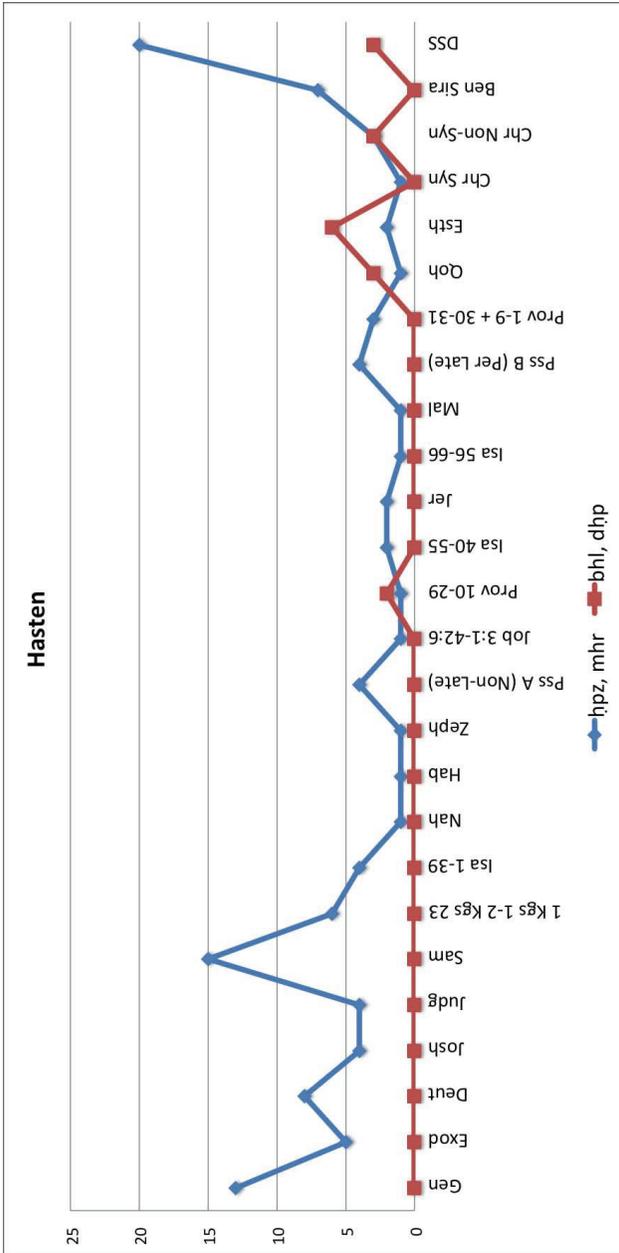


Figure 8.3

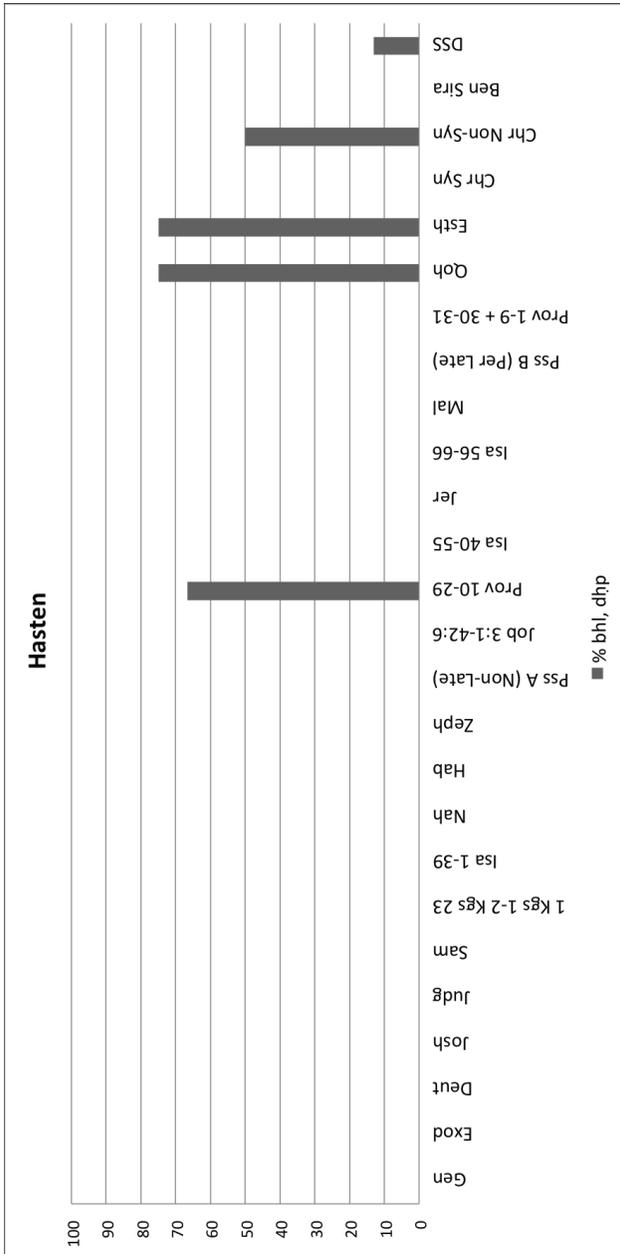


Figure 8.4

There are no interchanges of these verbs in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS, but there are some other interesting text-critical issues. Some of the evidence relates to the Greek translation. Thus Joosten argues that the Greek translators sometimes attributed “later” meanings to Hebrew words that carry the “earlier” meaning: “The verb *בהל*, for instance, in earlier texts means ‘to be disturbed, dismayed,’ while in the late biblical books and in post-biblical Hebrew it takes on the meaning ‘to make haste, be eager’—probably under the influence of Aramaic. In the book of Job, where the earlier meaning obtains, the LXX systematically ascribes the later meaning to this verb.”<sup>109</sup> At this point Joosten gives the example of Job 23:16, where *הבהילני* (“[the Almighty] has terrified me”) corresponds to *ἐσπουδάσέν με* (“[the Almighty] has hastened(?) me”), and he cites another eight examples in a footnote: Judg 20:41; Jer 15:8; Zeph 1:18; Job 4:5; 21:6; 22:10; 23:15; 31:5.<sup>110</sup> He concludes with these words:

It would, I think, be quite wrong to hold that this rendering resulted from a conscious effort at understanding a difficult word. If the translator had been conscious of not understanding the root *בהל* he might, without too much difficulty, have deduced its meaning from the context. Actually, the problem was not that he did not know the word, but that he did know it, and wrongly. The translator, although familiar with the lexeme in question, was simply unaware that at an earlier stage of Hebrew it carried a different meaning.<sup>111</sup>

To Joosten’s nine examples we would add three more (Exod 15:15; 1 Sam 28:21; Isa 21:23), thus giving a total of twelve, or really eleven for our purposes since Jer 15:8 has the feminine plural noun *בהלות* rather than the verb, and then perhaps only ten if *נבהלה* in Zeph 1:18 has the meaning “hasty.” However, if we set to the side these examples, and also the cases where “late” *בהל* (= “to hasten, hurry”) in the MT is “correctly” rendered in the LXX,<sup>112</sup> then there remain 18 examples where the (other) translators apparently also knew it, and correctly.<sup>113</sup> The principle of accountability (chapter 7, 7.3.8) requires that these cases also be taken into consideration. On the one hand, it is interesting to observe that only Samuel/Basileion and Isaiah/Isaias have both a “correct” and an “incorrect”

<sup>109</sup> Joosten, “Translators,” 173.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 173 with n. 27. Joosten actually says “23:14, 16” in the footnote but he must mean 23:15 since v. 14 does not have *בהל* and he cites v. 16 in the main discussion.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 173–74. However, we find it difficult to assent to Joosten’s argument, since would not the translator also have deduced that his translation made no sense in the context?

<sup>112</sup> A form of *ἐπισπουδάζω*, *σπεύδω*, *ἐπισπεύδω*, or *κατασπεύδω* is found in Prov 20:21 (*Qere*); 28:22; Qoh 5:1; 7:9; Esth 2:9; 6:14; 8:14; 2 Chr 26:20; 35:21, but the verb *πορεύω* is found in Qoh 8:3.

<sup>113</sup> Gen 45:3; 2 Sam 4:1; Pss 2:5; 6:3, 4, 11; 30:8; 48:6; 83:16, 18; 90:7; 104:29; Isa 13:8; Jer 51:32; Ezek 7:27; 26:18; Dan 11:44; 2 Chr 32:18.

translation, but on the other hand, unless the various translators lived at considerably different times<sup>114</sup>—which seems somewhat unlikely—it is not entirely clear how translators of some books, or parts of books, knew *בהל* “correctly” while others knew it “wrongly.”<sup>115</sup> In summary, Joosten’s explanation is possible, but other evidence must be explained before it can be considered conclusive.

There is one other interesting text-critical datum. The MT of Prov 13:11 has *הוֹן מְהֵל*, “wealth gotten by vanity” (JPS). However, based on the contrast with “little by little” (*על-יד*) in the second half of the verse and also the LXX (*ἐπισπουδαζομένη*) and Vulgate (*festinata*) readings, it has long been conjectured that the MT has an error for *מְהֵל* (*Pual* participle of *בהל*), thus “wealth gotten hastily,” and this emendation is advocated in many translations, lexica, and commentaries.<sup>116</sup> Consequently, in this case it would be necessary to restore a “late” or “marked” use of *בהל* in “early” Proverbs.<sup>117</sup> This is another good illustration of the fluidity of biblical language in the text-transmission process.

*Observations.* In addition to the possible “early” examples of “late” *בהל* in Proverbs (13:11, if emended; 20:21, *Qere*; 28:22), which some might argue is related to the Wisdom genre,<sup>118</sup> it is noticeable that some “late” (exilic and postexilic) biblical books (II Isaiah [x2], Jeremiah [x2], III Isaiah [x1], Malachi [x1], four psalms [x4], the frame of Proverbs [x3]) and Ben Sira (x7) have only the “early” verbs, and the “late” verbs are favored only in Qoheleth (3–1) and Esther (3–1), and Chronicles has equal numbers (3–3), but the DSS prefer *מהר* over *בהל* by 20 to 3, which means of course that most *individual* scrolls use only

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<sup>114</sup> We say this because from a variationist perspective we would expect there to be a time when “old” and “new” forms/uses overlapped, and one was gradually restricted to a particular usage or context of usage until it perhaps disappeared.

<sup>115</sup> “Correctly”: Genesis, Psalms, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Chronicles. “Wrongly”: Exodus, Judges, Zephaniah, Job.

<sup>116</sup> For example: NAB; NRSV: *DCH* 2:98; *HALOT* 1:111; R. J. Clifford, *Proverbs: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 135–38; M. V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31* (AB 18B; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 565–66; W. McKane, *Proverbs* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 458–59; R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 18; New York: Doubleday, 1965), 94; R. H. Whybray, *Proverbs* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 204.

<sup>117</sup> On the early dating of the central section of Proverbs see Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 499–506 (cf. *LDBT* 2:56–58).

<sup>118</sup> Rendsburg would probably attribute this usage to a northern dialect of BH, though he does not cite these examples of *בהל* in Proverbs (cf. Rendsburg, “Comprehensive”). Also, Wright argues that there is an additional example of “late” *בהל* in “early” Ps 48:6 (Wright, *Linguistic*, 83), but the “early” sense of the verb makes good sense there, and in any case we would not assent to Wright’s northern dialect explanation for *בהל* without additional evidence, especially dated and localized evidence.

the “early” verb.<sup>119</sup> Given all these data, it is unclear when (or if) בהל experienced a semantic shift,<sup>120</sup> and it would be unwarranted and even impossible to sequence in any sensible way the various compositions according to their proportions of these verbs.<sup>121</sup>

### 8.3.3. “BE FRIGHTENED”: “EARLY” חרד, ירא, פחד, רגז vs. “LATE” בעת *NIPHAL*

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The verb בעת in the *Niphal* with the meaning “to be frightened, terrified,” instead of the verbs חרד, ירא, פחד, and רגז, is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, Polzin says:

*nib* ‘at (*nifal*), “be terrified,” appears only in I Chr 21.30, Est 7.6 and Dn 8.17. *BDB* characterizes the *nifal* usage of this verb as “late prose.”<sup>122</sup> This judgment appears to be correct since 3 out of the 4 times that it appears at Qumran, it appears in the *nifal*: *Serek hayāhad* VII,1; Hodayot, I,23, III,14. The *nifal* does not occur in mhe<sup>1</sup> (the Mishna contains one instance of the *hifil*: Yoma 5.1). It is quite possible that this feature is indicative of LBH; earlier Hebrew would use *hārad* (Is 19.6, Gn 42.28 E), *pāhad* (Dt. 28.66), or *rāgaz* (Dt. 2.25).<sup>123</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* In this case study we will consider the following verbs and stems: the *Niphal* of בעת (excluded: *Piel*); the *Qal* of חרד (excluded: *Hiphil*); the *Qal* and *Niphal* of ירא (excluded: *Piel*); the *Qal* and *Piel* of פחד (excluded: *Hiphil*); and the *Qal* of רגז (excluded: *Hiphil*, *Hithpael*). Unless otherwise stated references to these verbs are to these stems only. The Hebrew inscriptions attest nothing more than one uncertain instance of ירא.<sup>124</sup> Ben Sira does not use בעת and חרד, but it does have fifteen examples of ירא, eleven of פחד, and one of רגז.<sup>125</sup> The DSS have a clear preference for verbs other than

<sup>119</sup> Bergey seems to be aware of this problem with the conventional diachronic explanation (Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 112 n. 2).

<sup>120</sup> Whether such a shift would have been caused by contact with Aramaic has also been judged differently. Kutscher and some others think that was the case, but Polzin argues against that explanation (Polzin, *Late*, 129).

<sup>121</sup> So also, Wright’s argument that if J were composed after the exile it would have “at least one example” of “late” בהל is clearly far-fetched (Wright, *Linguistic*, 84, 128).

<sup>122</sup> *BDB* 130.

<sup>123</sup> Polzin, *Late*, 145–46. For additional statements and discussion of the view that the *Niphal* of בעת is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 137–38; Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 72–73; Kroeze, “Semantic,” 72; Wright, *Linguistic*, 85–87. Both Bergey and Wright incorporate ירא in the discussion.

<sup>124</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 521, 524, 695.

<sup>125</sup> *BBS* 162–63, 253, 275, 408, 413, 415. *DCH* says 13 ירא, 7 פחד, and 0 רגז (*Concise DCH* 162–63, 355–56, 412; *DCH* 4:276, 280; 6:673–74; 7:409–10).

בעת, which is only attested four times (1QS 7:1; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23; 11:14; 4Q432 5:1).<sup>126</sup> Otherwise, there are 4 חרד, 66 ירא, 16 פחד, and 1 רגז, giving a total of 87.<sup>127</sup> An important matter to keep in mind is that Rule of the Community and Hodayot use בעת and other “fear” verbs, but the dozens of other scrolls that attest these verbs have only the non-“late” ones. Finally, the numbers for the Mishnah are 0 בעת, 0 חרד, 11 ירא, 0 פחד, and 0 רגז.<sup>128</sup>

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>129</sup> The *Niphal* of בעת appears three times in BH: Esth 7:6; Dan 8:17; 1 Chr 21:30. All together the relevant forms of the other verbs are attested 453 times. There are no interchanges between בעת and the four other verbs in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS. The figures overleaf give the frequencies of the relevant stems, and the percentage of בעת verbs relative to all five verbs, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

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<sup>126</sup> There is an example of the *Piel* in 1Q19 3:6. The *Piel* occurs in BH in Samuel, Isaiah, Psalms, and Job.

<sup>127</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:155, 276, 320–21; 2:609, 670. *DCH* says 1 חרד, 53 ירא, 15 פחד, and 1 רגז (*Concise DCH* 131, 162–63, 355–56, 412; *DCH* 3:311; 4:276, 280; 6:673–74; 7:409–10). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest six examples of רגז (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:922).

<sup>128</sup> Compare Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 138 n. 1.

<sup>129</sup> BDB 129–30, 353, 431–32, 808, 919, 1112 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 52, 131, 162–63, 355–56, 412–13; *DCH* 2:244; 3:311–12; 4:276–81; 6:673–74; 7:409–10; *HALOT* 1:147, 350; 2:432–33; 3:922, 1182–83, 1978 (Aramaic).

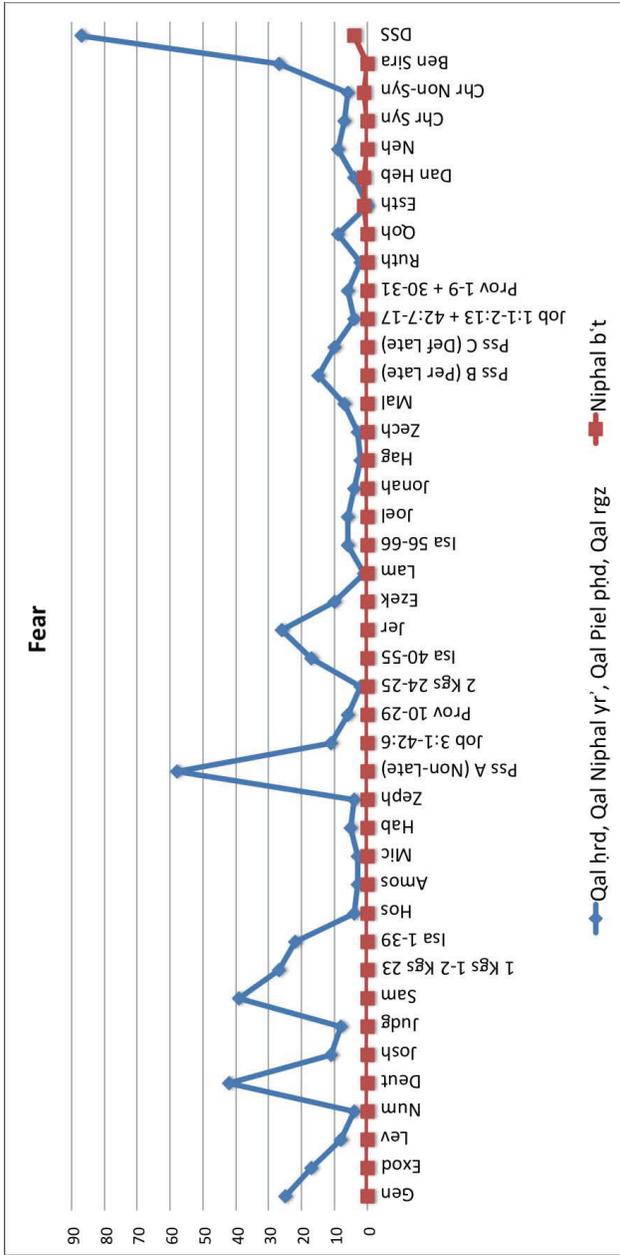


Figure 8.5

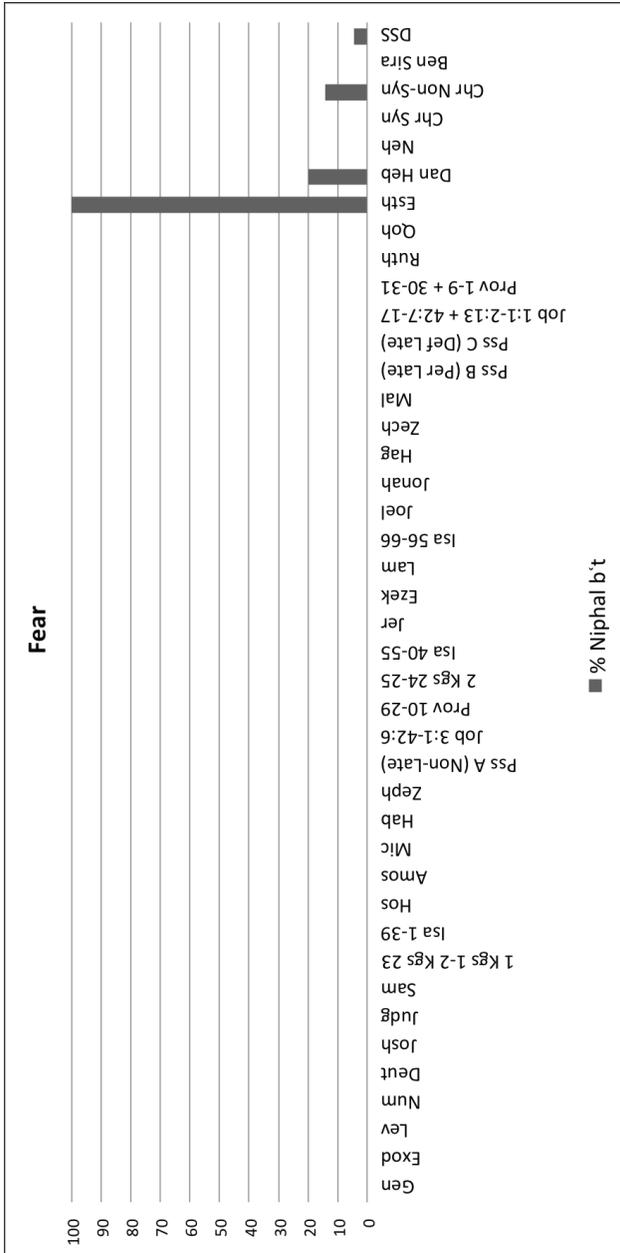


Figure 8.6

*Observations.* It is obvious that the *Niphal* of בַּעַת is no more than a marginal form in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS, and that this statement is true for both “early” and “late” BH alike. For example, note the ratios in Qoheleth–Chronicles: Qoheleth, 9–0; Esther, 0–1; Daniel, 4–1; Nehemiah, 9–0; Chronicles, 13–1. Of course all other “late” writings do not use בַּעַת either. With so little evidence it is impossible to say much about the origin and motivations for the few uses of the *Niphal* of בַּעַת in BH.<sup>130</sup> It very well may be the case that this verb was a postexilic development in the history of Hebrew. However, the evidence as a whole calls into question any use of such a rare form to situate biblical writings chronologically or sequence them in any particular order. Thus conclusions such as Wright’s (and his view is not unique to him) cannot stand: “If the ‘J’ source were indeed written during the post-exilic period, one would expect to see examples of the later form נִבְעַת to express being afraid of a thing or a person, but such examples are lacking.”<sup>131</sup>

### 8.3.4. “WALK”: “EARLY” הִלֵךְ *QAL* VS. “LATE” הִלֵךְ *PIEL*

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The *Piel* of הִלֵךְ, instead of the *Qal*, is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, BDB describes the form as “chiefly poet. & late,”<sup>132</sup> and Rooker says: “The *Qal* of the root הִלֵךְ occurs over a thousand times in the Hebrew Bible in virtually every conceivable genre and context. The use of the *Piel*, on the other hand, occurs only twenty-five times and is virtually restricted to late and poetic texts. The *Piel* should be considered a late linguistic development...”<sup>133</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* The *Qal* of הִלֵךְ occurs once in Hebrew inscriptions (Siloam Tunnel 4).<sup>134</sup> The *Qal* of הִלֵךְ occurs far more often than the *Piel* of הִלֵךְ in Ben Sira and the DSS, 13 to 4 in the former,<sup>135</sup> and 194 to 12 in the latter.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Again, the *Piel* occurs in BH in Samuel, Isaiah, Psalms, and Job.

<sup>131</sup> Wright, *Linguistic*, 87.

<sup>132</sup> BDB 235.

<sup>133</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 153; cf. 153–55. For additional statements and discussion of the view that the *Piel* of הִלֵךְ is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 48–52; Paul, “Signs,” 295; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 90; cf. 49. Hurvitz also discusses “this development of *hillēkh*→*hālakh*” as “part of a much wider, later tendency then present in the Hebrew language to prefer the *Pi’el* conjugation over the *Qal*” (Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 51).

<sup>134</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 680.

<sup>135</sup> BBS 128, 406. *DCH* says eleven and three, respectively (*Concise DCH* 89–90).

<sup>136</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:221–24. Following Accordance (Abegg) the *Piel* forms in the DSS are in 1QS 7:12; 8:18; 9:19; 1QM 7:12; 4Q255 2:5; 4Q256 18:2; 4Q258 8:3; 4Q259 1:9; 3:18; 4Q266 10:ii:9; 4Q381 47:2; 4Q418 251:2. *DCH* says 136 for the *Qal* of הִלֵךְ and six for the *Piel* of הִלֵךְ in the DSS (*Concise DCH*

Of course these numbers are approximate since without vocalization the *Qal* and *Piel* of הלך are indistinguishable in the *qatal*. Thus there may be some other cases of the *Piel* of הלך in the *qatal* in the DSS. However, if we examine forms that are distinguishable without vocalization, such as *yiqtol* forms that retain the initial *he* of the root, then we find that the *Qal* still plainly prevails over the *Piel* of הלך (45 to 4). In any case the preference for the *Qal* rather than the *Piel* of הלך is evident in texts such as the Rule of the Community and the Temple Scroll. In MH the situation is different since “[t]he occurrence of the *Piel* of הלך is especially prevalent.”<sup>137</sup> However, there are still 276 *Qal* to 105 *Piel* forms.

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>138</sup> The *Piel* of הלך occurs 25 times in the Hebrew Bible in the following passages: 1 Kgs 21:27; Isa 59:9; Ezek 18:9; Hab 3:11; Pss 38:7; 55:15; 81:14; 85:14; 86:11; 89:16; 104:3, 10, 26; 115:7; 131:1; 142:4; Job 24:10; 30:28; Prov 6:11, 28; 8:20; Qoh 4:15; 8:10; 11:9; Lam 5:18. There are no interchanges between the *Qal* and *Piel* of הלך in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS. The figures overleaf give the frequencies of the *Qal* and *Piel* of הלך, and the percentage of *Piel* forms relative to all *Qal* and *Piel* forms, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

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89–90). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest ten examples of הלך (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:824).

<sup>137</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 1990: 154. “MH displays a rapid increase in the use of *hillēkh* at the expense of *hālakh*” (Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 49). In Biblical Aramaic the *Pael* of הלך is used in Dan 4:26. Both Hurvitz and Rooker point this out (Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 50; Rooker, *Biblical*, 153), and Rooker goes on to suggest that “[t]he extensive usage of הלך in the *Piel* [*sic*] in Aramaic texts might indicate that the term’s occurrence in BH is due to Aramaic influence” (Rooker, *Biblical*, 155). Observe, however, that only the *Peal* of הלך is used in Aramaic Ezra (5:5; 6:5; 7:13 [x2]).

<sup>138</sup> *BDB* 229–37, 1090 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 88–89; *DCH* 2:544–59; *HALOT* 1:246–48, 1860 (Aramaic).

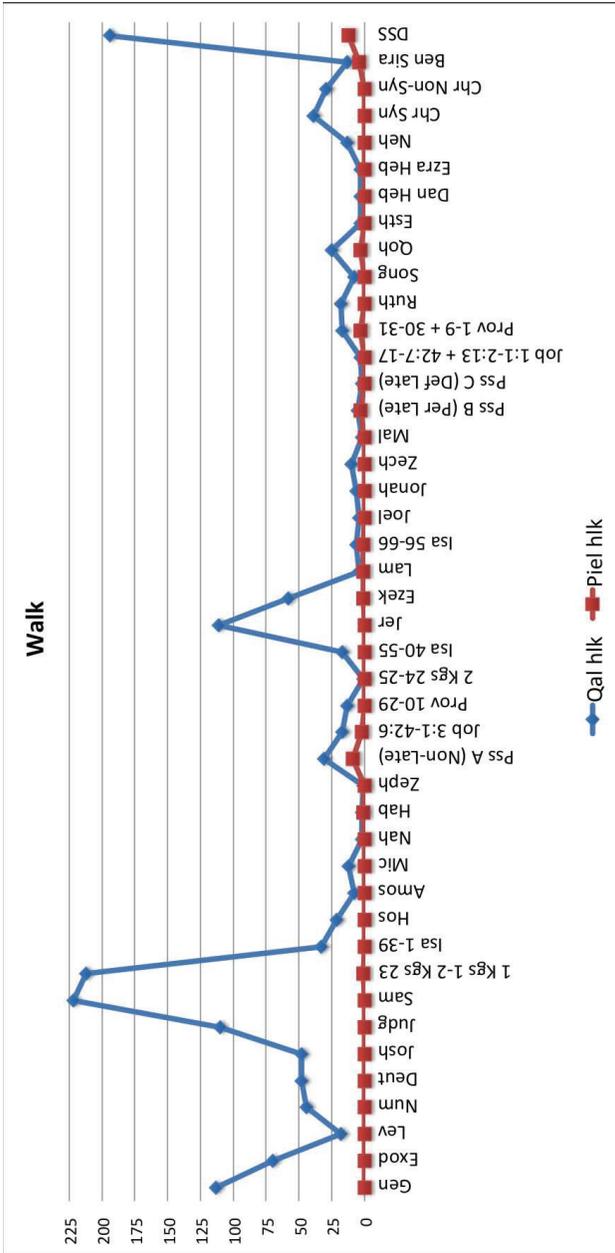


Figure 8.7

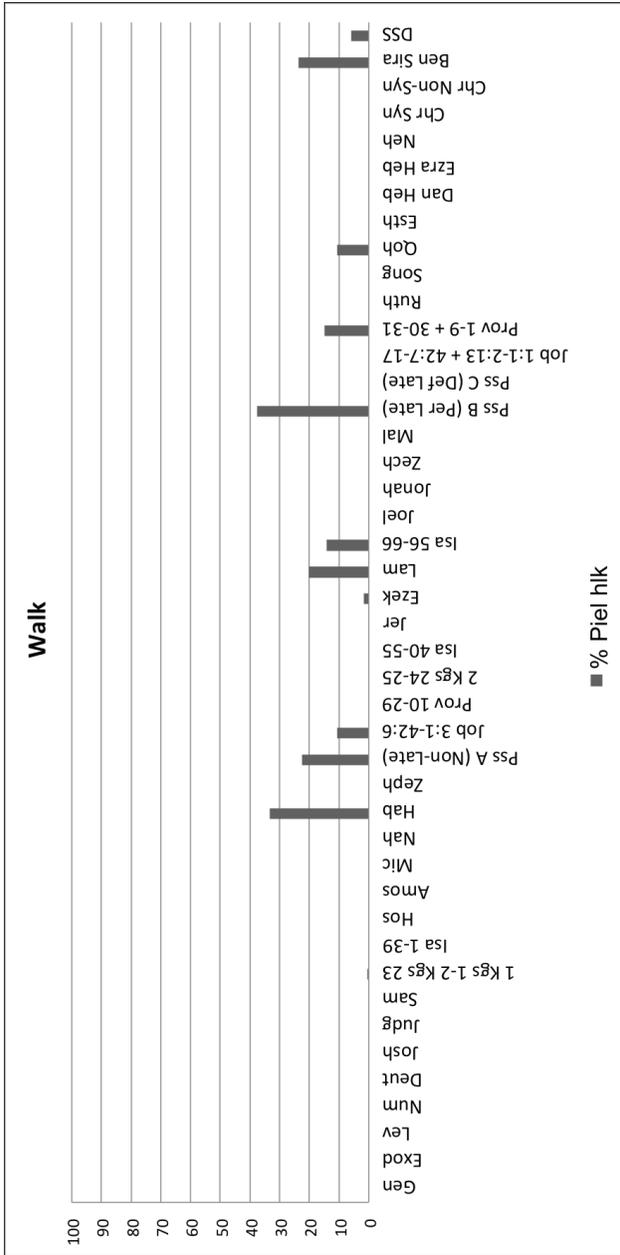


Figure 8.8

*Observations.* The *Piel* of הלך is used only once in a prose text, 1 Kgs 21:27, and is absent altogether from the “late” books of Esther–Chronicles. The *Piel* of הלך appears more frequently in an assortment of prophetic, poetic, and wisdom texts conventionally dated variously to the preexilic, exilic, or postexilic periods. In contrast, the *Qal* of הלך occurs much more frequently, about 1,412 times,<sup>139</sup> and in every book of the Hebrew Bible except Obadiah and Haggai. It is clear in the figures that the *Piel* of הלך is relatively rare in the Hebrew Bible. It appears only sporadically in a variety of “early” and “late” books. The verb form is obviously not characteristic of a “later” stage or variety of BH. This is especially evident from the fact that most “late” books use (often!) the *Qal* of הלך to the total exclusion of the *Piel* (e.g., Zechariah, Malachi, several late Psalms, the Prose Tale of Job, the core LBH books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles). Consequently, a growing preference for the *Piel* of הלך is not attested clearly in the Hebrew Bible, and so the absence, presence, or proportion of the form cannot serve to date texts linguistically. Rather, to the extent that the pointing of the MT can be trusted, it seems that the *Piel* of הלך was used from time to time by some writers, while others chose never to use it.

### 8.3.5. “CRY”: “EARLY” צעק vs. “LATE” זעק

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The verb זעק (with voiced sibilant ז), instead of צעק (with emphatic sibilant צ), is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, Kutscher says:

In the Hebrew Bible as a whole they are both used approximately the same number of times (צעק is slightly more common). However, upon closer scrutiny one discovers that the two words are very unequally distributed between the early and late parts of the Hebrew Bible. Whereas in the Pentateuch צעק is used almost exclusively, (the ratio there of צעק : זעק = 26 : 2), in Chron., Neh. and Esther for example the picture is very different. In these books the ratio of צעק : זעק = 3 : 11! We thus see that זעק (apparently thanks to Aramaic influence) was commoner by far during the Second Temple Period.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> DCH says 1,413 (*Concise DCH* 89).

<sup>140</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 34; cf. 233. Note that Kutscher’s ratios include both verb and noun forms of these roots. We return to this issue below. For additional statements and discussion of the view that זעק is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 119–22; A. E. Hill, “The Book of Malachi: Its Place in Post-Exilic Chronology Linguistically Considered” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1981), 93; Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 78–82; Kim, *Early*, 144–50; Polzin, *Late*, 137; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 90; Rooker, *Biblical*, 134–38. Rooker discusses whether the difference between these two roots is phonemic or lexical and concludes that it is lexical (Rooker, *Biblical*, 134 n. 28).

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* The verbs  $\text{צעק}$  and  $\text{זעק}$  are unattested in Hebrew inscriptions. Ben Sira has one occurrence of the verb in the root  $\text{צעק}$ .<sup>141</sup> The DSS have a clear preference for  $\text{זעק}$  which appears thirteen times compared to no occurrences of  $\text{צעק}$ .<sup>142</sup> In contrast to the DSS, however, the Mishnah has only  $\text{צעק}$  (x3).<sup>143</sup>

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>144</sup> The verb  $\text{צעק}$  occurs fifty-six times in BH compared to seventy-three occurrences of  $\text{זעק}$ .<sup>145</sup> The figures overleaf give the frequencies of the verbs  $\text{צעק}$  and  $\text{זעק}$ , and the percentage of  $\text{זעק}$  verbs relative to  $\text{צעק}$  and  $\text{זעק}$  verbs, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

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<sup>141</sup> BBS 263, 414; *Concise DCH* 382; *DCH* 7:141

<sup>142</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:246–47; 2:639. *DCH* says there are eleven occurrences of  $\text{זעק}$  and none of  $\text{צעק}$  in the DSS (*Concise DCH* 102, 382; *DCH* 3:127; 7:141). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest eight examples of  $\text{זעק}$  (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:828).

<sup>143</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 122 (“peculiarly”); Rooker, *Biblical*, 137 (“curiously”).  $\text{זעק}$  is also the preferred form in Aramaic, appears once as such in Biblical Aramaic (Dan 6:21), and is thought by some to have influenced the choice of lexeme in “late” BH (Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 81; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 34, 233; Polzin, *Late*, 137; Rooker, *Biblical*, 135).

<sup>144</sup> BDB 277, 858, 1091 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 102–3, 382–83; *DCH* 3:127–29; 7:141–42; *HALOT* 1: 277; 3:1042–43; 5:1866–67 (Aramaic).

<sup>145</sup> Both the *Kethiv* and *Qere* (not counted) in Jer 48:20 involve  $\text{צעק}$ . *DCH* says fifty five for  $\text{צעק}$  (*Concise DCH* 382; *DCH* 7:141) and seventy one (*Concise DCH* 102) or seventy three (*DCH* 3:127) for  $\text{זעק}$ . Kutscher’s statement that “ $\text{צעק}$  is slightly more common” (above) is mistaken, even if the related nouns  $\text{צעקה}$  and  $\text{זעקה}$  are taken into consideration. In the latter situation the numbers would be 76 and 91. Note that Kutscher, Bergey, and Rooker (references above) discuss the verbs  $\text{צעק}$  and  $\text{זעק}$  and the nouns  $\text{צעקה}$  and  $\text{זעקה}$  all together. In this context, since we are discussing only verb lexemes, we have chosen to leave aside the latter. However, we have also examined the distributions and calculated and charted the frequencies of the verbs and nouns together and have concluded that it has a neutral effect on our argument, especially in regard to BH, and in several cases actually strengthens it. For example, Ben Sira has a ratio of 1–0 for the verbs  $\text{צעק}$ - $\text{זעק}$  but this goes to 5–0 when the nouns are included, and the DSS have a ratio of 0–13 for the verbs but 0–16 for the verbs and nouns together, so in the end the contrast between these postexilic writings is strengthened.

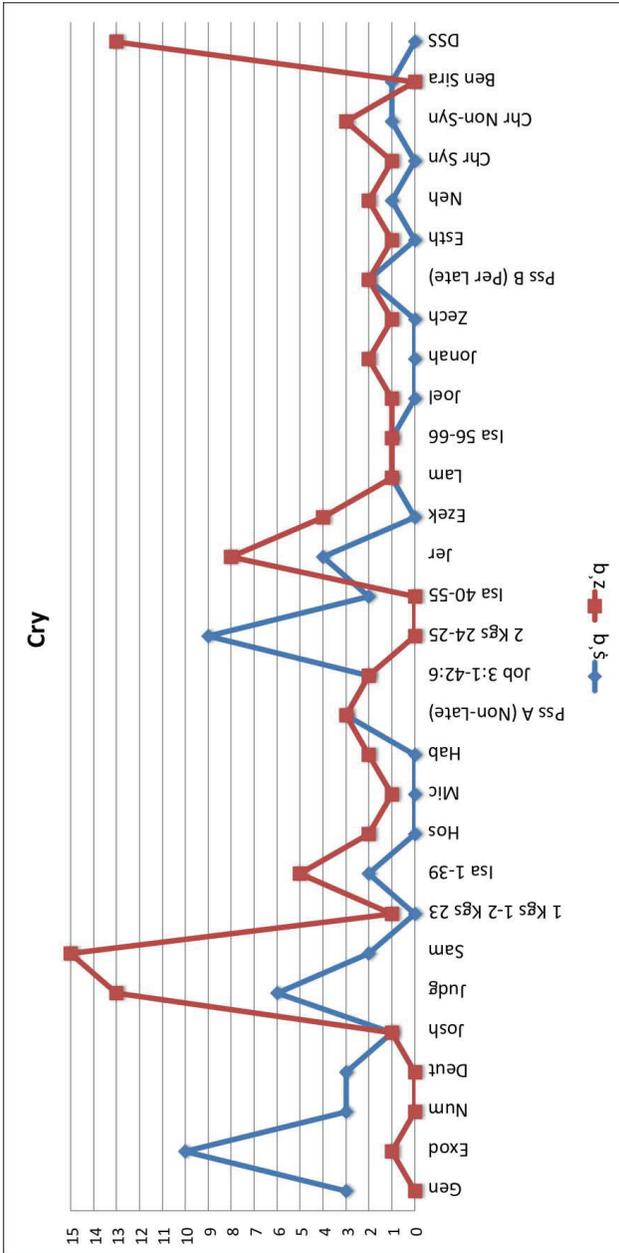


Figure 8.9

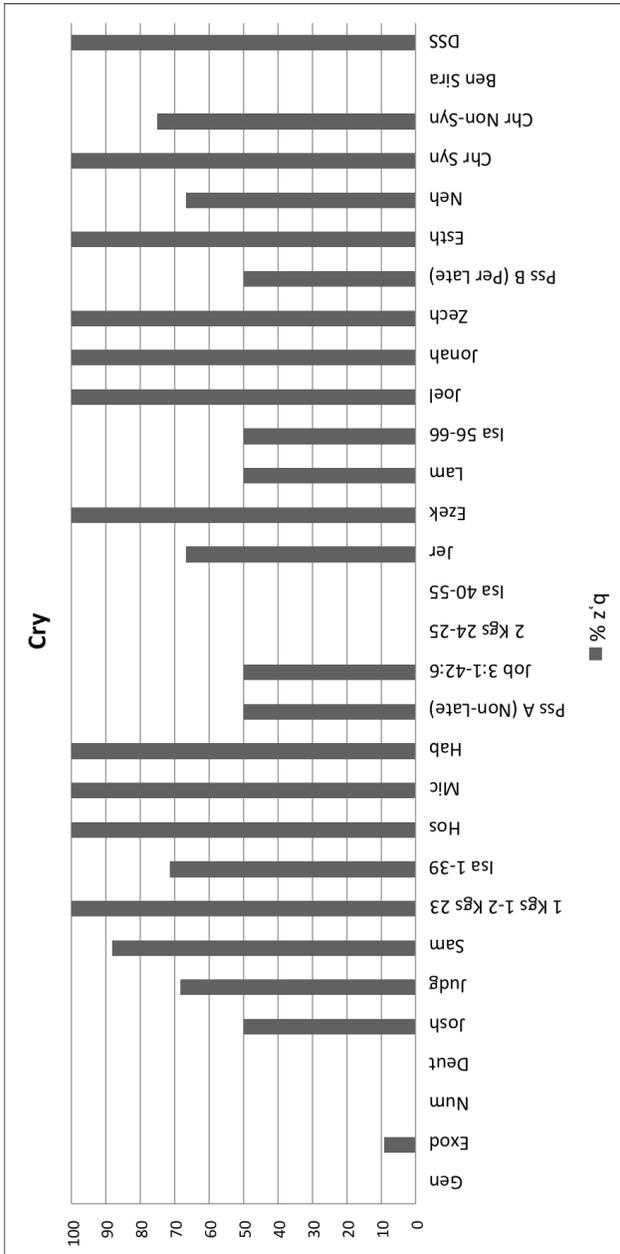


Figure 8.10

The MT and the biblical DSS show some interchanges of **צעק** and **זעק**. There are agreements on **צעק** in Exod 5:8, 15; 8:8; 14:15; 22:22, 26 (x6 in total; various Exodus manuscripts) and on **זעק** in Judg 6:6; Jer 48:31; Jonah 1:5; 3:7; Mic 3:4; Hab 2:11; Pss 22:6; 142:6; Dan 6:21 (x9 in total). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> agrees with the MT on **צעק** once (19:20) and **זעק** six times (14:31 [also 4QIsa<sup>o</sup>]; 15:4 [also 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>], 5; 26:17; 30:19; 57:13 [also 4QIsa<sup>d</sup>]). However, four times 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has **זעק** where the MT has **צעק** (33:7; 42:2; 46:7; 65:14). Similarly, 4QPs<sup>f</sup> has **זעק** instead of **צעק** in MT Ps 107:28. In contrast, the MT Pentateuch has **זעק** only once, in Exod 2:23, and both 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> and the SP have **צעק** there. Elsewhere the MT and SP always agree on **צעק**. Hebraists generally cite the four interchanges (“replacements”) in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> in support of the conventional view, that is, **זעק** gradually increases over time and eventually replaces **צעק**. Looking at the data from that viewpoint, we would have five substitutions of **זעק** for **צעק** (Isa 33:7; 42:2; 46:7; 65:14; Ps 107:28), one substitution of **צעק** for **זעק** (Exod 2:23, DSS and SP), and twenty-six agreements in the DSS (x7) and SP (x19).<sup>146</sup>

*Observations.* In the figures above it can be observed that some core LBH books prefer **זעק**, including Esther (1–0), Nehemiah (2–1), and Chronicles (4–1), but so do several of the Former Prophets, including Judges (13–6) and Samuel (15–2), and also several of the Latter Prophets usually dated to the preexilic period, including Hosea (2–0), Micah (1–0), and Habakkuk (2–0). The different ratios between I, II, and III Isaiah are also interesting and do not meet conventional expectations: I Isaiah (2 **צעק**, 5 **זעק**), II Isaiah (2–0), and III Isaiah (1–1). The ratios for Kings are also interesting (1 Kgs 1–2 Kgs 23: 0 **צעק**, 1 **זעק**; 2 Kgs 24–25: 9–0), especially when compared with Judges and Samuel. Kutscher, followed by Bergey and Rooker, emphasizes the difference between Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy on the one hand, and Esther, Nehemiah, and Chronicles on the other, and Rooker states that “...it is readily apparent that beginning in LBH there was a tendency to prefer the use of the term **זעק** in lieu of its synonym **צעק**.”<sup>147</sup> These scholars, however, do not talk about the clear preference for **זעק** in Samuel, for example, and it seems altogether more likely, on the basis of all the empirical data—MT, SP, biblical DSS, Ben Sira, non-biblical DSS, MH—that the evidence for a change from **צעק** to **זעק** is minimal, and the two verb lexemes (and roots more generally) were preferred by different authors for stylistic reasons throughout the biblical period.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Note also Gen 18:13, where the MT has **צחקה** (“[Sarah] laughed”) but the SP **צעקה** (“[Sarah] cried”) (cf. **צחק** in MT/SP in Gen 18:12, 15 [x2]). There are no interchanges between the nouns **צעקה** and **זעקה** in the MT and biblical DSS.

<sup>147</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 137

<sup>148</sup> See also Ehrensverd, “Linguistic,” 179; Young, “Peshet Habakkuk,” 10. There is no evident reason for a dialectal difference either. Kim’s study also includes a variationist analysis of the roots **צעק** and **זעק** (Kim, *Early*, 144–50). He concludes that there was “a

## 8.3.6. “GATHER”: “EARLY” אסף vs. “LATE” כנס

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The *Qal* and *Piel* of כנס, instead of אסף or קבץ, are considered characteristic of the later stage of BH.<sup>149</sup> For example, Hurvitz says:

The appearance of the verbs כנס, כָּנַס = “gather, collect” is widely taken by scholars as reflecting the post-classical phase of BH. This conclusion is indeed well-established, since the case of *kānas/kinnēs* fulfills the conditions required of any linguistic element suspected of being late. (1) *Distribution in the OT*—never do *kānas* or *kinnēs* appear in indisputably pre-exilic texts, the biblical occurrences of these forms restricted either to undeniably late books (Ez., Eccl., Est., Neh., Ch.) or to chronologically problematic texts (*Pss.* xxxiii, 7 and CXLVII, 2); (2) *External sources*—the prevalence of *kānas/kinnēs* both in MH and in Aram. (= כָּנַס) indicates that we are dealing with a current feature of the post-classical period; (3) *Linguistic contrast*—the existence of classical equivalents (particularly *ʿsph* and *qbs*) which fill, in the earlier language, the function of *kns*, confirms that it is not proper to explain away the absence of *kns* from pre-exilic Hebrew as pure coincidence. The combined evidence, derived on the basis of these three criteria, indicates that the appearance of *kānas* and *kinnēs* in biblical literature is a reliable indicator of lateness....The appearance of this root [in Ezek 22:21; 39:28]—while admittedly limited—is to be seen as part of that comprehensive process which introduced *kns* as a dominant element into post-classical Hebrew, a process whose traces are totally missing from the Pentateuch.”<sup>150</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* The verbs אסף and קבץ do not show up in Hebrew inscriptions, but כנס does, twice on a jar fragment found in Stratum 10C of the City of David that dates to the seventh century B.C.E.<sup>151</sup> Thus כנס is clearly

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change from below social awareness” or “[a]n authentic change, from below” (Kim, *Early*, 149, 150). However, he also concludes that the change occurred earlier than envisioned by other Hebraists, in the late preexilic period rather than the exilic or postexilic period (Kim, *Early*, 148). Nonetheless, aside from the general problems with Kim’s methodology (see chapter 7, 7.5; Rezetko, “Evaluating”), Kim does not take Ben Sira, the biblical and non-biblical DSS, or MH into consideration.

<sup>149</sup> BDB describes the *Qal* form of the verb as “late” (BDB 488).

<sup>150</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 124, 125; cf. 123–25. For additional statements and discussion of the view that כנס is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 129–31; A. Hurvitz, “Linguistic Criteria for Dating Problematic Biblical Texts,” *Hebrew Abstracts* 14 (1973): 74–79 (77–78); idem, *Transition*, 175; Kofoed, *Text*, 161; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 91; Rooker, *Biblical*, 156–58; idem, “Dating,” 310–11; Wright, *Linguistic*, 92–95, 130.

<sup>151</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 698; cf. 229–31; J. Naveh, “Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions,” in *Excavations at the City of David, 1978–1985, Directed by Yigal Shiloh*,

attested in a source from Israel's preexilic period.<sup>152</sup> Much later, אסף and קבץ, and not בנס, are the favored verbs in Ben Sira and the DSS. Accordingly Ben Sira has אסף nine times and קבץ twice, but no occurrences of בנס, that is, the latter is not a dominant element.<sup>153</sup> The DSS also greatly prefer אסף and קבץ (x66 total) over בנס (twice; 4Q159 1:ii:4; 11Q19 34:7), that is, the latter is not a dominant element.<sup>154</sup> The situation is quite different in Rabbinic Hebrew. For example, the Mishnah uses בנס very often (x78 in *Qal* and *Piel*), but אסף is rare (x11) and קבץ occurs only once.<sup>155</sup>

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>156</sup> The verb אסף is used 200 times, and the verb קבץ 127 times, giving a total of 327 occurrences in BH. We find בנס only eleven times in the Hebrew Bible: *Qal*: Ps 33:7; Qoh 2:8, 26; 3:5; Esth 4:16; Neh 12:44; 1 Chr 22:2 (non-synoptic); *Piel*: Ezek 22:21; 39:28; Ps 147:2; *Hithpael*: Isa 28:20.<sup>157</sup> The figures overleaf give the frequencies of the verbs אסף/קבץ (together) and בנס, and the percentage of בנס verbs relative to all three verbs, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

*Volume 6: Inscriptions* (ed. D. T. Ariel; Qedem 41; Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, 2000), 1–14 (2–3).

<sup>152</sup> For additional discussion see Wright, *Linguistic*, 94–95; Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 293.

<sup>153</sup> BBS 95–96, 178, 265, 404, 409, 414. DCH says 7 אסף, 2 קבץ, and 0 בנס (*Concise DCH* 27, 179, 386; DCH 1:346; 4:436; 7:173).

<sup>154</sup> The numbers are: אסף, 45 (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:78); cf. 23 (DCH 1:346), 29 (*Concise DCH* 27); קבץ, 21 (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:642); cf. 15 (*Concise DCH* 386; DCH 7:173); בנס, 2 (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:384); cf. 4 (*Concise DCH* 179; DCH 4:436). The total of 66 for אסף and קבץ reflects the numbers in Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:78; 2:642. For additional discussion of these verbs in the DSS see Young, “Peshet Habakkuk,” 29. Note that the Temple Scroll uses all three verbs (11Q19 34:7; 55:8; 64:15 [cf. Deut 22:2]). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest two examples of בנס (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:857).

<sup>155</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 130–31; Hurvitz, “Criteria,” 77; Rooker, *Biblical*, 158; idem, “Dating,” 311; Wright, *Linguistic*, 94. The cognate Aramaic verb בנש is found in Dan 3:2, 3, 27, and בנש is very common in Persian period and later Aramaic (Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 129 n. 2; Hurvitz, “Criteria,” 77; idem, *Linguistic*, 124 n. 200; idem, *Transition*, 175; Rooker, *Biblical*, 157–58; idem, “Dating,” 311; Wright, *Linguistic*, 93). Consequently, it has been suggested that בנס entered the Hebrew language due to contact with Aramaic.

<sup>156</sup> BDB 62–63, 488, 867–68, 1096 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 27–28, 179, 386–87; DCH 1:346–49; 4:436; 7:173–76; HALOT 1:74–75; 2:484; 3:1062–64; 5:1899–1900 (Aramaic).

<sup>157</sup> Note that only the MT vocalization distinguishes the seven *Qal* and three *Piel* forms of בנס.

There are no interchanges of כנס and אסף or קבץ in the MT and the biblical DSS, but there is one example of an interchange in the MT and SP. MT Deut 32:34 has a *Qal* passive participle of כנס (“stored up”), a *hapax legomenon* in BH, but the SP has a *Qal* passive participle of כנס (“gathered up”). BDB states: “but rd. prob. כָּנַס in same. m[ea]n[in]g.” This then would be an example of כנס in “early” BH (i.e., Deuteronomy) which was revised out of the MT tradition, and therefore, it would not be totally missing from the Pentateuch.<sup>158</sup>

*Observations.* The figures overleaf also show that the verb כנס is preferred over אסף and קבץ only in Qoheleth. Elsewhere כנס appears as a mere sidelight to אסף and קבץ, for example, in Ezekiel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. Whereas “exilic” Ezekiel has two occurrences of כנס and twenty two of אסף/קבץ, “exilic” II Isaiah and Jeremiah together have thirty-three examples of אסף/קבץ and none of כנס. Similarly, whereas “late” Qoheleth, Nehemiah, and Hebrew Daniel together have five occurrences of כנס and eleven of אסף/קבץ, “late” III Isaiah, Joel, Zechariah, Esther, and Hebrew Ezra together have thirty-six examples of אסף/קבץ and none of כנס. Of course, the most important observation is that more-or-less *contemporaneous* individual writers/books have different preferences and tendencies. In any case, the proportions of “early” and “late” lexemes for “gather” in these books, taken together with the evidence of Ben Sira and the DSS, demonstrates that the frequency of the lexeme כנס did not increase over time at the cost of אסף and קבץ in ancient Hebrew.

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<sup>158</sup> BDB 485. BDB refers to S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (3d ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901), 373 n. 34. Driver cites the readings in the versions, such as LXX *συνήχεται* (a perfect passive indicative of *συνάγω*), in support of his emendation of the MT. *HALOT*, however, mentions Akkadian *kamāsu* (“to collect, deposit”) (*HALOT* 2:481).

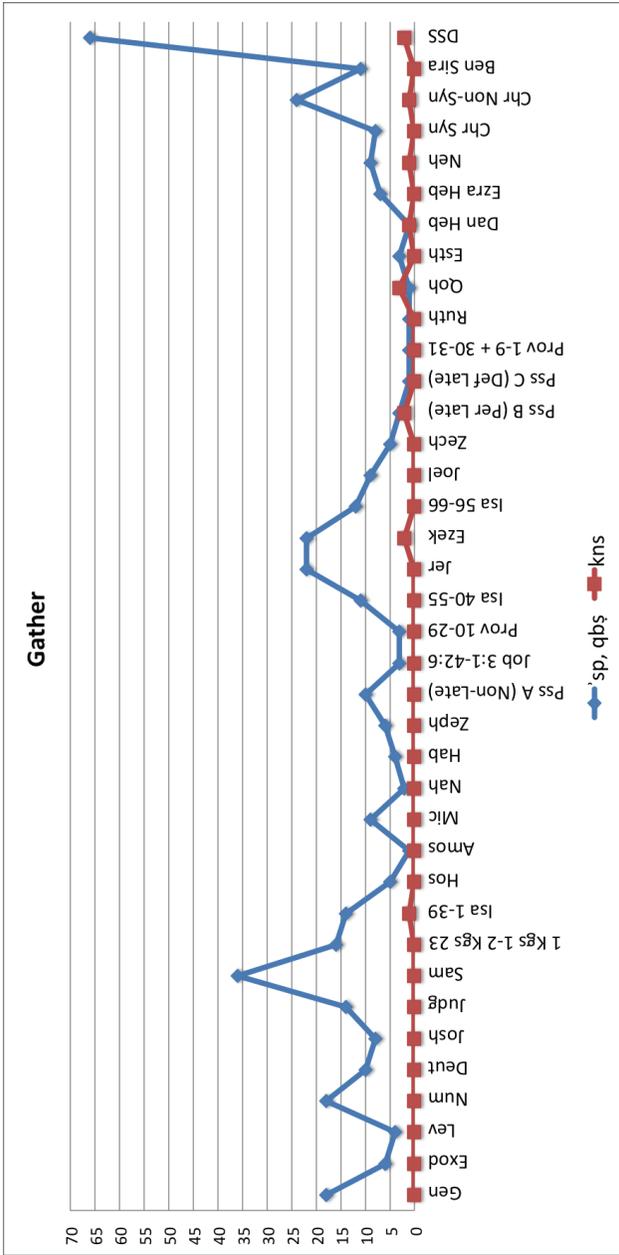


Figure 8.11

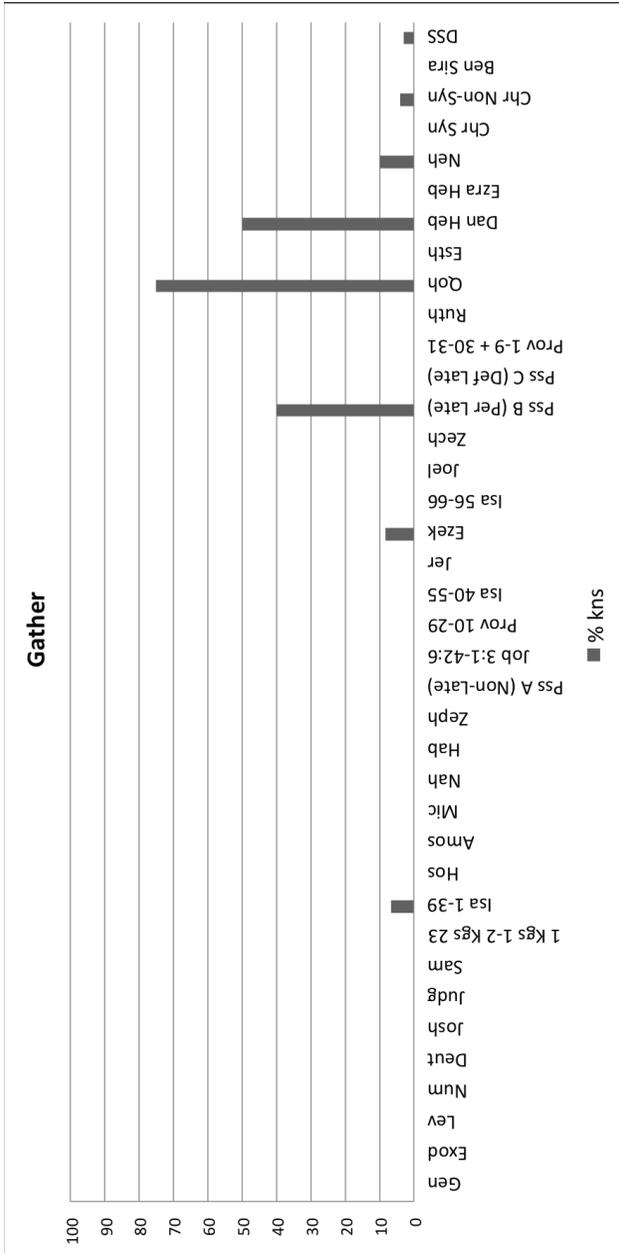


Figure 8.12

Several biblical texts merit further discussion. Psalms 33:7 and 147:2 each has a single occurrence of כָּנַס.<sup>159</sup> Treatments of the verb have labeled these psalms “chronologically problematic texts”<sup>160</sup> or “texts of uncertain date.”<sup>161</sup> It should be noted however that many scholars date these psalms to the postexilic period.<sup>162</sup> Two possible descriptions of these psalms are that they are early psalms with one (Ps 33) or two (Ps 147) “late” features, or they are late psalms without a significant accumulation of “late” features and therefore they cannot be considered definitely late like some other psalms with concentrations of late features might be.<sup>163</sup>

The verb כָּנַס is also found in Isa 28:20. In his treatment of this verb Hurvitz stated: “הִתְכַּנֵּס, which is found in *Is.* XXVIII, 20, should be excluded from discussion since (semantically) its exact meaning is unclear and (morphologically) it belongs to a different conjugation (*Hithpa* ‘ēl).”<sup>164</sup> Others have followed his lead.<sup>165</sup> On the one hand, one could argue that there is no compelling evidence for excluding כָּנַס in Isa 28:20 from the discussion simply because it occurs in a different stem (*Hithpael* rather than *Qal* or *Piel*). One could argue rather that it is the occurrence of “the root” that is significant. On the other hand, the role of the *Hithpael* in this context seems to be as the typical reflexive of the *Piel*: “to curl up, wrap oneself in a cover,”<sup>166</sup> or “to wrap in, wrap up in, wrap oneself in, gather oneself together in” something woven (a blanket or covering of some sort). The point is that the covering is too scanty to cover up with. Thus Wildberger translates the clause “and the blanket is too narrow for one who wants to cover up with it,” and says: “For the outstretched body, the bed is too short, for the one who is pulled tightly together (with knees bent) the blanket is too short.”<sup>167</sup> Finally, Wright accepts that this is a pertinent

<sup>159</sup> Psalm 147:2 also has an occurrence of the “late” verb שָׁבַח (cf. Rezetko, review of R. M. Wright, 607–8).

<sup>160</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 124; cf. idem, *Transition*, 175; cf. 171–76.

<sup>161</sup> Wright, *Linguistic*, 92.

<sup>162</sup> For example, G. Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. D. Green; London: SPCK, 1970), 287, 293; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Continental Commentary* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 375; idem, *Psalms 60–150: A Continental Commentary* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 556.

<sup>163</sup> For additional discussion of these psalms see I. Young, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew* (FAT 5; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1993), 153.

<sup>164</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 124 n. 201.

<sup>165</sup> For example, Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 129 n. 2; Rooker, *Biblical*, 156 n. 102; idem, “Dating,” 124 n. 2.

<sup>166</sup> HALOT 2:484.

<sup>167</sup> Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 28, 33; cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches, Volume 4: Jesaja, Jeremia* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912), 101; J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC 24; Waco: Word, 1985), 370.

preexilic occurrence of כנס and wishes to account for the appearance of the verb on the basis of style: “However, the root כנס also appears in Aramaic (כנש...), and its appearance in Isa 28 might be an example of addressee-switching in a prophecy addressed to the tribe of Ephraim.”<sup>168</sup>

In conclusion, on the basis of extra-biblical (City of David jar handle) and biblical (Isa 28:20; perhaps Deut 32:34 in the SP and other versions) evidence, it is highly doubtful that כנס came into usage only late in the biblical period, and it is unquestionably *untrue* that כנס was preferred or dominant over אסף and קבץ in the Second Temple period, at least as far as the surviving Hebrew writings are concerned.<sup>169</sup>

### 8.3.7. “BE ANGRY”: “EARLY” חרה ± אף, קצף, אף vs. “LATE” בעס QAL

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The Qal of בעס, instead of חרה ± אף, or קצף, is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, Hurvitz says:

The root *k's* is found quite regularly in classical BH in the conjugations *Hiph'il* (הִקְעִיס) and *Pi'el* (בִּקְעַס). The use of the Qal (בִּקְעַס), however, is characteristic of the post-classical period. It occurs only 6x in the Hebrew Bible—5 of which are found in the distinctively late compositions Ch. (1x), Neh. (1x), Eccl. (2x) and Ez. (1x). One additional example is provided by the chronologically problematic Ps. CXII (v. 10); but never is *kā'as* attested in indisputably classical texts. The standard semantically equivalent verbs in classical BH are חָרָה (אף) and קָצַף—whether the syntactical subject be divine or human...Clearly, the actual living verb used in post-classical Hebrew to denote the meaning “be vexed, wroth, angry” was *kā'as*. *Qāṣaph* and *hārah*, to be sure, had not altogether vanished, for they appear in some late sources. However, they are nothing more than ancient survivals or archaizing devices, inherited from a previous phase of the language. The late distribution of *kā'as* within the Hebrew Bible faithfully reflects an actual linguistic situation.<sup>170</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* These verbs are not attested in Hebrew inscriptions. Ben Sira has three occurrences of חרה (Qal and Niphal), one of קצף (*Hithpael*), and also only one of בעס which however is in the *Hiphil* stem.<sup>171</sup> The

<sup>168</sup> Wright, *Linguistic*, 93 n. 63. For additional discussion of Isa 28:20 see Young, *Diversity*, 153.

<sup>169</sup> See also the discussions in Young, *Diversity*, 153; idem, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 293; idem, “Peshier Habakkuk,” 29.

<sup>170</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 115–16. For additional statements and discussion of the view that בעס is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 142–44; idem, *Transition*, 174; Rooker, *Biblical*, 147–48; idem, “Dating,” 309–10.

<sup>171</sup> BBS 148, 179, 270, 408, 409, 414; *Concise DCH* 132, 181, 399; *DCH* 3:313; 4:448–49; 7:283.

DSS clearly prefer *חרה* ± *אף* (x21; *Qal* and *Niphal*) and *קצף* (x2; *Qal*) over *כעס* (x4).<sup>172</sup> Note, however, that only one of the four occurrences of *כעס* is in the *Qal* stem (4Q372 1:21; the others are *Hiphil* forms). The distributions in Ben Sira and the DSS come as a surprise, when viewed from the conventional chronological perspective.<sup>173</sup> On the other hand, the *Qal* of *כעס* is used in rabbinic literature (e.g., Avot 2:10; 5:11 [x4]).<sup>174</sup>

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>175</sup> The *Qal* of *כעס* appears six times in BH: Ezek 16:42; Ps 112:10; Qoh 5:16; 7:9; Neh 3:33; 2 Chr 16:10 (non-synoptic).<sup>176</sup> *חרה* ± *אף* and *קצף* are used much more often in BH, the former ninety-four times<sup>177</sup> and the latter thirty-four times. However, since we are concerned here only with the *Qal* of *כעס* (“to be angry”), and not the *Piel* and *Hiphil* of the same root (“to grieve, irritate, provoke to anger”), so also we will only consider here the *Qal* and *Niphal* of *חרה* (x86) and the *Qal* and *Hithpael* of *קצף* (x29).<sup>178</sup> There are no interchanges between *כעס* and *חרה* or *קצף* in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS. The figures overleaf give the frequencies of the verbs *קצף/חרה* (together) and *כעס*, and the percentage of *כעס* verbs relative to all three verbs, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

*Observations.* It is evident in the figures overleaf that the *Qal* of *כעס* is an incidental form in Classical Hebrew. It turns up sporadically in a few books. Yet

<sup>172</sup> These numbers follow Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:276, 386; 2:658. *DCH* says thirteen *חרה* (*Qal* and *Niphal*) (*Concise DCH* 132; *DCH* 3:313) and three *קצף* (*Qal*) (*Concise DCH* 399; *DCH* 7:283). For *כעס* *DCH* says three total, all *Hiphil* forms (*Concise DCH* 181; *DCH* 4:448).

<sup>173</sup> See further Rooker, *Biblical*, 147 n. 77; idem, “Dating,” 309 n. 26.

<sup>174</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 116; idem, *Transition*, 174 n. 303; Rooker, *Biblical*, 147–48; idem, “Dating,” 309. The verb *כעס* is attested once in Imperial Aramaic (Aḥiqar, line 189; cf. Rooker, *Biblical*, 147 n. 77; idem, “Dating,” 309) but in discussions of *כעס* it has not been pointed out that Aramaic Dan 2:12 has the *Peal* of *קצף*.

<sup>175</sup> BDB 354, 494–95, 893; *Concise DCH* 132, 181, 399; *DCH* 3:313–14; 4:448–49; 7:283–84; *HALOT* 1:351; 2:491; 3:1124.

<sup>176</sup> Altogether *כעס* occurs fifty-four times in BH in the *Qal* (x6), *Piel* (x2) and *Hiphil* (x46) and *כעס* in the *Piel* and *Hiphil* stems is also found often in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. Note that only the MT vocalization distinguishes the two *Piel* and six *Qal* forms of *כעס* in the MT. *Piel*: *כָּעַסְתָּ*; *כָּעַסְתָּהּ* (1 Sam 1:6); *Qal*: *אָכַעַס* (Ezek 16:42); *וָכַעַס* (Ps 112:10); *וָכַעַס* (Qoh 5:16); *לְכַעֵס* (Qoh 7:9); *וַיִּכְעַס* (Neh 3:33); *וַיִּכְעַס* (2 Chr 16:10).

<sup>177</sup> *DCH* says ninety six (*Concise DCH* 132; *DCH* 3:312).

<sup>178</sup> The figures and observations below, as well as the numbers above for Ben Sira and the DSS, relate only to these verb stems. The other forms of these verbs are: *חרה*, *Hiphil* (Job 19:11; Neh 3:2); *Hithpael* (Ps 37:1, 7, 8; Prov 24:19), *Tif'el* (Jer 12:5; 22:15); *קצף*, *Hiphil* (Deut 9:7, 8, 22; Zech 8:14; Ps 106:32). Also, cognate nouns related to these three verbs are not taken into consideration, e.g., *כַּעַס* (cf. the discussion in n. 145 of *זעקה* and *זעקה*).

it is transparent that “[t]his verb” did *not* “increas[e] in frequency at the expense of the earlier expressions with קצף and חרה אף,”<sup>179</sup> and that “[i]n Late Biblical Hebrew this [i.e., anger] was” *not* “expressed by use of the root כעס in the Qal stem.”<sup>180</sup> Such statements could apply, and then only modestly, to Qoheleth, which has two cases of the *Qal* of כעס (5:16; 7:9) and only a single instance of the two contrasting words, that is, קצף (5:5). The only two core LBH books that have the *Qal* of כעס are Nehemiah and Chronicles, but חרה is preferred in both books (3–1 and 5–1, respectively). The core LBH book of Esther twice has קצף (1:12; 2:21). The Prose Tale of Job (42:7) and the Song of Songs (1:6), often dated to the postexilic period, both have חרה. Similarly, the postexilic prophets Jonah and Zechariah make use of חרה and קצף, eight times total,<sup>181</sup> but not כעס. It is also interesting to compare the single instance of כעס in “exilic” Ezekiel (16:42) with the examples of קצף in the “exilic” books of Jeremiah (37:15) and Lamentations (5:22). I, II, and III Isaiah also display חרה and קצף (x3, x4, and x5, respectively) rather than כעס. In conclusion, the totality of the Hebrew evidence, biblical and non-biblical, throughout the Second Temple Period suggests that חרה and קצף were the standard verbs for “to be angry” and that these verbs reflect the “actual linguistic situation,” whereas כעס was merely an occasional “intruder” in a few writings, only selected periodically by some writers.

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<sup>179</sup> Against Rooker, *Biblical*, 148.

<sup>180</sup> Against Rooker, “Dating,” 309.

<sup>181</sup> Jonah has חרה in 4:1, 4, 9 (x2) and Zechariah has חרה in 10:3 and קצף in 1:2, 15 (x2).

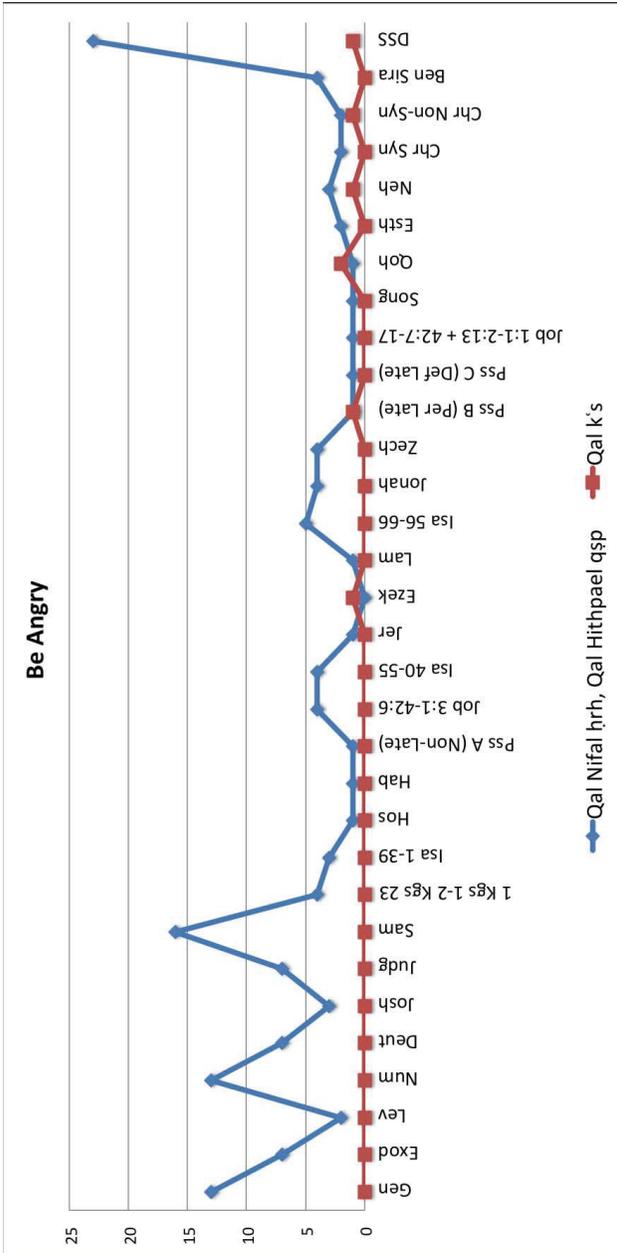


Figure 8.13

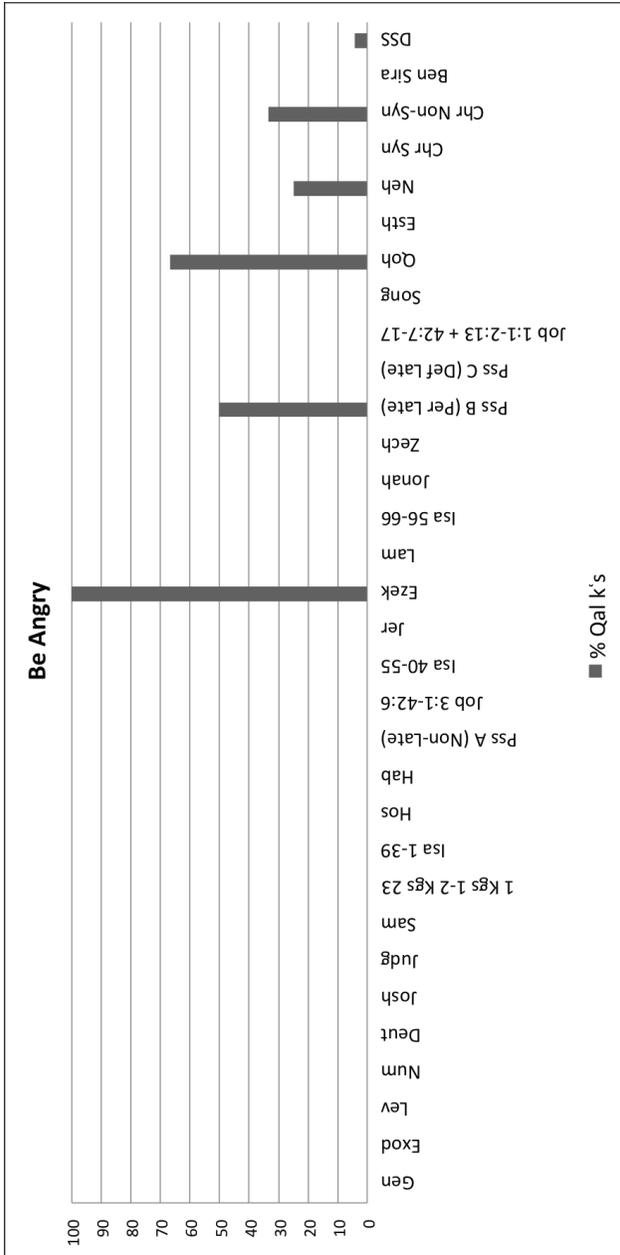


Figure 8.14

8.3.8. “ARISE”: “EARLY” קוּם *QAL* VS. “LATE” עָמַד *QAL*

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The *Qal* of עָמַד with the meaning “to arise, stand up,” instead of the *Qal* of קוּם, is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, BDB describes various uses of the *Qal* of עָמַד as “late for קוּם,” “= קוּם; late,” and used instead of “earlier קוּם,”<sup>182</sup> and Hurvitz says:

The verbs *ʿmd* and *qwm* each appear hundreds of times in the Bible, and in both early and late texts. However, while in classical biblical literature a clear semantic distinction is maintained between the two roots—*ʿmd* denoting the *position* of standing, whereas *qwm* signifies the *transition* to it—“in the latest books of the OT there is a marked tendency for the verb *ʿmd* to penetrate into the field of *qwm*” [quote from Kutscher<sup>183</sup>]. This development reached a climax in MH, in which *qwm* disappeared almost entirely (the still attested forms of *qwm* being limited to either quotations from, or references to, the Bible). The traces of this linguistic development are prominent in LBH and they are noticeable in DSS and Ben-Sira as well...The great number of examples adduced—and their widespread distribution throughout LBH, DSS, Ben-Sira, and MH—leave no doubt, therefore, that we have here a distinctive linguistic feature of post-classical Hebrew.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>182</sup> BDB 764; *Qal* 3C, 5B, 6A, 6C.

<sup>183</sup> E. Y. Kutscher, “Aramaic Calque in Hebrew” (Hebrew) *Tarbiz* 33 (1963–1964): 118–30.

<sup>184</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 94–95, 96; cf. 94–97. For additional statements and discussion of the view that the *Qal* of עָמַד with the meaning “to stand up” is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 125–28; A. Hurvitz, “The Linguistic Status of Ben Sira as a Link between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew: Lexicographical Aspects,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University 11–14 December 1995* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 72–86 (78–83); idem, *Transition*, 173 n. 298; Joosten, “Qumran Scrolls,” 357; Kutscher, *History*, 84, 88; Paul, “Signs,” 297; van Peursen, *Verbal*, 171, 328; Polzin, *Late*, 148; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 94; G. A. Rendsburg, “Late Biblical Hebrew in the Book of Haggai,” in *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (ed. R. Hasselbach and N. Pat-El; SAOC 67; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012), 329–44 (333); Rooker, *Biblical*, 149–52; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 127; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 44. Other discussions are cited in Hurvitz, “Status,” 78 n. 17. Some other issues relevant to עָמַד require independent discussion. Scholars have suggested, for example, that in later biblical writings עָמַד increases in general in relation to קוּם, the *Hiphil* of עָמַד increases in particular in relation to the *Hiphil* of קוּם (cf. *LDBT* 1:41, 75), עָמַד expresses various other shades of meaning not found in earlier writings, and עָמַד replaces some other verbs in addition to קוּם (in Chronicles, for example). We

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* There is a single possible occurrence of the *Qal* of קום in Hebrew inscriptions (Lachish 13:1) and there are no occurrences of עמד.<sup>185</sup> Ben Sira uses the *Qal* of קום five times<sup>186</sup> and the *Qal* of עמד twenty-one times,<sup>187</sup> but only two of the latter have the sense “to stand up” (47:1, 12).<sup>188</sup> The DSS have קום 146 times, of which fifty eight are in the *Qal* stem, and 168 occurrences of עמד, of which 148 are in the *Qal* stem.<sup>189</sup> Again, however, most cases of the *Qal* of עמד denote the position of standing. Only about seventeen can be read with certainty as “to stand up.”<sup>190</sup> Furthermore, similar to Daniel (see below), more than half the occurrences of the usage are in a single text, the Damascus Document. But it is interesting to observe that to express the idea of “to stand up” some Qumran sectarian texts greatly prefer קום over עמד (War Scroll) and other texts use only קום (Thanksgiving Scroll, Temple Scroll).<sup>191</sup> Contrasting with Ben Sira and the DSS, the Mishnah has 114 examples of קום, including twelve in the *Qal*,<sup>192</sup> and nearly 300 examples of עמד (x296).<sup>193</sup>

should also point out that Hurvitz and Rooker are mainly concerned with the *Hiphil* of עמד + ברית in Ezek 17:14, rather than the standard *Hiphil* of קום + ברית in core EBH books, as also in Ezek 16:60, 62 (Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 94, 97; Rooker, *Biblical*, 150). However, it should be noted that there is no evidence for either of these collocations in the core LBH books, which have instead ברית + ברת, like many other books in the Hebrew Bible. We return below to Ezek 17:14.

<sup>185</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 722; cf. 330–31. According to *DCH* the *Qal* of קום is found twice in Hebrew inscriptions (*Concise DCH* 391; *DCH* 7:224;).

<sup>186</sup> *BBS* 267, 414; *Concise DCH* 391; *DCH* 7:224.

<sup>187</sup> *BBS* 244, 413.

<sup>188</sup> The other occurrences of the *Qal* of עמד in Ben Sira are 4:26; 6:8; 10:4; 11:17, 20; 12:12, 15; 16:18; 30:17; 37:4, 26; 42:23; 43:10; 44:12, 13; 45:23; 46:4, 9; 51:27. *DCH* gives different numbers for עמד in Ben Sira, either twenty three total and nineteen *Qal* forms (*DCH* 6:463–64) or twenty four total and twenty *Qal* forms (*Concise DCH* 330).

<sup>189</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:583–84, 651–53. The numbers given in *DCH* are lower: 107 קום and 49 *Qal* and 130 עמד and 110 *Qal* (*Concise DCH* 330, 391; *DCH* 6:463–64; 7:223–24). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest one example of עמד and sixty-one examples of קום (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:902, 915–16).

<sup>190</sup> CD 1:14; 4:4; 5:5, 17, 20; 6:10; 7:20; 12:23; 20:1; IQS 6:13; IQM 10:2; 4Q169 3-4:i:3; 4Q174 1-2:i:11, 13; 4Q175 1:24 (x2); 4Q266 10:i:12. We have added examples to the ones mentioned in the literature cited above. Of the examples cited in some of the literature we have rejected only 11Q19 56:9 (“the priest standing there”). There are some other possible examples but the texts are too fragmentary to reach a definitive conclusion about the precise sense of עמד.

<sup>191</sup> War Scroll (7 קום to 1 עמד): IQM 11:6; 12:5, 10; 18:2; 4Q491 1-3:12, 13, 15; Thanksgiving Scroll (4 קום to 0 עמד): IQH<sup>a</sup> 12:13, 22, 34, 36; Temple Scroll (9 קום to 0 עמד): 11Q19 53:18, 19, 21; 54:5, 8; 61:6, 7 (x2); 66:6.

<sup>192</sup> *Piel*: 68; *Hithpael*: 24; *Qal*: 12; *Hiphil*: 6; *Nitpael*: 2; *Hofal*: 2. These numbers come from Accordance. Oddly, Kutscher says, “In MH virtually only עָמַד is used”

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>194</sup> The verb קום appears 627 times in BH and of these 459 are *Qal* forms.<sup>195</sup> The numbers for עמד are 522 (total) and 435 (*Qal*).<sup>196</sup> Most often in the Hebrew Bible these verbs have distinct meanings, קום meaning “to stand up” and עמד “to stand”. This is particularly noticeable in passages that use both verbs in a sequence: וַתִּקַּם אֶסְתֵּר וַתֵּקֶם לְפָנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, “and Esther arose and she stood before the king” (Esth 8:4).<sup>197</sup> In some cases, however, the *Qal* of עמד expresses a transition to standing (inchoative עמד) and can be translated “to stand up.” We believe there are thirty-five examples of this in the MT: Judg 6:31; Isa 44:11; 48:13; Ezek 2:1; 17:14; 37:10; Ps 106:30; Qoh 4:15; Esth 4:14; 8:11; 9:16; Dan 8:22 (x2), 23, 25; 10:11 (x2); 11:2, 3, 4, 7, 14, 17, 20, 21, 31; 12:1, 13; Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65; 8:5; 1 Chr 20:4; 21:1; 2 Chr 20:23; 26:18. There are no interchanges of קום and עמד in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS.<sup>198</sup> The first set of figures overleaf gives the frequencies of the verbs קום and עמד in their various meanings, and the percentage of the *Qal* of עמד verbs meaning “to stand up,” relative to all *Qal* forms of these two verbs, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.<sup>199</sup> The

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(Kutscher, *History*, 84), and Rooker, citing Bendavid and Kutscher, says, “The root קום occurs in the Mishnah only about five times in all stems. The root עמד on the other hand occurs over 200 times” (Rooker, *Biblical*, 152 n. 90).

<sup>193</sup> Aramaic has קום for both meanings, “to stand up, get up, arise” and “to stand.” Thus Kutscher argues that the penetration of עמד into the domain of קום is an “inverted calque,” in other words, the change in BH עמד indicates the influence of Aramaic, the content being Aramaic but the sign Hebrew (E. Y. Kutscher, “Aramaic,” in *Current Trends in Linguistics, Volume 6: Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa* [ed. T. A. Sebeok; The Hague: Mouton, 1970], 347–412 [359]; idem, “Calque”; idem, *History*, 84).

<sup>194</sup> BDB 763–65, 877–79, 1110–11 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 330–31, 391–92; *DCH* 6:463–75; 7: 223–35; *HALOT* 2:840–42; 3:1086–89; 5:1968–69 (Aramaic).

<sup>195</sup> *DCH* says there are 629 total קום forms and *DCH* and *HALOT* say there are 460 *Qal* forms (*Concise DCH* 391; *DCH* 7:223; *HALOT* 3:1086).

<sup>196</sup> *DCH* says 523 (total) and 436 (*Qal*), and *HALOT* says there are 435 *Qal* forms (*Concise DCH* 330; *DCH* 6:463–64; *HALOT* 2:840).

<sup>197</sup> See also Gen 43:15; 1 Kgs 8:54–55; Ezek 3:23; Job 29:8; Esth 7:7. We will return to 1 Kgs 8:54–55 and Esth 7:7.

<sup>198</sup> However, there is an interchange of היה (MT) and עומד (4QSam<sup>a</sup>) in 2 Sam 24:16 (cf. Qumran Samuel, 7.12.1).

<sup>199</sup> We discuss Judg 6:31 below. We have included Ezek 17:14, following Hurvitz and Rooker (see above), although the antecedent and meaning of לעמדה are disputed. Thus, for example, BDB does not list this verse among the “late” uses of עמד (*BDB* 764), and *DCH* takes the antecedent to be ממלכה and understands the verb to mean “to remain, endure, continue, survive” (*DCH* 6:469). The following references are given by various scholars but we do not include them in this study for the reasons given here. The verbs in Pss 33:9, 11; 119:90 probably mean “to stand, stand fast, endure, remain.” Likewise the

second set of figures overleaf eliminates the *Qal* of עמד meaning “to stand” thus showing only the *Qal* of קום and the *Qal* of עמד both meaning “to stand up.”

*Observations.* The *Qal* of עמד meaning “to stand up” is found several times in “exilic” books (II Isaiah, Ezekiel) but mainly in the core LBH books of Esther–Chronicles, and also Qoheleth. It is also used in the “possibly late” Ps 106:30.<sup>200</sup> This said, the usage is regular only in Daniel, which has 17 of 35 total occurrences in BH. In contrast to these books, some “exilic” books have the standard קום for “to stand up” rather than עמד (2 Kgs 24–25, Jeremiah, Lamentations) and, though there are relatively few tokens, so do some books regularly dated to the postexilic period: III Isaiah, Jonah, several late Psalms,<sup>201</sup> the Prose Tale of Job, Prov 1–9, 30–31, Ruth, and the Song of Songs. In our view the variability of this feature in “late” books is best explained by conscious selection by some “late” writers and not others. This is reinforced by the fact that Ben Sira and the DSS show no increased preference for the *Qal* of עמד meaning “to stand up” compared to the “late” biblical books. It can be said that Daniel looks “later” in its use of this feature than Ben Sira and the DSS, especially when particular Qumran sectarian texts are considered individually (see above).

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verb in Esth 3:4 means “to stand, stand fast, prevail.” In Esth 7:7 (see above) עמד is used in opposition to קום: the king “stood up” (and went away) but Haman “remained.” The verb in Dan 10:13 indicates “standing against, resistance” and is not inchoative since the activity lasted for 21 days. We have not included Ezek 44:24 either, since it seems to make equally good sense as “they will stand up [inchoation] to/as judge” or “they will act/serve [state] as judge.”

<sup>200</sup> Hurvitz, *Transition*, 173. Zevit dates Ps 106 to the exilic period based in part on the “pre-exilic Hebrew” of the psalm except for ויעמד = “he rose” in v. 30 (Z. Zevit, “From Judaism to Biblical Religion and Back Again,” in *The Hebrew Bible: New Insights and Scholarship* [ed. F. E. Greenspahn; New York: New York University Press, 2008], 164–90 [172–73 with 187 n. 24]).

<sup>201</sup> Psalms 119:62 and 124:2 have a concentration of “late” features and consequently Hurvitz classifies them as late psalms (Hurvitz, *Transition*, 130–52, 160–63). In this case, however, these psalms reflect the “standard” verb קום rather than עמד.

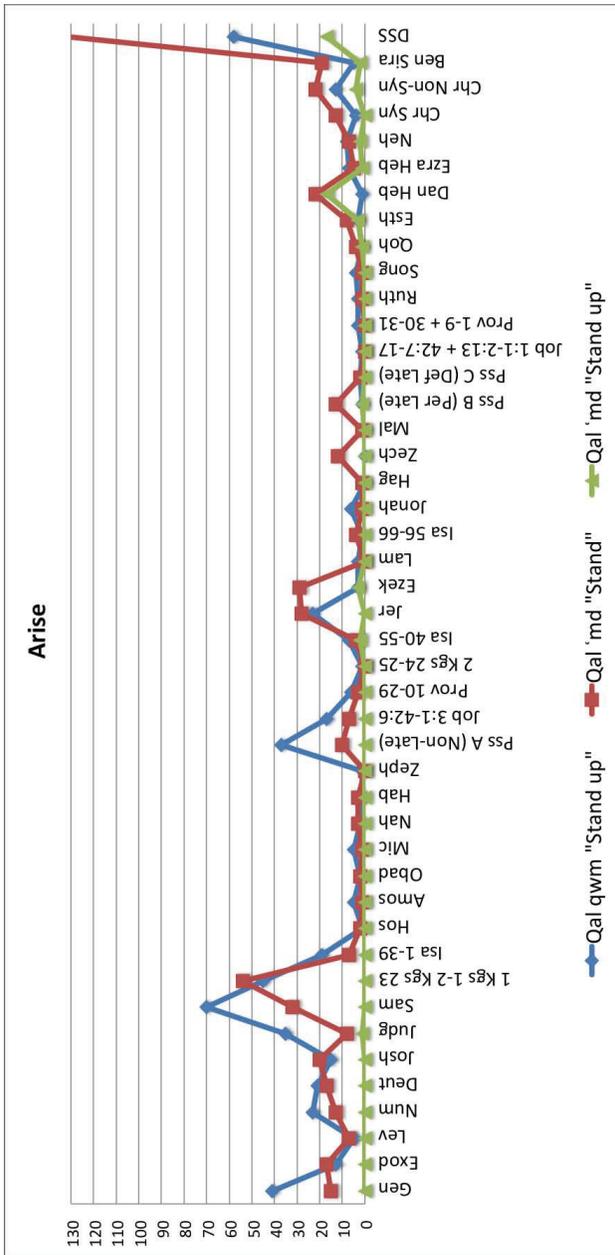


Figure 8.15

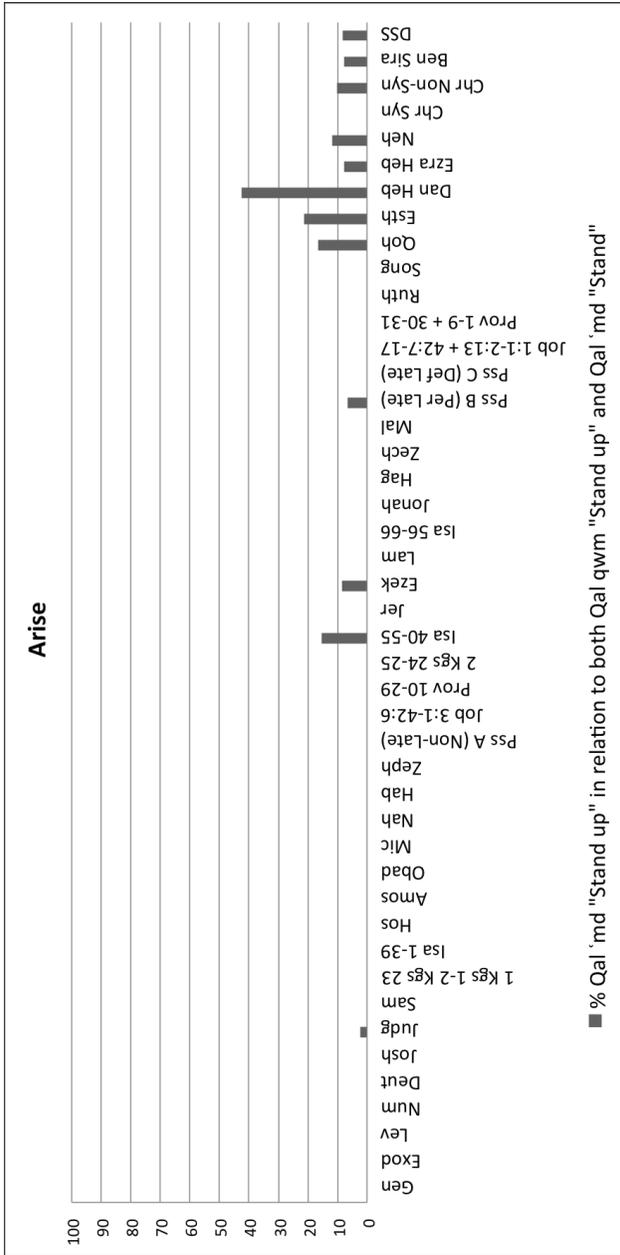


Figure 8.16

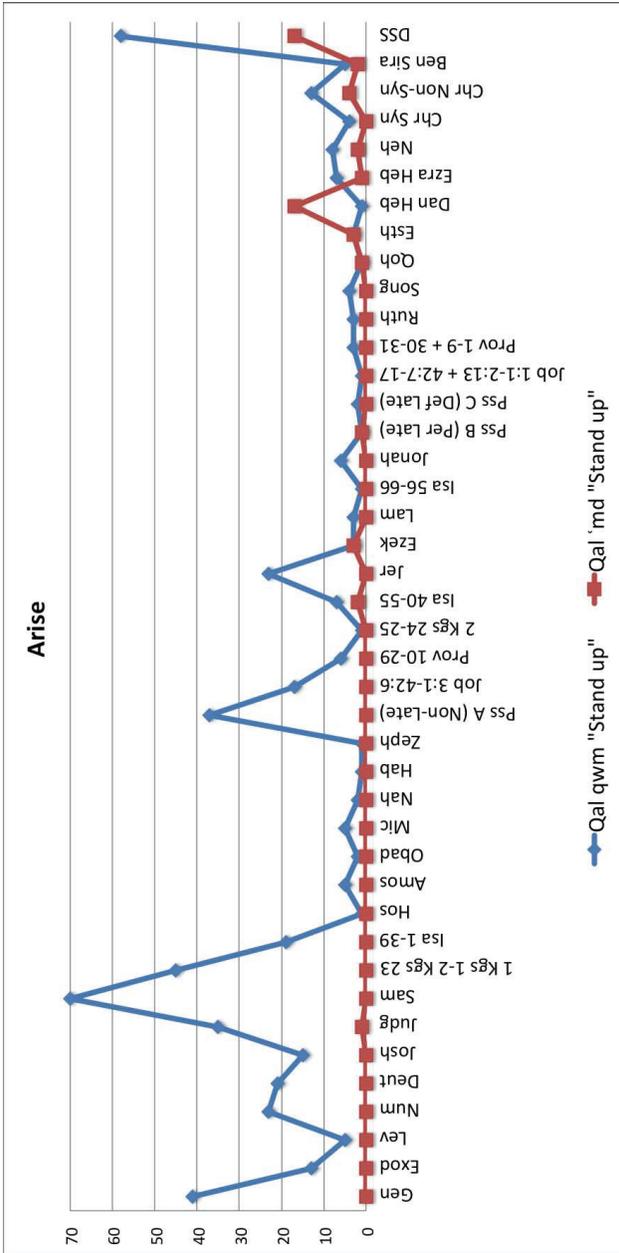


Figure 8.17

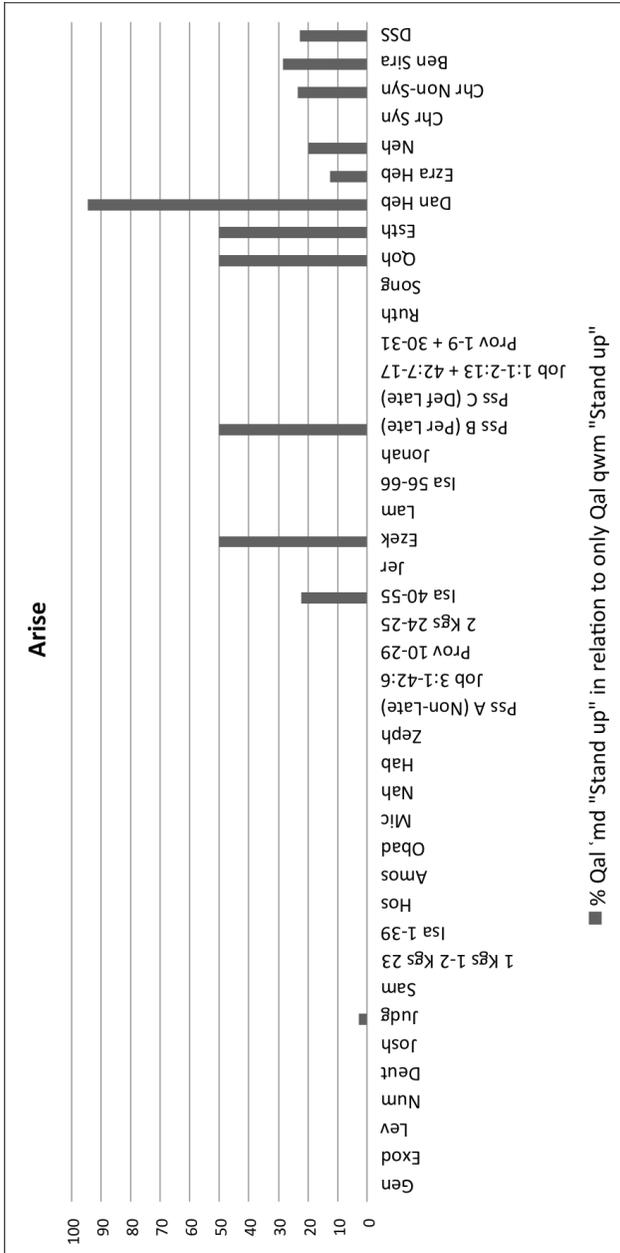


Figure 8.18

A passage that merits consideration in this context is 1 Kgs 8:54–55. These verses say: “54 When Solomon finished offering to the LORD all this prayer and supplication, he rose (קם) from where he had been kneeling, in front of the altar of the LORD, his hands spread out toward heaven. 55 He stood (ויעמד), and in a loud voice blessed the whole congregation of Israel” (TNK). On the surface this passage seems to have the same sequence observed already above in Esth 8:4, namely, קום (“to arise, stand up”) followed by עמד (“to stand”). In this case, however, many biblical scholars have viewed Solomon’s dedication of the temple in 1 Kgs 8 as a composite passage with multiple editorial layers. This is a conclusion based on various factors of which two are relevant to the present discussion. First, the clause beginning with קם in v. 54 is somewhat awkward, as many commentators have observed, the expected form being ויקם.<sup>202</sup> Second, in v. 22 Solomon “stood” (עמד) before Yahweh’s altar, but in v. 54 he is depicted as “standing up” (קום) from before Yahweh’s altar. Consequently, the syntax of the clause and the discrepancy between Solomon’s positions have been interpreted by some as indications that v. 54b, “he rose from where he had been kneeling, in front of the altar of the LORD, his hands spread out toward heaven” (קם...השמים), is an editorial insertion along the lines of Ezra 9:5 which helps also to explain why Solomon, who “stood” (עמד) in v. 22 had to “stand up” (עמד) in v. 55.<sup>203</sup> In such a scenario the sequence קום (“to arise, stand up”) followed by עמד (“to stand”) in vv. 54–55 is secondary, the result of an attempt to explain the incongruence between v. 22 and v. 55, and עמד in v. 55 previously referred to Solomon’s “standing up” (inchoative עמד) from kneeling at the end of his prayer: “54 And it happened when Solomon finished praying to Yahweh all this prayer and supplication, {insertion: *he stood up (קם) from before the altar of Yahweh, from bowing down on his knees, and his hands spread out toward heaven.*} 55 And he stood [up] (ויעמד), and he blessed the whole congregation of Israel in a loud voice saying...” In summary, the situation in this text suggests that literary criticism must also play a role in studies of the history of the Bible’s language. In this case, a “late” or “marked” occurrence of inchoative עמד would previously have occurred in “early” Kings.

<sup>202</sup> For example, Noth says: “Das einfache perf. קם zu Beginn des Nachsatzes ist regelwidrig. ☉ stellt hebraisierend ein *xal* voran; ob das aber auf ihre Vorlage zurückgeht und danach ein ויקם „wiederherzustellen“ ist, erscheint mindestens zweifelhaft. Eher ist קם ein Zeichen dafür, daß es sich in 54b um einen Zusatz handelt” (M. Noth, *Könige, Volume 1: 1 Könige 1–16* [BKAT 9, 1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968], 173).

<sup>203</sup> Verse 54b is a parenthesis that “can be regarded as a later addition (cf. [2] Chr 6 and Ezra 9:5) which is part of the post-dtr redaction that transformed Solomon’s prayer into a penitential prayer” (E. Talstra, *Solomon’s Prayer: Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of 1 Kings 8, 14–61* [CBET 3; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993], 247; cf. 247–51, 286).

Another biblical text that potentially has an example of the *Qal* of עמד meaning “to stand up” is Judg 6:31. The passage says:

28 Early the next morning, the townspeople found that the altar of Baal had been torn down and the sacred post beside it had been cut down, and that the second bull had been offered on the newly built altar. 29 They said to one another, “Who did this thing?” Upon inquiry and investigation, they were told, “Gideon son of Joash did this thing!” 30 The townspeople said to Joash, “Bring out your son, for he must die: he has torn down the altar of Baal and cut down the sacred post beside it!” 31 But Joash said to all who had risen against him (אשר-עמדו עליו), “Do you have to contend for Baal? Do you have to vindicate him? Whoever fights his battles shall be dead by morning! If he is a god, let him fight his own battles, since it is his altar that has been torn down!” (TNK)

Contrast this occurrence of עמד + על with the occurrences of קום + על in Judg 9:18, 43; 20:5 (and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible). Conversely, there is no compelling basis for reading the language of Judg 6:31 differently than five other passages in core LBH that also have עמד + על.

Reference	English Translation	Hebrew Text
Judg 6:31	“and Joash said to all who (had) stood (up) against him”	ויאמר יואש לכל אשר-עמדו עליו
Dan 8:25	“and against the chief of chiefs he will stand (up)”	ועל-שר-שרים יעמד
Dan 11:14	“and in those times many will stand (up) against the king of the south”	ובעתים ההם רבים יעמדו על-מלך הנגב
1 Chr 21:1	“and an adversary [or: Satan] stood (up) against Israel”	ויעמד שטן על-ישראל
2 Chr 20:23	“and the Ammonites and Moabites stood (up) against the men of the hill country of Seir”	ויעמדו בני עמון ומואב על-ישיבי הר-שעיר
2 Chr 26:18	“and they stood (up) against Uzziah the king”	ויעמדו על-עזיהו המלך

These “late” occurrences of the *Qal* of עמד meaning “to stand up (against)” would seem to stand, or fall, together. There is no compelling reason for reading them differently, other than some predetermined notion that “early” Judges simply cannot have “late” language.<sup>204</sup> Nevertheless, it is precisely this frame of mind that led Moore to translate “*To all who were arrayed against him*” lit. *stood*” and say “עמד על” in the sense ‘stand up against one’ (קום על) is found only in late Hebrew..., but we may take עמד in its usual meaning and still give to the

<sup>204</sup> On the language of Judges see Rezetko, “Qumran.”

preposition a hostile force.”<sup>205</sup> This is obviously an *ad hoc* suggestion to avoid the problem of “late” language in Judges, since Moore knew beforehand that the “early” book of Judges could not have “late” language!<sup>206</sup>

On the basis of Judg 6:31, and perhaps also 1 Kgs 8:55, it seems justified to talk of a likely, albeit limited, use of the *Qal* of עמד meaning “to stand up” in “early” BH. This is not surprising since most “exclusive” items in core LBH books tend to turn up somewhere in core EBH books. Thus it is somewhat problematic to speak about this linguistic feature as “a distinctive hallmark of the post-classical sources” with “a clear cut diachronic dimension”<sup>207</sup> Rather, based on traditional datings of biblical books and the sum of the biblical data, the *Qal* of עמד meaning “to stand up” would be better viewed as a feature that was occasionally used by “earlier” writers but was appropriated more frequently by *some* “later” writers.

### 8.3.9. “RECEIVE”: “EARLY” לקח vs. “LATE” קבל *PIEL*

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The *Piel* of קבל, instead of לקח, is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, BDB says the *Piel* stem of this verb is “late” and an “Aram. loan-word,”<sup>208</sup> HALOT (following Wagner) says it is “an Old Heb. verb, which was replaced by לקח, but under Arm. influence was later revived,”<sup>209</sup> and Polzin says: “We have here

<sup>205</sup> G. F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895), 194–95.

<sup>206</sup> Observe that BDB groups Judg 6:31 with Lev 19:16; Ezra 10:15; 2 Chr 26:18 (BDB 763; *Qal* 1C, “take a stand against [על], in opposition to”) and places in another group Dan 8:25; 10:13; 11:14; 1 Chr 21:1; 2 Chr 20:23 (BDB 764; *Qal* 6C, “rise up as foe”). However, *DCH* groups Judg 6:31 with Lev 19:16; Dan 8:25; 11:14; Ezra 10:15; 1 Chr 21:1; 2 Chr 20:23; 26:18 (*DCH* 6:468–69; *Qal* 3B, “stand [against], rise up [against], withstand”). *DCH* does not mention Dan 10:13. Note that *DCH* speaks erroneously about Judg 6:13 rather than 6:31 (metathesis). Finally, if the meaning of Judg 6:31 were “all who were standing against him,” rather than “all who had stood up against him,” we could expect a participle of עמד in the אשר clause, as in Exod 3:5; 8:18; Deut 29:14; Josh 5:15; 1 Kgs 12:8 (cf. 2 Chr 10:8); Isa 11:10. The *Qal* perfect of עמד in an אשר clause with pluperfect meaning is also found in, e.g., Gen 19:27, but there the meaning of עמד is clearly “stood” rather than “stood up.”

<sup>207</sup> Hurvitz, “Status,” 78.

<sup>208</sup> BDB 867

<sup>209</sup> HALOT 3: 1061; cf. 1965. The presence and significance of the root *qbl* in the Amarna correspondence has been much discussed in this regard. See Bergery, “Book of Esther,” 147 n. 2; A. Hurvitz, “The Chronological Significance of ‘Aramaisms’ in Biblical Hebrew,” *IEJ* 18 (1968): 234–40 (236); idem, “Prose-Tale,” 22–23 n. 21; idem, “The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology,” *RB* 81 (1974): 24–56 (44 n. 36); R. M. Wright, “Further

a LBH word of Aramaic origin, equivalent to *lāqah*.”<sup>210</sup> Hurvitz elaborates further:

קבל = »take/receive/accept«...occurs 11 times altogether in the Hebrew bible [sic]: 3X in Esther, 1X in Ezra, 4X in Chronicles, 2X in (the Prose Tale of) Job, 1X in Proverbs. In addition, קבל is attested 3X in the Aramaic portions of Daniel; i.e., in that corpus of Aramaic texts which represents the »Imperial Aramaic« current in the Persian period. All this clearly substantiates the validity of the view widely obtaining among Hebrew linguists and biblical philologists of the past one hundred years, that the general use of *qibbel* within BH is to be classified as »late«.; indicative, as it is, of the 2nd Temple period.<sup>211</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* The verb לקח is found eleven times in Hebrew inscriptions and there are no occurrences of קבל.<sup>212</sup> Ben Sira has לקח nineteen times<sup>213</sup> and the *Piel* of קבל seven times (x8 total קבל).<sup>214</sup> The DSS attest לקח 147 times and the *Piel* of קבל fourteen times (x16 total קבל).<sup>215</sup> The verb לקח is

Evidence for North Israelite Contributions to Late Biblical Hebrew,” in *BHSCT*, 129–48 (142); idem, *Linguistic*, 103 n. 107; cf. Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 277 n. 3.

<sup>210</sup> Polzin, *Late*, 150; cf. 149–50

<sup>211</sup> A. Hurvitz, “Once Again: The Linguistic Profile of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch and Its Historical Age: A Response to J. Blenkinsopp,” *ZAW* 112 (2000): 180–91 (182; cf. 181–85). For additional statements and discussion of the view that the *Piel* of קבל is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 145–47; Hurvitz, “Evidence of Language,” 43–45; idem, *Lexicon*, 213–16; idem, “Prose-Tale,” 20–23; Joosten, “Clues,” 348; Kutscher, *History*, 83–84, 91; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 94–95; Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqṣat Ma’ase Ha-Torah*, 94–95, 106; Wagner, *Aramaismen*, 99–100; Wright, “Evidence,” 140–42; idem, *Linguistic*, 103–6. The article by Blenkinsopp referred to by Hurvitz is J. Blenkinsopp, “An Assessment of the Alleged Pre-Exilic Date of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch,” *ZAW* 108 (1996): 495–518 (cf. the remark on קבל on p. 516). Several of the discussions by Hurvitz and Qimron focus on the technical expression לקח + דם in the Pentateuch (P and Gen 4:11) and Ezekiel versus קבל + דם in 2 Chr 29:22. Nevertheless, it is clear that the general “lateness” of קבל versus לקח is a significant part of these discussions.

<sup>212</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 680. According to *DCH* there are only seven occurrences of לקח in Hebrew inscriptions (*Concise DCH* 196; *DCH* 4:564).

<sup>213</sup> *BBS* 190, 409. *DCH* says sixteen (*Concise DCH* 196; *DCH* 4:564).

<sup>214</sup> *BBS* 265, 414; *Concise DCH* 386; *DCH* 7:171.

<sup>215</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:419–20; 2:642. The DSS texts are CD 9:22; 1QSa 1:11; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:37; 4Q88 8:12; 4Q171 1-2:ii:9; 4Q266 11:1; 4Q270 7:ii:16; 4Q394 8:iv:7; 4Q396 1-2:ii:9; 4Q418 36:3; 4Q424 3:7; 4Q462 1:15; 4Q577 3:1; 11Q5 22:13. There is also one *Pual* of קבל in CD 9:23. The numbers given in *DCH* are: לקח, x91; קבל, x16 total; *Piel* of קבל, x10 (*Concise DCH* 196, 386; *DCH* 4:564; 7:171). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest three examples of לקח and eight of קבל (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:866, 913).

far more frequent than the *Piel* of קבל in the DSS. Furthermore, most of the manuscripts that use the *Piel* of קבל also attest לקח (e.g., Damascus Document: 18 לקח vs. 3 *Piel* of קבל), and some texts make use of לקח only (e.g., Temple Scroll: 24 לקח vs. 0 *Piel* of קבל). In contrast, the *Piel* of קבל is ubiquitous in MH, occurring 280 times,<sup>216</sup> though there are still 243 examples of לקח.

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>217</sup> The verb לקח is the common verb in BH for “to accept, receive, take” and related notions. It occurs about 965 times,<sup>218</sup> mostly in the *Qal* stem (x936). Conversely, the *Piel* of קבל is used only eleven times: Job 2:10 (x2); Prov 19:20; Esth 4:4; 9:23, 27; Ezra 8:30; 1 Chr 12:19; 21:11; 2 Chr 29:16, 22.<sup>219</sup> There are no interchanges between לקח and the *Piel* of קבל in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS. The figures overleaf give the frequencies of לקח and the *Piel* of קבל, and the percentage of the *Piel* of קבל forms relative to לקח and *Piel* of קבל forms, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

*Observations.* The *Piel* of קבל is an excellent example of a linguistic feature that is characteristic of core LBH writings, in the sense that it is an item that is used a number of times in some of the books of Esther–Chronicles in contexts where other biblical books might have other linguistic forms. Nevertheless, as also in Ben Sira and the DSS, most books that use the *Piel* of קבל have a clear preference for לקח: Prov 10–29: 10–1; Esther: 6–3; Chronicles: 31–4 (synoptic: 21–0; non-synoptic: 10–4); Prose Tale of Job: 5–2. Ezra has each verb a single time. Turning to books that are frequently connected to the exile, we find that 2 Kgs 24–25, II Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel use לקח a total of 146 times, but never the *Piel* of קבל. Finally, many postexilic books also categorically prefer לקח (x35 total): III Isaiah, Joel, Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, two possibly late psalms (75:3; 109:8),<sup>220</sup> Prov 1–9, 30–31, Ruth, and Nehemiah. The postexilic books of Zechariah and Nehemiah are especially noteworthy since they each use לקח seven times, but never the *Piel* of קבל.

<sup>216</sup> According to Bergey there are about 250 occurrences in the Mishnah (Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 146). The *Pael* of קבל is attested in Biblical Aramaic in Dan 2:6; 6:1; 7:18 and the verb is widely used in other earlier and later Aramaic sources (cf. Hurvitz, “Once,” 182–83).

<sup>217</sup> BDB 542–44, 865, 1110 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 196–97, 386; *DCH* 4:564–75; 7:171–72; *HALOT* 2:534–35, 1061–62, 1965–66 (Aramaic).

<sup>218</sup> BDB and *DCH* give a total of 965 (*BDB* 542; *Concise DCH* 196; *DCH* 4:564).

<sup>219</sup> The verbs לקח and the *Piel* of קבל appear to be semantically equivalent (cf. lexica; Hurvitz, “Evidence of Language,” 44 n. 36). However, Joosten feels that the verb has a “special nuance” in Job 2:10 and Prov 19:20 (Joosten, “Clues,” 348). There are also two *Hiphil* participles of קבל in Exod 26:5; 36:12 but we exclude these from the present discussion since they differ morphologically and, more importantly, semantically from the *Piel* of קבל.

<sup>220</sup> See the discussions of these psalms in Hurvitz, *Transition*, 173, 175.

The occurrence of the *Piel* of קבל in Prov 19:20 is worth highlighting. Hurvitz speaks about the “chronologically disputable book of Proverbs” such that קבל in Prov 19:20 “cannot bear upon our discussion.”<sup>221</sup> Wright calls this “a text of uncertain but probably pre-exilic date”<sup>222</sup> and “a text of problematic date.”<sup>223</sup> Wright then goes on to argue that קבל in Prov 19:20 may represent a preexilic northern or Israelian Hebrew isogloss with Aramaic that became more predominant in the postexilic period.<sup>224</sup> First, here we cannot take up the issues of Hebrew dialects and Aramaisms. These issues are discussed elsewhere.<sup>225</sup> Second, nowadays, with the exception of the eight undisputed postexilic books of Haggai–Malachi and Esther–Chronicles, which are clearly postexilic in origin on the basis of non-linguistic data, the dates of origin of all biblical books are in doubt. Nevertheless, most commentators on the book of Proverbs conclude that chapters 10–29 probably originated in some form or another in the preexilic period.<sup>226</sup> Young says: “The use of קבל ‘to receive’ is demonstrably a feature of the core LBH texts. However, we find that other styles of Hebrew, possibly early ones, could also use LBH linguistic features.”<sup>227</sup>

In conclusion, it is clear that by the end of the first millennium B.C.E. the *Piel* of קבל had diffused just slightly in Hebrew, if indeed it was really unused prior to the postexilic period. This is evident from both BH and extra-BH evidence. A wide-ranging look at the linguistic distribution of these two verbs helps us to gain a grasp on “the whole truth” of the *Piel* of קבל in several biblical books. We clearly cannot say with any confidence that books that use only לקח, and not the *Piel* of קבל, must predate books that use both לקח and קבל, since קבל is clearly not indicative of (all) the writings of the Second Temple period.

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<sup>221</sup> Hurvitz, “Prose-Tale,” 21.

<sup>222</sup> Wright, “Evidence,” 142.

<sup>223</sup> Wright, *Linguistic*, 104.

<sup>224</sup> Wright, “Evidence,” 142; idem, *Linguistic*, 104 n. 109.

<sup>225</sup> *LDBT* 1:173–222.

<sup>226</sup> See the discussion of the date of the book of Proverbs in Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 499–506 (cf. *LDBT* 2:56–58), and also of this example of קבל in Young, “Prose,” 609–11.

<sup>227</sup> Young, “Prose,” 611.

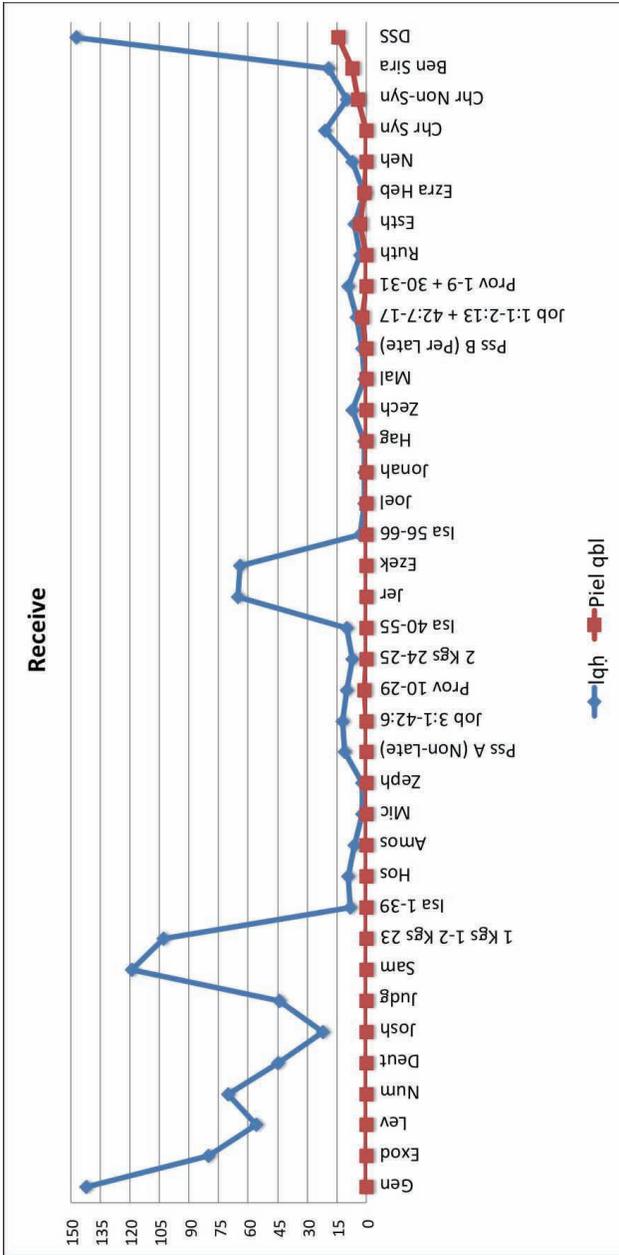


Figure 8.19

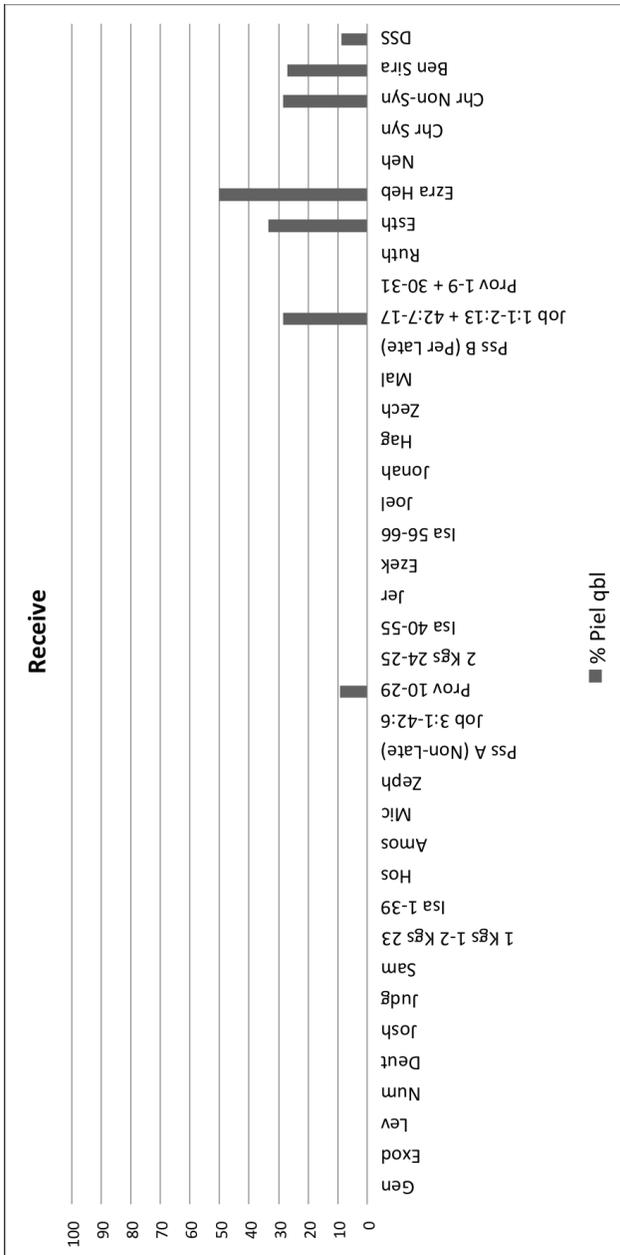


Figure 8.20

8.3.10. “RAISE”: “EARLY” קוּם *HIPHIL* VS. “LATE” קוּם *PIEL*

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The *Piel* of קוּם, instead of the *Hiphil* of קוּם, is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. BDB describes the *Piel* of קוּם as “late (Aram.).”<sup>228</sup> Rooker says:

A linguistic development which began shortly after the destruction of the first temple was the increased use of the *Piel* stem. This phenomenon was accompanied by an incremental tendency to consonantalize the middle radical of hollow verbs. These latter forms should be deemed as secondary developments from EBH. One example of this phenomenon can be illustrated in the distribution of the *Piel* stem of the root קוּם in BH. The root קוּם which occurs in the *Hiphil* stem in most of the Bible and exclusively in EBH, occurs in the *Piel* stem on only eleven occasions—all LBH...The above discussion [of biblical and postbiblical literature] makes it abundantly clear that within the history of BH the tendency to employ the *Piel* stem of the root קוּם increased at the expense of the *Hiphil* stem.<sup>229</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* There is a single possible occurrence of the *Qal* of קוּם in Hebrew inscriptions (Lachish 13:1).<sup>230</sup> Contrary to conventional expectations both Ben Sira and the DSS prefer the *Hiphil* of קוּם. Ben Sira has fifteen occurrences of קוּם of which seven are in the *Hiphil* and none in the *Piel*.<sup>231</sup> More remarkably, the DSS have 156 instances of קוּם, including eighty-four examples in the *Hiphil* but only a single *Piel* (CD 20:12).<sup>232</sup> In contrast, the *Piel* of קוּם predominates in MH (68 *Piel*, 6 *Hiphil*).<sup>233</sup>

<sup>228</sup> BDB 878.

<sup>229</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 83–84; cf. 83–85. For additional statements and discussion of the view that the *Piel* of קוּם is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 40–42; idem, “Post-Exilic Hebrew Linguistic Developments in Esther: A Diachronic Approach,” *JETS* 31 (1988): 161–68 (166); F. W. Bush, *Ruth, Esther* (WBC 9; Dallas: Word, 1996), 27; R. D. Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible; Baylor: Baylor University Press, 2010), 32, 37; Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 217–20; idem, *Linguistic*, 32–35; idem, *Transition*, 34, 139–42; van Peursen, *Verbal*, 35; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 95; Rooker, “Dating,” 307–8; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 125; Wright, *Linguistic*, 32–34. The consonantalization of the middle radical of hollow verbs is an exceptional phenomenon in BH and only occurs with several different verb lexemes (GKC §72a with n. 1, p. 194; §72m, pp. 197–98; §72gg, p. 202; JM §80h with n. 4, p. 198; J. Blau, *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew: An Introduction* [LSAWS 2; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010], 256–57).

<sup>230</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 722; cf. 330–31. According to *DCH* the *Qal* of קוּם is found twice in Hebrew inscriptions (*Concise DCH* 391; *DCH* 7:224).

<sup>231</sup> *BBS* 267, 414; *Concise DCH* 391; *DCH* 7:224, 230

<sup>232</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:651–53. According to *DCH* there are 107 cases of קוּם in the DSS, forty eight in the *Hiphil* and six in the *Piel* (*Concise DCH*

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>234</sup> The verb קום appears about 627 times in BH.<sup>235</sup> Compared to the *Hiphil*, which occurs 146 times throughout the Hebrew Bible, the *Piel* of קום is used only eleven times, in a total of four books in four chapters: Ezek 13:6; Ps 119:28, 106; Ruth 4:7; Esth 9:21, 27, 29, 31 (x3), 32. There are no interchanges between the *Hiphil* and *Piel* of קום in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS.<sup>236</sup> The figures overleaf give the frequencies of the verb קום in the *Hiphil* and *Piel* stems, and the percentage of the *Piel* of קום verbs to all *Hiphil* and *Piel* forms of this verb, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

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391; *DCH* 7:223, 230–31). Discussions of the chronology of the *Piel* of קום in ancient Hebrew often fail to point out that the *Hiphil* is predominant in the DSS (Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 41 n. 2; Wright, *Linguistic*, 32; against Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 34; Rooker, *Biblical*, 84). Scholars regularly cite CD 20:12 in this regard, but this is the only *Piel* of קום in the DSS, and thus also in the Damascus Document, which instead has twenty-one examples of the *Hiphil* of קום (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:651–53; one partially reconstructed, three with *yod/waw* confusion). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest sixty-one examples of קום (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:915–16).

<sup>233</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 41; Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 34; Wright, *Linguistic*, 33. The *Pael* of קום is also prominent in postbiblical Aramaic (Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 34; Rooker, *Biblical*, 84; Wright, *Linguistic*, 33–34).

<sup>234</sup> BDB 877–79, 1110–11 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 391–92; *DCH* 7:223–35; *HALOT* 3:1086–89; 5:1968–69 (Aramaic).

<sup>235</sup> *DCH* says there are 629 total קום forms (*Concise DCH* 391; *DCH* 7:223).

<sup>236</sup> Note, however, the variation between MT 2 Sam 23:1 על הַקָּם (“who was raised on high”) and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> אל הַקָּם (“God established”). The MT reflects corruption (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 15, 187; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 477; cf. Qumran Samuel, 6.1.16).

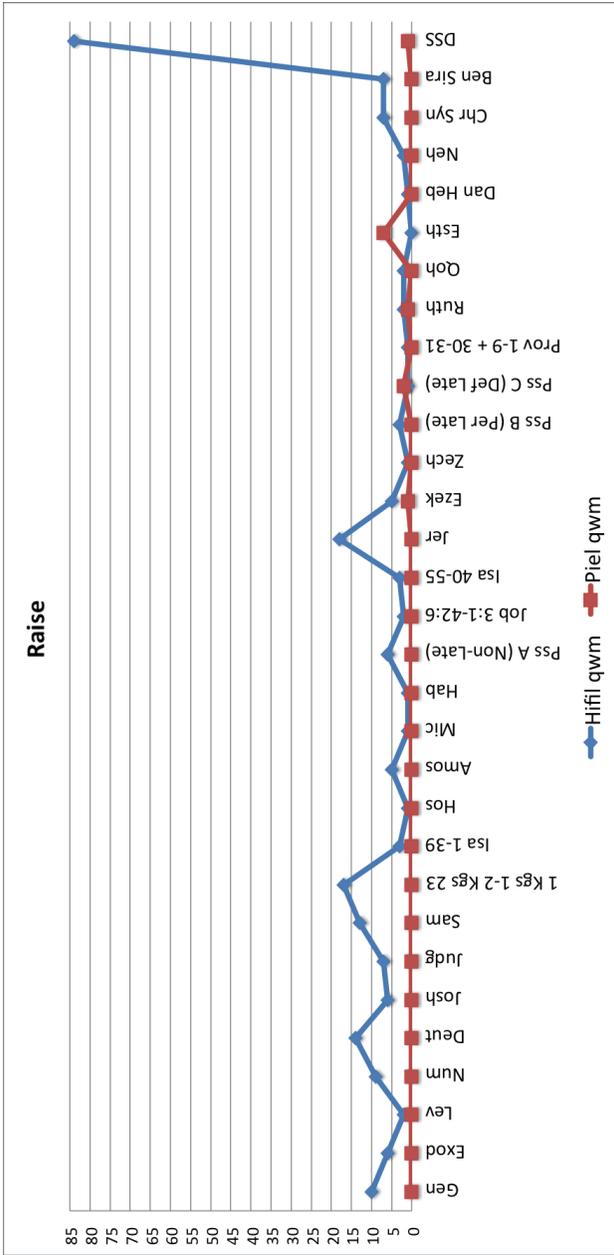


Figure 8.21

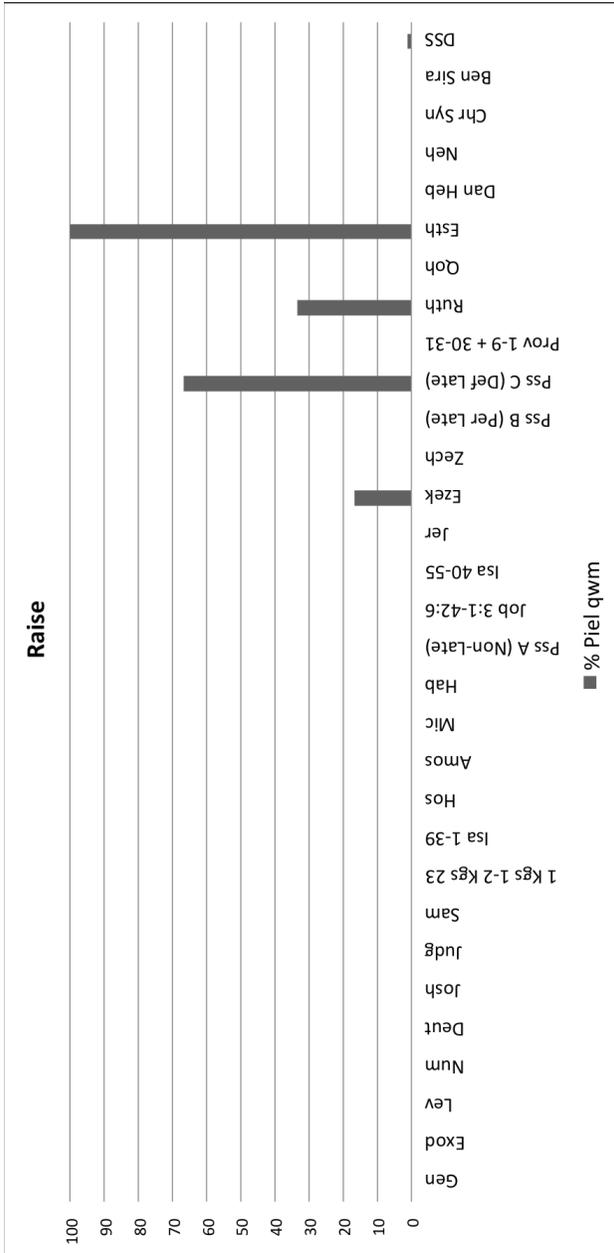


Figure 8.22

*Observations.* It should first be observed that the *Piel* of קום is used exclusively only in the book of Esther (x7; references above), and only in the possibly supplementary chapter 9.<sup>237</sup> The only other writing that prefers the *Piel* over the *Hiphil* is Ps 119 (2–1; 119:28, 106 vs. 119:38). In contrast, Ruth prefers the *Hiphil* over the *Piel* (2–1; 4:5, 10 vs. 4:7)<sup>238</sup> and Ezekiel does as well (5–1; 16:60, 62; 26:8; 34:23, 29 vs. 13:6).<sup>239</sup> Opposite to these four books, other books commonly dated to the exilic and postexilic periods have only the *Hiphil* of קום: II Isaiah (x3), Jeremiah (x18), Zechariah (x1), three potentially late psalms (x3; 40:3; 107:29; 113:7<sup>240</sup>), Prov 1–9, 30–31 (x1), Qoheleth (x2), Nehemiah (x2), Chronicles (x7). Also, it is interesting that Aramaic Daniel has the *Pael* of קום in 6:8, but Hebrew Daniel, unlike, for example, Esther, has the *Hiphil* of קום in 9:12. Bergey remarks: “The relatively low incidence of קים in LBH apparently reflects the inception of the trend which ultimately resulted in the disuse [of] קום in the Hiphil.”<sup>241</sup> This view is problematic since most “late” biblical books, as well as Ben Sira and the DSS, clearly prefer the *Hiphil* of קום. Consequently, a growing preference for the *Piel* of קום is barely evident in the Hebrew Bible, and so the absence, presence, or proportion of the form could not serve to date texts linguistically or to sequence them relative to one another based on proportions of usage.

### 8.3.11. “HAVE POWER OVER”: “EARLY” משל vs. “LATE” שלט

*Conventional Statement of Linguistic Chronology.* The verb שלט, instead of משל, is considered characteristic of the later stage of BH. For example, BDB

<sup>237</sup> See D. J. A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story* (JSOTSup 30; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984).

<sup>238</sup> Holmstedt concludes his study of the *Piel* of קום in Ruth 4:7 with these words: “It seems likely, especially given the distribution, that the use of the *Piel* לקים aligns with LBH. But whether it is an actual Aramaism is another issue. The question of motivation puts a fine point on it: there is clearly no need to borrow (since the *Hifil* להקים would suffice) and if Aramaic dominance (a type of prestige) was behind the supposed borrowing, why not use לקים in 4:5 and 4:10 as well? Rather, it seems just as likely, if not more likely, that the use of the *Piel* in 4:7 reflects an option that was—or, at least, *became* (perhaps by analogy)—available in Hebrew without recourse to borrowing, and the usage in Ruth was an issue of *style* (i.e., variation on the part of the story-teller)” (Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 37; emphasis added).

<sup>239</sup> Note that Hurvitz focuses his discussion of the *Hiphil* and *Piel* of קום on the specialized use “to establish, confirm, maintain, fulfill” a “word, vow, oath, covenant” (Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 34). However, the *Hiphil* of קום is used throughout the Hebrew Bible, in EBH and LBH writings alike, and the *Piel* of קום (e.g., Ezek 13:6) is never used in this sense in the core LBH books.

<sup>240</sup> See the discussions of these psalms in Hurvitz, *Transition*, 173–75.

<sup>241</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 41–42.

describes the verb שלט as “late,”<sup>242</sup> and Bergey says “the use of the verb form שלט is first evident in the BH prose vocabulary in post-exilic times. There it vied for usage with משל, its earlier counterpart, which remained the preferred term in LBH overall.”<sup>243</sup>

*Attestation in Extra-BH.* These verbs are unattested in Hebrew inscriptions. Ben Sira has one example of שלט (33:21) and fourteen of משל.<sup>244</sup> More surprisingly, the DSS also have only one example of שלט (11Q5 19:15) and 92 of משל.<sup>245</sup> Finally, the Mishnah has two שלט and four משל.

*Linguistic Distribution in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.*<sup>246</sup> The “late” verb שלט is found eight times in BH (Ps 119:133; Qoh 2:19; 5:18; 6:2; 8:9; Esth 9:1 [x2]; Neh 5:15). There are also seven examples in Aramaic Daniel (2:38, 39, 48; 3:27; 5:7, 16; 6:25). In contrast, משל occurs eighty-one times throughout BH, and is the only or main verb in most of the “late” (exilic and postexilic) writings. There are no interchanges between these verbs in the MT, SP, and the biblical DSS. The figures overleaf give the frequencies of משל and שלט, and the percentage of שלט relative to both verbs, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the DSS.

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<sup>242</sup> BDB 605.

<sup>243</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 141. Bergey goes on to describe the breakdown in the “late” sources. For additional statements and discussion of the view that שלט is characteristic of the later stage of BH, see Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 228–30; idem, *Transition*, 134–36; C. L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 18C; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 13–14; Wagner, *Aramaismen*, 113; Wright, *Linguistic*, 108–10, 131.

<sup>244</sup> BBS 209, 291, 411, 416; *Concise DCH* 250, 464; *DCH* 5:531.

<sup>245</sup> Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 1:491–92; 2:728. *DCH* says one and seventy (*Concise DCH* 250, 464) or one and seventy one (*DCH* 5:531; 8:391). In addition, the Aramaic scrolls attest eighteen examples of שלט (Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Concordance*, 2:934).

<sup>246</sup> BDB 605–6, 1020 (“late”), 1115 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 250–51, 464; *DCH* 5:531–37; 8:391; *HALOT* 2:647–48; 4:1521–22; 5:1995 (Aramaic).

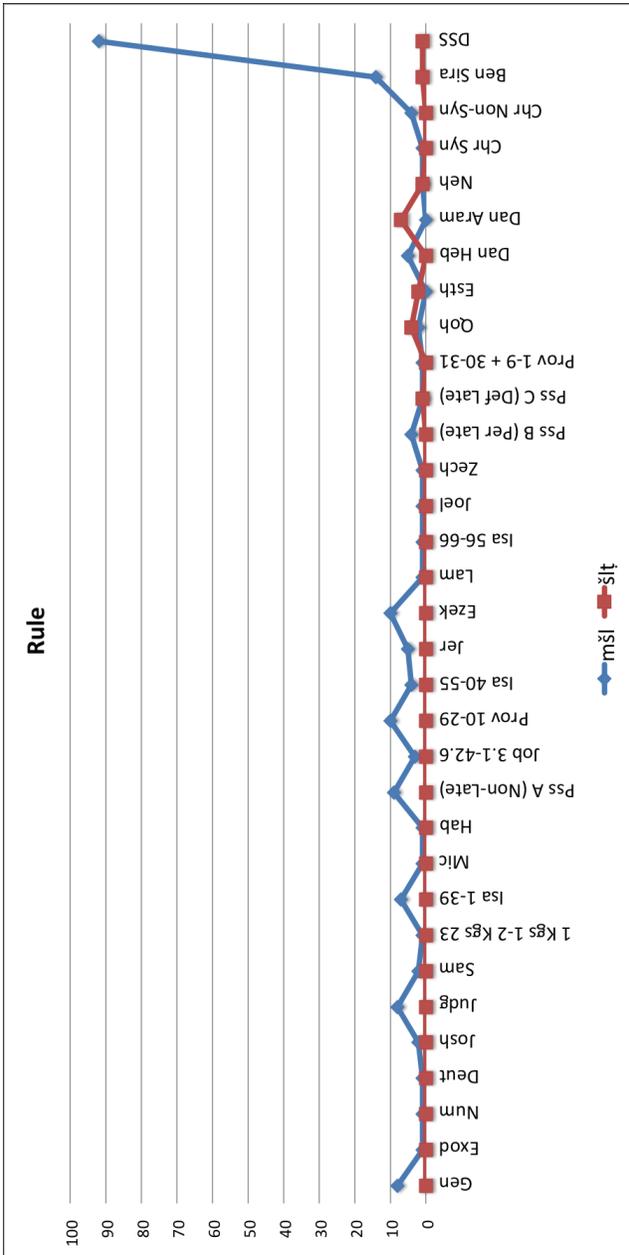


Figure 8.23

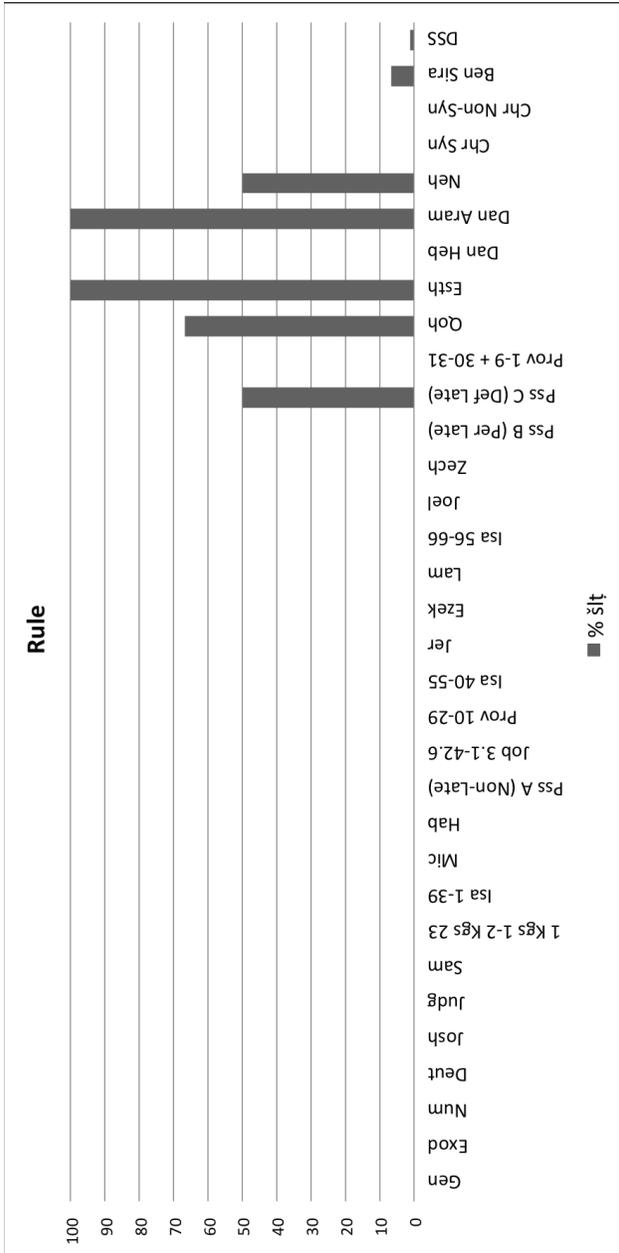


Figure 8.24

*Observations.* It has been argued, on the basis of its distribution in BH and Aramaic sources, that שלט is a linguistic indication of the lateness of Ps 119 and Qoheleth. (Nobody disputes the lateness of Esther and Nehemiah.) At first this seems like a reasonable argument. However, it has some difficulties. The evidence is sparse, but the distribution suggests that while שלט may be “late,”<sup>247</sup> the use of משל in its place cannot be taken as a marker of “earliness.” The reason for this is that many “late” writings clearly prefer משל over שלט. The DSS as a whole, and obviously very many individual scrolls, are a case in point. Moreover, while in the core LBH books we find a zero משל to seven שלט distribution in Aramaic Daniel, and 0–2 in Esther, the other books in this group paint a different picture: Nehemiah 1–1, synoptic Chronicles 1–0, non-synoptic Chronicles 4–0, and Hebrew Daniel 5–0. There is no apparent reason why the author could not have chosen to use שלט in Hebrew Daniel (11:3, 4, 5, 39, 43). Again, therefore, the choice of משל or שלט seems to have been a matter of conscious selection, or style.

### 8.3.12. DISCUSSION AND CLUSTER ANALYSIS

On the preceding pages we have looked at ten variables or sets of variants related to ten concepts: hasten, fear/be frightened, walk, cry, gather, be angry, arise, receive, raise, and rule/have power over. Many more observations can be made, and a lot more work can be done, on the several dozen lexemes and/or stems we have surveyed. The following thoughts are some that we feel are important to underline in this final section of chapter 8.

*By selecting the “late” verbs according to the results of previous scholarship, which largely decided that these verbs were late because they occurred in a predetermined set of “late” writings, we have essentially engaged in the same sort of circular reasoning and stacked the deck against the “late” writings.* What would the results be, for example, if we randomly, or better systematically, selected and studied other variables using VA? Elsewhere we have shown that many patterns of distribution and preference for linguistic forms are overlooked by scholars because they have no obvious relationship with the standard view of BH linguistic chronology.<sup>248</sup>

We have not given consideration to roots more generally, to other derivative forms such as nouns or to other verb stems. This decision was taken mainly to keep the study manageable. What would the results be if other related items were included in the analysis? In some cases they might not affect the overall

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<sup>247</sup> We are not dealing with cognates in these case studies, but while some other items related to the root may also support its general lateness, such as שלטון (Qoh 8:4, 8), שלטת (Ezek 16:30), and שליט (Qoh 7:19; 8:8; 10:5), some would point in response to שליט in Gen 42:6 and *šlyt* in Ugaritic.

<sup>248</sup> For an example see the discussion of לב and ללב (“heart”) in *LDBT* 2: 108–11.

picture (e.g., זעקה/צעקה), but in others they might (e.g., שלט?), either making the overall picture look “earlier” or “later.”

We have cited many hundreds of data above. All of the verbs and their occurrences need to be studied more thoroughly in order to claim definitive results. In some cases the semantic equivalence of some variants, or at least some occurrences of some variants, can be called into question. In other words the variants are not functioning in the same variable context. Furthermore, we stated above (8.1.3) that a main objective of this chapter has been to test the probability and categoricity of the conventional diachrony-oriented explanations for the variables. But time is only one dimension of variation. Other factors to consider are dialect, author/writer demographics, genre (especially prose vs. poetry), text type, narration vs. speech, style, and so on. In short, a lot more constructive work remains to be done.

Because of their brevity, or fragmentariness, or again to keep the study manageable, we have sometimes talked about the DSS as a single corpus. We know, however, that this is just as illegitimate as talking about the entire Hebrew Bible, or Genesis–Kings, or Esther–Chronicles as individual corpora. (Never mind that this is standard operating procedure in other linguistic dating and historical linguistic studies of BH.) Such an approach obscures the many differences and propensities of the individual writers and writings, even between contemporaneous ones. Ideally, then, each composition must be studied individually and then the results compared. And, in our estimation, the result of this will be that many scrolls will look “late” while others will look “early.”

We are well aware that many and probably all of the variables in this chapter do not meet minimal requirements for statistical significance, at least in relation to the “late” variant. Indeed, the history of the history of ancient Hebrew and the linguistic dating of biblical writings is a history of low-frequency variants. Most basic and common forms and uses are quite stable in the ancient Hebrew literary sources, whereas items that have traditionally been identified as important for language variation and change are uncommon and infrequent in BH. The “late” verbs (and expressions) we have studied occur in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS—many dozens of different compositions—a total of 299 times, but some much more frequently than others: 86 (זעק), 54 (עמד *Qal*), 45 (הלך *Piel*), 35 (קבל *Piel*), 20 (בהל, דחף, ביהל), 17 (שלט), 16 (בנס), 12 (קום *Piel*), 7 (בעס *Qal*), 7 (בת *Niphal*). (The “early” variants are much more common throughout BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.) The first case study in this chapter dealt with דרש for “to study.” This variant occurs only five times in all of BH, and then only in Ps 119 (x3), Ezra 7 (x1), and 1 Chr 28 (x1). (We exclude Isa 34:16 from consideration here.) This infrequent and irregular occurrence renders the variant almost meaningless for historical linguistic research when looking at it from broader theoretical and methodological perspectives. Nevertheless, even when examining דרש for “to study” and some other commonly-cited items of “late” BH together with their “early” variants, we are able to underline an important

point, namely, that many of the data that are cited in historical linguistic and linguistic dating research on BH are indeed indeterminate, and probably insignificant, for drawing any sound conclusions about developments in BH, and much less about the dates of the original compositions in which they are now found.

We have stressed that linguistic dating is not a normal or even viable objective of historical linguistics (chapter 2) and that the line charts or “s-curves” cannot serve to sequence biblical compositions (chapter 7). However, for a moment let us play devil’s advocate and try to do what Cook, Drescher, Holmstedt, and Kim have suggested (chapter 7, 7.5). In other words, what happens if we rearrange the data according to increasing proportions of use of the “late” or “new” variants? As an example we give a line-chart of the *Piel* of  $\text{לָהָלַךְ}$  in relation to the *Qal* in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS. This is a relatively frequent “late” BH variant and also one of the most referenced in the secondary literature. Altogether this variable involves 1,619 *Qal* and 45 *Piel* tokens. (Note: It is helpful to look first at figure 8.8 for “Walk” above in section 8.3.4.) Here is what we come up with:

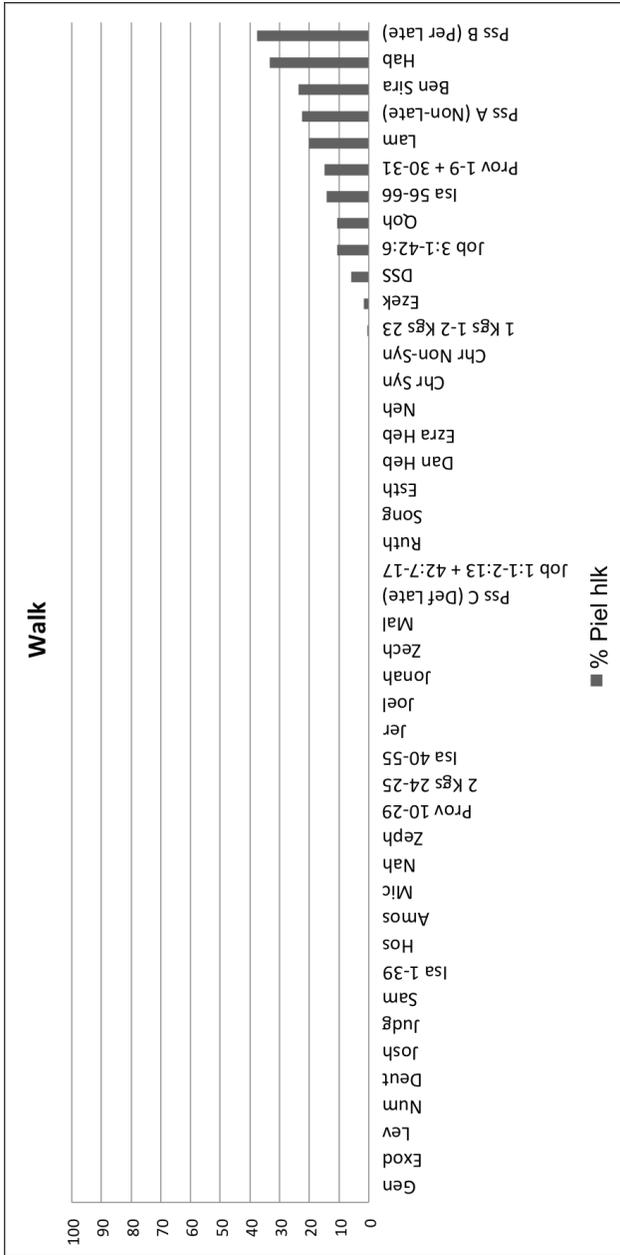


Figure 8.25

Or, since our point is that there are two groups of books rather than linearly-ordered books, we might present the result like this:

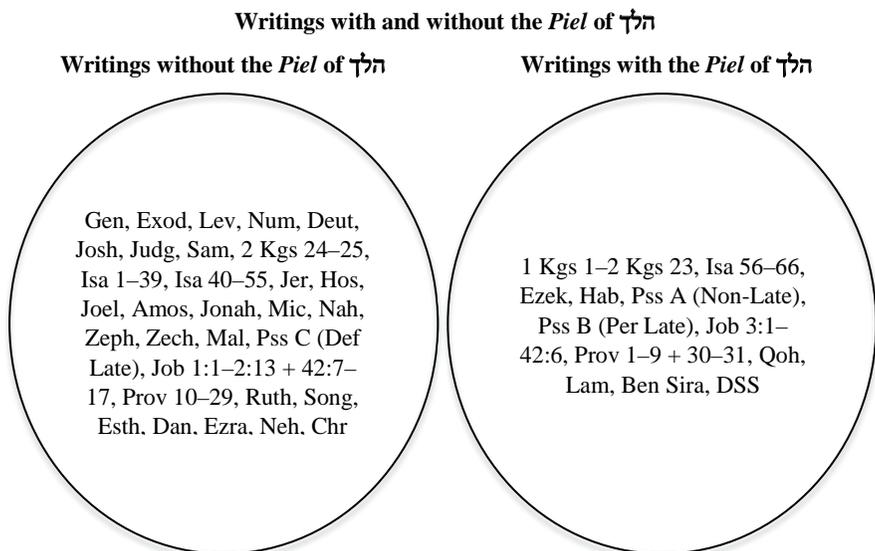


Figure 8.26

How does one explain the sequence or groups of the various “early” and “late” writings, both those with and without the *Piel* of הלך, as conventionally dated? In our estimation the bar graph arranged according to increasing proportions, from “early” to “late,” tells us nothing about the absolute or relative dates of any of the biblical or postbiblical writings. Furthermore, we believe data such as these—and this exercise can be repeated for other variables and with similar results—are a good indication that BH (and Ben Sira and the DSS) are not specimens of natural language, but literary language. *In such a scenario the unsystematic variation between writers/writings would relate primarily to consciously-chosen language, or style. And in the best-case scenario the writers who used the “late” variants were early (and only partial) adopters of new forms/uses, and consequently those who did not choose those items did not necessarily live earlier, or later, than those who did use them.*

The preceding conclusion does not mean, however, that there are no patterns to be found in the distribution of the linguistic data. It is possible to group the data in different ways in order to see the lay of the land more clearly. For example, the following table reports the figures for a selection of “early” and “late” writings as conventionally dated:

<b>Book</b>	<b>Number Variables Attested</b>	<b>Number “Early” Variants Attested</b>	<b>Number “Late” Variants Attested</b>	<b>Number “Early” Tokens</b>	<b>Number “Late” Tokens</b>	<b>Percent “Late” Tokens</b>
Genesis	10	10	None	386	0	0%
Samuel	10	10	1 <sup>249</sup>	534	15	2.7%
III Isaiah (56–66)	9	9	2 <sup>250</sup>	36	2	5.3%
Zechariah	9	8	1 <sup>251</sup>	43	1	2.3%
Frame of Proverbs (1–9, 30–31)	8	8	1 <sup>252</sup>	41	3	6.8%
Nehemiah	9	9	5 <sup>253</sup>	53	7	11.7%
Non-Synoptic Chronicles	9	9	7 <sup>254</sup>	92	17	15.6%
Ben Sira	10	10	4 <sup>255</sup>	108	14	11.5%
Dead Sea Scrolls	10	9	All	771	68	8.1%

Many observations could be made here. On first glance one might claim that the data clearly support the conventional “early” BH vs. “late” BH model. For example, insofar as these variables are concerned, there is a more-or-less categorical contrast between books like Genesis and Samuel with few “late” variants on the one hand and non-synoptic Chronicles and the DSS with most or all “late” variants on the other. But looking closer brings to the surface some underlying cracks in the edifice. For example, the postexilic compositions of III Isaiah, Zechariah, and the frame of Proverbs have relatively few “late” variants and tokens.<sup>256</sup> Is this related to genre, style, or some other factor? Or, for

<sup>249</sup> זעק.

<sup>250</sup> הלך *Piel*; זעק.

<sup>251</sup> זעק.

<sup>252</sup> הלך *Piel*.

<sup>253</sup> זעק; בנס; בעס; עמד *Oal*; שלט. The four underlined variants are shared with non-synoptic Chronicles.

<sup>254</sup> קבל *Piel*; עמד *Oal*; בעס; בנס; זעק; בעת *Niphal*; דחף/בהל. The four underlined variants are shared with Nehemiah.

<sup>255</sup> שלט; קבל *Piel*; עמד *Oal*; הלך *Piel*.

<sup>256</sup> On the language of Zechariah see Ehrensävrd, “Linguistic,” 175–87; idem, “Why Biblical Texts Cannot Be Dated Linguistically,” *HS* 47 (2006): 177–89; *LDBT* 1: 106–10, 137–38; cf. S.-Y Shin, “A Lexical Study on the Language of Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi and Its Place in the History of Biblical Hebrew” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 2007). Shin’s analysis is problematic because he studies “the Haggai-Zechariah-Malachi corpus”

instance, the percentages of “late” tokens in “late” works are not very impressive, and in fact they appear marginal compared to the preference for “early” variants. Again, are these low concentrations of “late” items due to chronology, or other factors, or a combination of several of these? We are particularly struck by the low numbers in Ben Sira and the DSS. We have occasionally pointed out that individual scrolls sometimes have quite different distributions of “early” and “late” items. For example, the Temple Scroll attests eight of the variables studied. It uses seven “early” and three “late” variants. The latter are זעק, בנס, and עמד *Qal*. They are used seven times altogether and only זעק is used categorically (i.e., צעק is absent).<sup>257</sup>

We want to give two final graphics of the data. The scatter plots overleaf graphically represent the overall usage of the “late” variants for the ten variables in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS. Specifically, they show the densities of the number of “late” verbs and the number of “late” tokens in each composition, and in the whole corpus in the case of the DSS.<sup>258</sup> The points in the box in the bottom left corner of the first figure are represented in enlarged form in the second figure.

A variety of observations and interpretations can be given to these figures. Some books have no relevant data due most likely to their size (e.g., Obadiah, Haggai). Many books that are unlikely to have been written contemporaneously sit close together in the low one–two and low 5–20% ranges. In some aspects the figures align with the conventional view of linguistic diachrony in BH. For example, Genesis sits to the far left and the DSS as a corpus to the far right, though individual scrolls have very different profiles. Also, most of the core LBH books (Esther–[non-synoptic] Chronicles, but not [Hebrew] Ezra), Ezekiel, Qoheleth, and Ben Sira, have more in common with each other and the DSS than, say, with the books of the Pentateuch. These books have relatively more “late” variants, even if their percentages of “late” tokens are unimpressive.

As for a specific book take, for instance, Nehemiah. This book has five “late” variants, none of which are used categorically, and these are used around 12% of the time in the variable contexts. In other words, the author of Nehemiah used the “early” variant around 88% of the time when faced with a choice between an “early” and a “late” variant for a particular variable. To give an individual case that closely represents the overall picture, for “to gather” Nehemiah has בנס once, אסף four times, and קבץ five times, thus בנס was used in only one of the ten variable contexts, or about 10% of the time. Looking at usage in this book and in others we see no reason why the author of Nehemiah

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rather than individual compositions, he disregards the literary-critical conclusion regarding the two sections of Zechariah (chapters 1–8 and 9–14), and his case studies often violate the principle of accountability.

<sup>257</sup> For comparable results see *LDBT* 1: 250–79; Young, “Peshar Habakkuk.”

<sup>258</sup> For the abbreviated book names see n. 12.

could not have used קבץ/אסף in 12:44 where כנס appears, or כנס in the places where קבץ/אסף are used (1:9; 4:14; 5:16; 7:5; 8:1, 13; 9:1; 12:28; 13:11). Examples such as this give the impression that conscious selection or stylistic variation is at work. And one has to ask the question, if the author of Nehemiah selected a “late” variant in one of ten instances on average, why could another author not select a “late” variant in none of ten, or ten of ten?

The traditional answer to this question is that other authors did not select even one instance of the “late” variant *because they were unaware* of it or, stated differently, *because they lived before* the “late” item was available.<sup>259</sup> This point is well taken. And it is a possible explanation. But: Is it probable? Is it provable? Do the data support it? We will defer our answers to these questions, and our discussion of the related issue of periodization (and states and transitions), until after we present some grammatical case studies in chapter 9.

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<sup>259</sup> See, for example, the discussions of אגרת and Akkadian month names in Hurvitz, “Linguistic Dating,” 268–70. However, we believe that this explanation cannot be applied only to writings that one thinks are late, and that it must also be applied, or at least contemplated, in relation to writings that one thinks are not late.

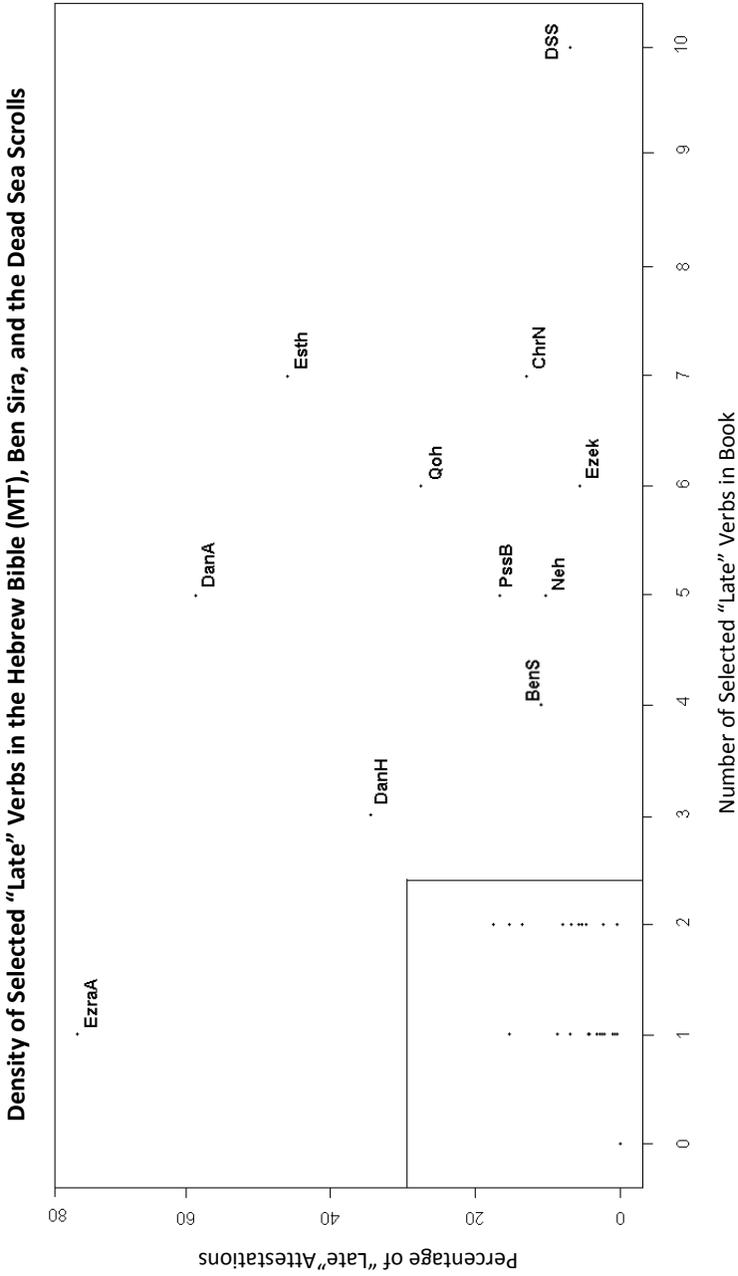
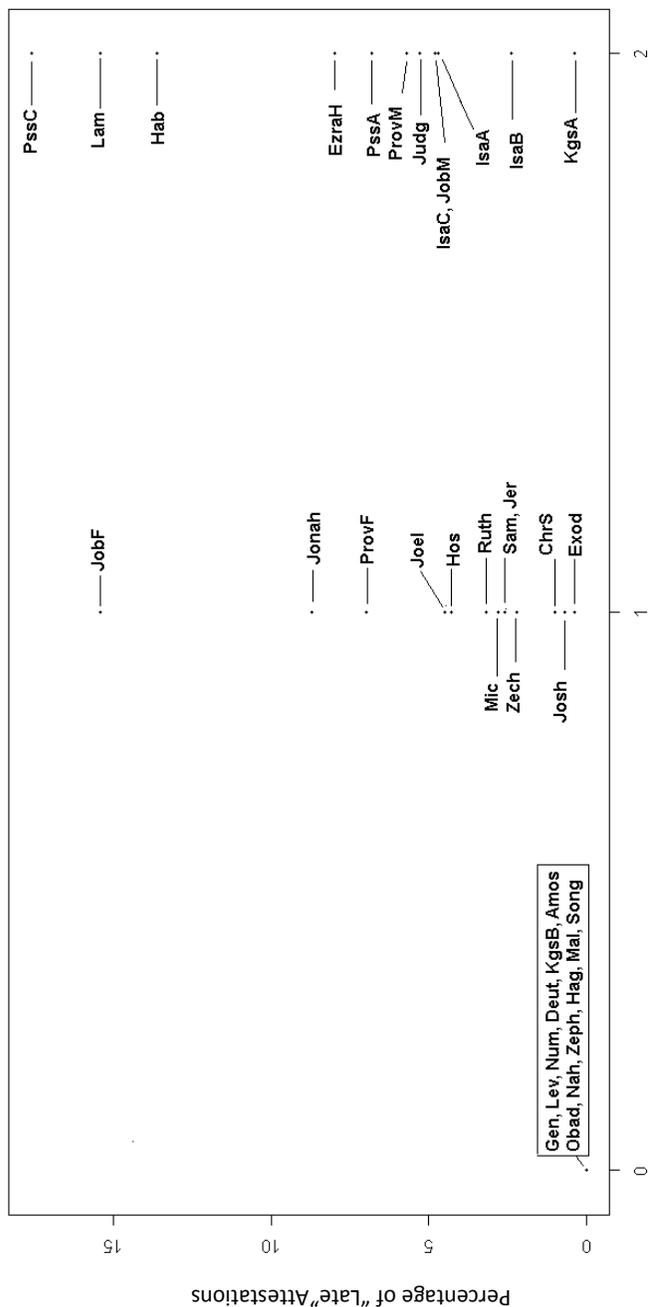


Figure 8.27

Density of Selected "Late" Verbs in the Hebrew Bible (MT), Ben Sira, and the Dead Sea Scrolls



Number of Selected "Late" Verbs in Book

Figure 8.28

## 8.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have presented eleven case studies dealing with different “early” and “late” verb lexemes, stems, or expressions. We have illustrated that distributional analysis, where variants are graphically represented as proportions of their respective variables, enables us to have a clearer view and firmer grip on the linguistic facts of BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS. We suspect that the rates of occurrence of these variants will come as a surprise to many who are accustomed to thinking that so-called Early Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew (and also Qumran Hebrew) is each a more-or-less coherent whole in its own right, each has an unambiguously distinctive linguistic profile, and individual writings in each of these collections predominantly align, linguistically speaking, with the larger whole of which they are a part. These case studies raise a series of important issues and questions that we have only just started to answer. Some additional case studies, dealing with more frequent grammatical variables, will give more concrete points of reference for discussing these matters.

## Chapter 9

### Variationist Analysis: Grammatical Studies

#### 9.1. INTRODUCTION

For a general introduction to our lexical and grammatical case studies see chapter 8 (8.1). In this chapter we examine three grammatical issues using the variationist approach. They are abstract nouns in וֹת-, and the specific lexeme מַלְכוּת (9.2); the pronominal endings וֹתם- and וֹתיהם- (9.3); and the directive הֵ (הֵ-ִ) (9.4). After these case studies we will discuss the relevance of our findings in chapters 8–9 to the matter of periodization (states and transitions) (9.5).

#### 9.2. ABSTRACT NOUNS IN וֹת-, ESPECIALLY מַלְכוּת

One of the most widely discussed items in diachronic studies of BH is the noun מַלְכוּת. It is discussed both as a variant of the variable “kingdom” and as the chief example of the nominal formation *-ūt*, both of which are considered to be characteristic of “late” BH. We will look at the grammatical issue first and then the lexical one. The conventional view about the history of this form in BH is concisely stated by Blau: “The suffix *-ūt* occurs especially in late Biblical Hebrew, apparently influenced by Aramaic words such as כְּסוּת ‘covering.’”<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Kutscher says: “Scholars have not yet drawn a clear historical picture of the development of the different nominal types, but the history of the nominal type built with the derivational suffix [-u:t], e.g., מַלְכוּת ‘kingdom’, seems to be clear enough. It is rare in ABH and SBH, but becomes more common in LBH (Chronicles, Daniel, etc.).”<sup>2</sup> Finally, with his eye toward the DSS, Qimron

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<sup>1</sup> Blau, *Phonology*, 276.

<sup>2</sup> Kutscher, *History*, 43; cf. 81, 84.

remarks that “abstract nouns with the suffix  $\text{־וּת}$ ...occur only rarely in classical BH. Later [i.e., in the DSS] they become much more common.”<sup>3</sup>

The following table gives all the abstract nouns in  $\text{-ūt}$  that we have found in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS.<sup>4</sup> Items that are arguably not abstract are excluded.<sup>5</sup> Items that are problematic for textual or interpretative reasons are followed by a question mark. As a general comment, an abstract noun is one that denotes an intangible concept, such as joy. Examples in English often terminate with *-dom*, *-hood*, or *-ness*.

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<sup>3</sup> Qimron, *Hebrew*, 66; cf. 116. The conventional view is expressed elsewhere, for example, in GKC §86k, p. 241; §95t, p. 281; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 383–84; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 116–17; A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words* (OLA 41; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 65; U. Schattner-Rieser, “L’hébreu postexilique,” in *La Palestine à l’époque perse* (ed. E.-M. Laperrousaz and A. Lemaire; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 189–224 (202–3); Wagner, *Aramaismen*, 130–31. See also the references given below in the discussion of מלכות. On the history of the formation in Semitic languages in general see, for example, H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1922), 505–6; Cohen, “Diachrony,” 372; R. Hasselbach, “External Plural Markers in Semitic: A New Assessment,” in *Studies in Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics Presented to Gene B. Gragg* (ed. C. L. Miller; SAOC 60; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 123–38 (130 n. 40); E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (OLA 80; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 226.

<sup>4</sup> Here we are not documenting the data (except for מלכות) in MH where there are many additional  $\text{-ūt}$  nouns and tokens. See, for example, M. Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (trans. J. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 63; M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 122.

<sup>5</sup> Forms in BH that are excluded are בכות (“weeping”; compound proper name), ברות (“food”), גרות (“lodging place”; compound proper name), הלמות (“hammer”), חלמות (“mallow”), חנות (“vault”), סכות (“Sikkut”), סות (“garment”), רעות (“neighbor”), שחות (“pit”), and other proper names. No forms in Ben Sira are excluded. Forms in the DSS that are excluded are סכות (“Sikkut”) and קשות (“cucumber”). We are not entirely certain that several of these examples should be excluded from the discussion, e.g., בכות (cf. GKC §95t, p. 281; JM §88Mj, p. 243). Rezetko previously cited 71 BH  $\text{-ūt}$  nouns (Rezetko, “Dating,” 224) and Cohen cites 65 (Cohen, “Diachrony,” 371). Here we give 64. The different numbers relate to the inclusion/exclusion of the aforementioned nouns. The conclusions reached by Rezetko and Cohen, however, are not affected by the different counts.

<b>Table 9.1</b>		
<b>Abstract Substantives in <i>-ūt</i></b>		
<b>in the Hebrew Bible (MT), Ben Sira, and the Dead Sea Scrolls</b>		
Word	Gloss	References
אבות	“intercession”	QH (x3): 1QS 2:9; 4Q280 2:4; 4Q369 2:1
אילות	“strength”	BH (x1): Ps 22:20 QH (x1): 4Q497 5:2
אכזריות	“cruelty”	BH (x1): Prov 27:4
אלוהות	“divinity”	QH (x3): 4Q287 2:8; 4Q400 1:i:2; 4Q403 1:i:33
אלמנות	“widowhood”	BH (x4): Gen 38:14, 19; 2 Sam 20:3; Isa 54:4 QH (x1): 4Q364 9a-b:9 (?)
ארמלות	“widowhood”	QH (x1): 4Q176 8-11:6
בעות	“terror”	BH (x2): Ps 88:17; Job 6:4
גאות	“majesty”	BH (x8): Isa 9:17; 12:5; 26:10; 28:1, 3; Pss 17:10; 89:10; 93:1 QH (x6): 4Q163 4-7:i:14 (?); 4Q365 6a:ii+6c:2, 7; 4Q381 15:4 (?); 4Q427 7:i:18; 7:ii:12
גבהות	“pride”	BH (x2): Isa 2:11, 17 QH (x3): CD 1:15; 4Q266 2:ii:19; 4Q427 7:ii:8
גבלות	“twisting”	BH (x2): Exod 28:22; 39:15
גלות	“exile”	BH (x15): 2 Kgs 25:27; Isa 20:4; 45:13; Jer 24:5; 28:4; 29:22; 40:1; 52:31; Ezek 1:2; 33:21; 40:1; Amos 1:6, 9; Obad 20 (x2) QH (x4): 1QpHab 11:6; 4Q169 3-4:ii:5; 4Q282h 1:5; 4Q389 1:6
גמילות	“recompense”	BS (x1): 37:11
דלות	“poverty”	BS (x2): 10:31 (x2)
דמות	“likeness”	BH (x25): Gen 1:26; 5:1, 3; 2 Kgs 16:10; Isa 13:4; 40:18; Ezek 1:5 (x2), 10, 13, 16, 22, 26 (x3), 28; 8:2; 10:1, 10, 21, 22; 23:15; Ps 58:5; Dan 10:16; 2 Chr 4:3 QH (x9): 4Q405 14-15:ii:2 (x2), 5 (?), 7; 20:ii-22:10; 23:ii:9; 4Q504 8:4; 11Q17 4:7; 37:2
הגות	“meditation”	BH (x1): Ps 49:4
הוללות	“madness”	BH (x1): Qoh 10:13
העריבות	“setting (sun)”	QH (x1): 4Q394 3-7:i:18
הריסות	“destruction”	BH (x1): Isa 49:19
השמעות	“communication”	BH (x1): Ezek 24:26
השתחוות	“prostration”	QH (x2): CD 11:22; 4Q271 5:i:15
השתענות	“support”	BS (x1): 44:8
התחברות	“alliance- making”	BH (x1): Dan 11:23
זלות	“vileness”	BH (x1): Ps 12:9

Word	Gloss	References
זנות	“prostitution”	BH (x9): Num 14:33; Jer 3:2, 9; 13:27; Ezek 23:27; 43:7, 9; Hos 4:11; 6:10 BS (x3): 41:17; 42:8 (x2) QH (x21): CD 2:16; 4:17, 20; 7:1; 8:5; 19:17; 1QS 1:6; 4:10; 4Q169 3-4:ii:7; 4Q225 1:1; 4Q266 3:iv:3; 4Q269 3:2 (?); 4Q270 1:i:1; 4Q287 8:13; 4Q396 1-2:iv:4; 4Q397 6-13:12; 14-21:5; 4Q435 2:i:2; 4Q436 1:iii:1; 4Q458 2:i:6; 4Q513 2:ii:2, 5
חזות	“vision”	BH (x5): Isa 21:2; 28:18 (?); 29:11; Dan 8:5, 8 BS (x1): 42:22 QH (x2): 4Q163 15-16:2 (?); PAM 43.692 80:1
חיות	“living”	BH (x1): 2 Sam 20:3
חכללות	“sparkling (eyes)”	BH (x1): Prov 23:29
חסות	“refuge”	BH (x1): Isa 30:3 QH (x1): 4Q163 21:13 (?)
חפשות	“separation”	BH (x1): 2 Chr 26:21 (cf. 2 Kgs 15:5)
ידדות	“beloved”	BH (x1): Jer 12:7
ילדות	“youth”	BH (x3): Ps 110:3; Qoh 11:9, 10 QH (x1): 4Q202 1:ii:21
כבדות	“heaviness”	BH (x1): Exod 14:25
כלמות	“disgrace”	BH (x1): Jer 23:40
כסות	“covering”	BH (x8): Gen 20:16; Exod 21:10; 22:26; Deut 22:12; Isa 50:3; Job 24:7; 26:6; 31:19 QH (x5): 4Q270 3:iii:20; 4Q381 15:10; 4Q416 2:ii:19; 4Q417 2:ii+23:24; 4:ii:1
כסילות	“stupidity”	BH (x1): Prov 9:13
כריתות	“divorce”	BH (x4): Deut 24:1, 3; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8
לזות	“perversity”	BH (x1): Prov 4:24
מלאכות	“message”	BH (x1): Hag 1:13

Word	Gloss	References
מלכות	"kingdom"	BH (x91): Num 24:7; 1 Sam 20:31; 1 Kgs 2:12; Jer 10:7; 49:34; 52:31; Pss 45:7; 103:19; 145:11, 12, 13 (x2); Qoh 4:14; Esth 1:2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 19 (x2), 20; 2:3, 16 (x2), 17; 3:6, 8; 4:14; 5:1 (x3), 3, 6; 6:8 (x2); 7:2; 8:15; 9:30; Dan 1:1, 20; 2:1; 8:1, 22, 23; 9:1; 10:13; 11:2, 4 (x2), 9, 17, 20, 21 (x2); Ezra 1:1; 4:5, 6 (x2); 7:1; 8:1; Neh 9:35; 12:22; 1 Chr 11:10; 12:24; 14:2; 17:11, 14; 22:10; 26:31; 28:5, 7; 29:25, 30; 2 Chr 1:1, 18; 2:11; 3:2; 7:18; 11:17; 12:1; 15:10, 19; 16:1, 12; 20:30; 29:19; 33:13; 35:19; 36:20, 22 BS (x2): 10:8; 44:3 QH (x52): 1QSb 3:5; 4:26; 5:21; 1QM 12:7, 15 (?); 19:7, 8; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 3:27; 4Q169 3-4:iv:3; 4Q172 3:2; 4Q200 6:5; 4Q252 5:2, 4; 4Q286 7:i:5; 4Q287 2:11 (?); 4Q299 9:3; 4Q301 5:2; 4Q365 K:2; 4Q381 19:i:5; 4Q388a 7:ii:4; 4Q400 1:ii:1, 3; 2:1, 3, 4; 4Q401 1-2:4; 14:i:6, 7; 32:2; 4Q403 1:i:8, 14, 25, 32, 33; 1:ii:10; 4Q405 3:ii:4; 7:3; 20:ii-22:2; 23:i:3; 23:iii:11; 24:1, 3; 35:4; 4Q458 2:ii:6; 4Q492 1:8; 4Q509 51:1; 4Q510 1:4; 4Q521 2:ii+4:7; 12:2; 4Q524 6-13:3; 11Q19 59:17, 21
ממלכות	"kingdom"	BH (x9): Josh 13:12, 21, 27, 30, 31; 1 Sam 15:28; 2 Sam 16:3; Jer 26:1; Hos 1:4 QH (x2): 4Q491 16:3; 4Q503 33:i+34:8 (?)
מסכנות	"poverty"	BH (x1): Deut 8:9
מצות	"strife"	BH (x1): Isa 41:12 BS (x1): 31:26
מרדנות/מרדנות	"rebelliousness"	BH (x1): 1 Sam 20:30 BS (x2): 33:24 (?); 42:8 (?) QH (x1): 4Q181 1:2
מרירות	"bitterness"	BH (x1): Ezek 21:11 QH (x1): 4Q418 200:1
נאמנות	"trustworthiness"	QH (x4): CD 7:5; 14:2; 19:1; 4Q159 2-4:9
נבונות	"understanding"	QH (x2): 4Q384 21:1; 4Q417 1:ii:14
נבלות	"foolishness"	QH (x4): 1QS 10:22; 4Q163 26:2; 4Q166 2:10; 4Q260 5:3
נערו	"youth"	BS (x3): 30:12; 51:14, 28
סכלות/שכלות	"folly"	BH (x7): Qoh 1:17; 2:3, 12, 13; 7:25; 10:1, 13 BS (x1): 11:16 QH (x3): 1QS 7:14; 4Q266 10:ii:12; 4Q270 7:i:4
עבדות	"slavery"	BH (x3): Ezra 9:8, 9; Neh 9:17

Word	Gloss	References
עדות	“decree”	BH (x83): Exod 16:34; 25:16, 21, 22; 26:33, 34; 27:21; 30:6 (x2), 26, 36; 31:7, 18; 32:15; 34:29; 38:21; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 20, 21; Lev 16:13; 24:3; Num 1:50, 53 (x2); 4:5; 7:89; 9:15; 10:11; 17:19, 22, 23, 25; 18:2; Deut 4:45; 6:17, 20; Josh 4:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 11:12; 17:15; 23:3; Jer 44:23; Pss 19:8; 25:10; 60:1; 78:5, 56; 80:1; 81:6; 93:5; 99:7; 119:2, 14, 22, 24, 31, 36, 46, 59, 79, 88, 95, 99, 111, 119, 125, 129, 138, 144, 146, 152, 157, 167, 168; 122:4; 132:12; Neh 9:34; 1 Chr 29:19; 2 Chr 23:11; 24:6; 34:31 BS (x4): 31:23 (x2); 36:20; 45:5 QH (x11): CD 3:15; 20:31; 1Q22 1:iii:1; 4Q287 9:13; 4Q364 17:3; 4Q372 1:28; 4Q375 1:iii:7; 4Q379 18:6; 4Q418 120:1; 4Q471 2:2; 4Q522 22-25:3
עזות	“strength”	BS (x1): 10:18
עליצות	“arrogance”	BH (x1): Hab 3:14
ענות	“affliction”	BH (x1): Ps 22:25
עצלות	“idleness”	BH (x1): Prov 31:27
עקשות	“crookedness”	BH (x2): Prov 4:24; 6:12
עשתות	“thought”	BH (x1): Job 12:5
פדות	“redemption”	BH (x4): Exod 8:19; Isa 50:2; Ps 111:9; 130:7 QH (x18): 1QM 1:12; 11:9; 14:5, 10; 15:1; 17:6; 18:11; 4Q266 11:13; 16:11 (?); 4Q269 16:11 (?); 4Q365 6a:ii+6c:6; 4Q446 1:5; 3:2; 4Q468y 1:4; 4Q491 8-10:i:8; 11:ii:14; 4Q503 1-6:iii:8; 4Q511 63-64:ii:1
פחזות	“recklessness”	BH (x1): Jer 23:32
פלצות	“horror”	BH (x4): Isa 21:4; Ezek 7:18; Ps 55:6; Job 21:6 QH (x3): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 11:11, 12; 16:38 (?)
פקדות	“supervision”	BH (x1): Jer 37:13
פתיות	“simplicity”	BH (x1): Prov 9:13
צמיתות	“perpetuity”	BH (x2): Lev 25:23, 30
קדרות	“darkness”	BH (x1): Isa 50:3 QH (x1): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 13:31
קוממיות	“uprightness”	BH (x1): Lev 26:13
ראות	“looking”	BH (x1): Qoh 5:10 ( <i>Qere</i> ) QH: cf. 1QSa 2:7
רוממות	“uplifting”	BH (x1): Isa 33:6
רמות	“height”	BH (x1): Ezek 32:5
רעות	“striving”	BH (x7): Qoh 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 6; 6:9
רפאות	“healing”	BH (x1): Prov 3:8 BS (x1): 38:14 QH (x1): 4Q286 1:ii:5

Word	Gloss	References
רשות	“authority”	QH (x3): 1QM 12:4; 4Q491 1-3:3; 8-10:i:5
שבות	“captivity”	BH (x32): Num 21:29 (?); Deut 30:3; Jer 29:14; 30:3, 18; 31:23; 32:44; 33:7 (x2), 11, 26; 48:47; 49:6, 39; Ezek 16:53 (x5); 29:14; 39:25; Hos 6:11; Joel 4:1; Amos 9:14; Zeph 2:7; 3:20; Pss 14:7; 53:7; 85:2; 126:4; Job 42:10; Lam 2:14 QH (x1): 4Q485 1:4
שחרות	“blackness”	BH (x1): Qoh 11:10
שלמות	“completion”	QH (x2): 4Q387 2:ii:3; 4Q391 62:ii:2
שפלות	“lowness”	BH (x1): Qoh 10:18
שררות	“stubbornness”	BH (x10): Deut 29:18; Jer 3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:8; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17; Ps 81:13 QH (x26): CD 2:17; 3:5, 11; 8:8, 19; 19:20, 33; 20:9; 1QS 1:6; 2:14, 26; 3:3; 5:4; 7:19, 24; 9:10; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 12:15; 2Q28 2:4; 4Q257 3:4; 4Q258 1:4; 4Q266 5:ii:11; 4Q390 1:12; 4Q393 3:3, 5; 4Q487 1:ii:3; 5Q13 23:3
תזנות	“prostitution”	BH (x20): Ezek 16:15, 20, 22, 25, 26, 29, 33, 34, 36; 23:7, 8 (x2), 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 29, 35, 43
תמהות	“amazement”	BS (x1): 42:4
תעות	“error”	QH (x14): 1QS 3:21; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 10:14; 12:7 (?), 12, 16, 20; C1:4; 4Q171 1-2:ii:9; 1+3-4:iii:3; 4Q216 2:11; 4Q223-224 2:ii:8; 4Q266 14f:2; 4Q381 79:5; 4Q430 1:4
תרבות	“increase”	BH (x1): Num 32:14 QH (x1): 4Q172 3:2
תרמות	“deceit”	BH (x1): Jer 14:14 (cf. Jer 8:5; 23:26; Zeph 3:13; Ps 119:118)

The preceding table lists eighty-one unique abstract nouns in *-ūt*. BH has approximately sixty-four nouns of this type with 400 total occurrences, Ben Sira has fourteen with twenty-four occurrences, and the DSS have thirty five with 214 occurrences. Therefore in the entire corpus we have documented 638 tokens. It is interesting to observe that most of the eighty-one unique nouns are attested in only one of these three corpora: thirty nine in BH, six in Ben Sira, eleven in the DSS. One item is shared by BH and Ben Sira and seventeen are found in both BH and the DSS. Only seven of these nouns are attested in all three corpora (זנות, חזות, חזות, מלכות, מרדאת/מרדות, מלכות/סכלות, שכלות/עדות, רפאות, עדות) and three of these are among the five most common overall (first: מלכות; second: עדות; fifth: זנות).

What we really want to know, however, is whether this noun formation increases in “later” Second Temple writings (“late” BH, Ben Sira, DSS). This is what Blau, Kutscher, Qimron, and others lead us to believe. But is it true? To

test this hypothesis we have calculated and normalized the number of tokens of abstract nouns in *-ūt* to the common base of 500 words (cf. chapter 7, 7.3.7).<sup>6</sup> Our findings are displayed in the following figure.

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<sup>6</sup> “Words” here means morphemes (e.g., *וַיְבִיִּים* is four words), not graphic units (e.g., *וַיְבִיִּים* is one graphic unit). For BH we used BibleWorks to calculate the words in each biblical book and book section. For Ben Sira and the DSS we relied on Accordance. These programs produce similar but not identical results. We do not claim that the results are absolutely precise, but the figures for each source are comparable since the same method is used for each one. Finally, based on Verheij’s work and our own independent calculations we count Chronicles as 40% synoptic and 60% non-synoptic (Verheij, *Verbs*, 32).

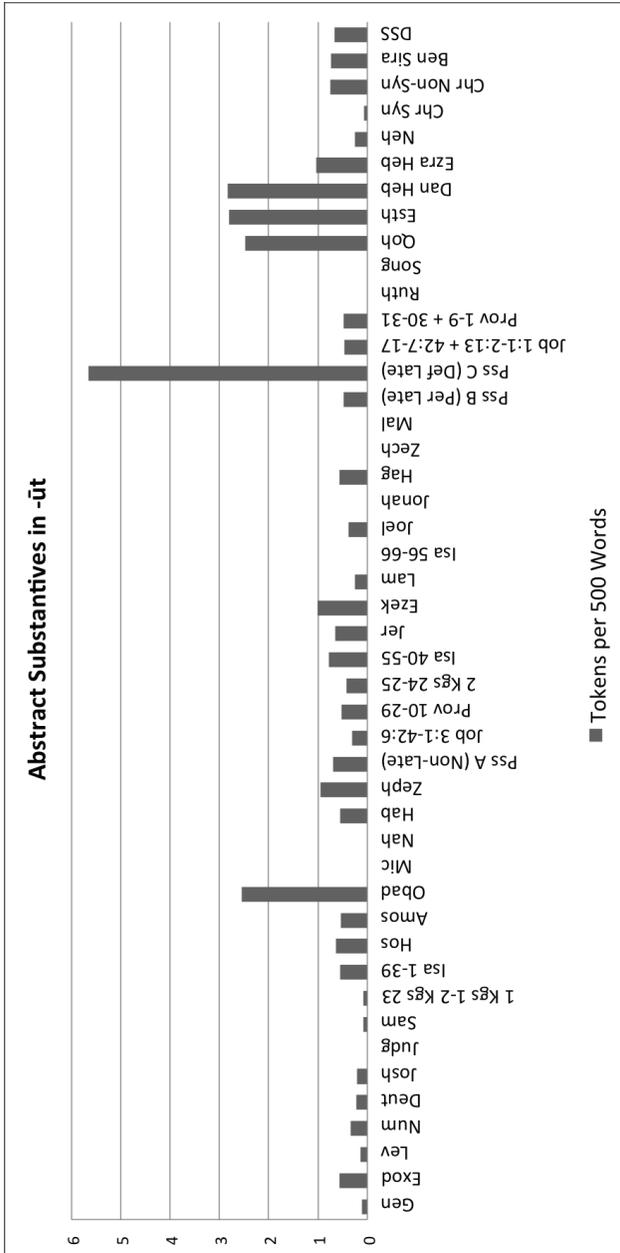


Figure 9.1

The most evident aspect of this figure is the elevated concentration of *-ūt* forms in “late” psalms, Qoheleth, Esther, and Daniel.<sup>7</sup> This distribution is usually cited in support of the diffusion of nouns of this type in later Hebrew. Others mention Chronicles in this regard (e.g., Kutscher), but actually Chronicles does not have very many unique nouns (4) or total tokens (34; non-synoptic: 32) in relation to its size. Furthermore, other “late” writings do not give impressive results either, for example, Ezra, Ben Sira, and the DSS. We will refine various parts of this characterization below (e.g., individual Qumran scrolls), but before that there is a crucial aspect of this issue that we have not seen other Hebraists discuss, namely, that several individual words distort the results. For example, the high concentration of forms in “definite late” psalms is due to five occurrences of מלכות in Pss 103 and 145, and twenty-three examples of עדות in Ps 119. In fact, the single noun מלכות, which is by far the most frequent noun of this kind (see above), seriously skews scholarly views of abstract nouns in *-ūt*. The following figure displays our findings if we remove only מלכות from consideration (Obadiah and “definite late” Psalms can be ignored for the reasons mentioned):

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<sup>7</sup> Obadiah is a very short book (Accordance: 388 words; BibleWorks: 392 words) and has only one noun (גלית) of this type with two occurrences. We will not include it in this discussion.

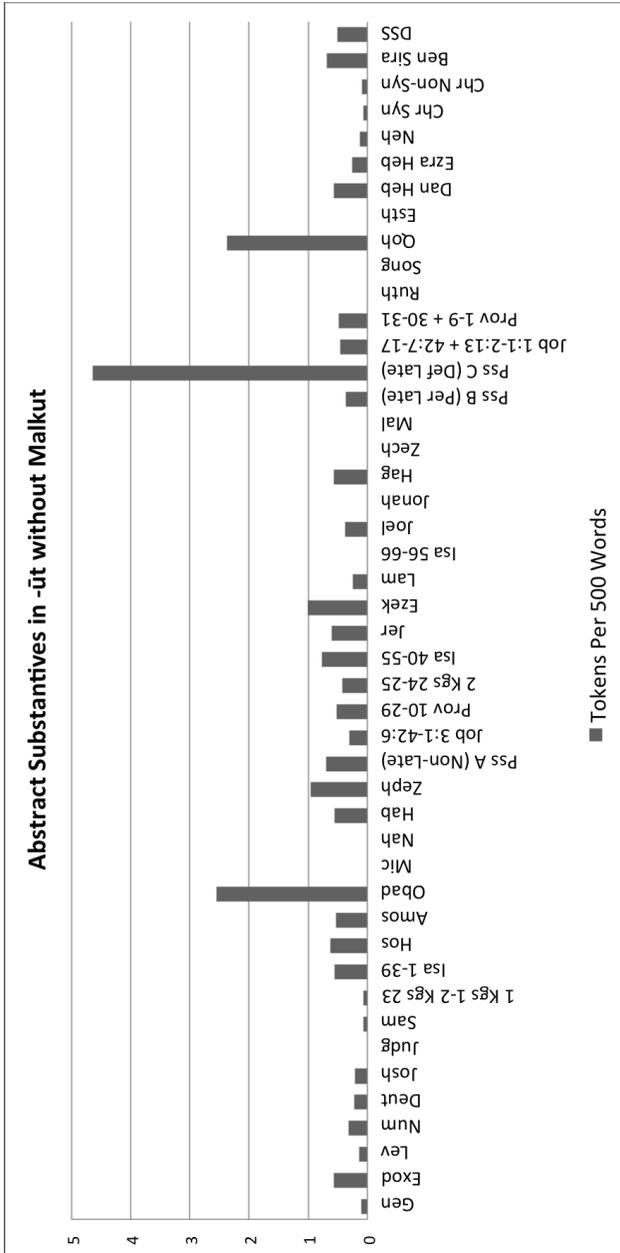


Figure 9.2

When we remove מלכות the result is drastically different and, strikingly, *-ūt* forms disappear almost completely from “late” biblical writings. In fact, Esther has none. Only Qoheleth, a book that many date to the postexilic period, is left with a significant concentration of examples. However here we should also ask the additional question: Does this concentration in Qoheleth relate to chronology, or genre, or subject matter, or some other factor, or a combination of these? We do not know the answer. But it is interesting that some of the Prophetic and Wisdom books, including Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs, and Qoheleth, have high rates of unique nouns and total tokens, and chronology (i.e., natural diffusion), or at least chronology alone, would not seem to be a convincing explanation. In summary, the data do not appear to support the conventional view that the suffix *-ūt* is especially prominent in “later” (premišnaic) Hebrew sources.<sup>8</sup> That judgment could apply only to מלכות, to which we now turn.

Among the most widely discussed items in diachronic studies of BH is מלכות (“kingdom”). It has the status of being “a classic illustration” of language variation and change in ancient Hebrew and is nearly regarded as an unambiguous indicator of postexilic Hebrew or “a useful barometer” for linguistic comparison.<sup>9</sup> The distribution of מלכות (x91 in BH—the most common abstract noun in *-ūt* attested in BH, and in ancient Hebrew generally) is contrasted with ממלכה (x117) and sometimes also with ממלכות (x9) and מלוכה (x24).<sup>10</sup> The figures overleaf give the frequencies of ממלכה and מלכות, and the

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<sup>8</sup> This conclusion was reached previously by Cohen and Rezetko: Cohen, “Diachrony,” 371–73; Rezetko, “Dating,” 224; cf. JM §88Mj, pp. 242–43; H. R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (SBLDS 37; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 79–80; W. J. Martin, “The Hebrew of Daniel,” in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (ed. D. J. Wiseman; London: Tyndale, 1965), 28–30 (28).

<sup>9</sup> The most recent and/or thorough discussions are in *LDBT* 1:21–22, 83–91; Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 31–34, 157–59; Drescher, “Methodological,” 24–26, 29–31, 33–36; Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 318–25; Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 165–70; idem, *Transition*, 79–88, 110–13, 175–76; Kim, *Early*, 133–40; C. J. Moyer, “Literary and Linguistic Studies in *Sefer Bil’am* (Numbers 22–24)” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2009), 160–62; F. H. Polak, “Sociolinguistics: A Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Tradition,” *HS* 47 (2006): 115–62 (121 n. 23); Polzin, *Late*, 142; Rooker, *Biblical*, 56–57; C. J. Smith, “‘With an Iron Pen and a Diamond Tip’: Linguistic Peculiarities of the Book of Jeremiah” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2003), 137–43; Wright, *Linguistic*, 7, 135–37.

<sup>10</sup> For discussions of these words in BH and Biblical Aramaic see BDB 574–75, 1100 (Aramaic); *Concise DCH* 222, 224–25; *DCH* 5:292, 323–25, 331–33; *HALOT* 2:587–88, 592–93, 595, 1917–18 (Aramaic); *NIDOTTE* 2:956–65; *TDNT* 1:564–93 (especially 565–74); *TDOT* 8:346–75; *TLOT* 2:672–80. Hornkohl includes the infinitive construct מְלִכּוּ in the discussion of מלכות, but we do not believe it fits here, and in any case its distribution in mainly Kings//Chronicles (59 of 73 in BH) has no effect on the

percentage of מלכות relative to both nouns, in the MT Bible (Hebrew and Aramaic), Ben Sira, the DSS (Hebrew and Aramaic), and the Mishnah. Below we discuss the other variants, ממלכות and מלוכה.<sup>11</sup>

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argument made here. Several scholars believe there is a semantic distinction between ממלכה and מלכות or that the meaning of מלכות developed from “dominion, kingship” to “kingdom” (Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 31–34; J. Carmignac, “Hebrew Translations of the Lord’s Prayer: An Historical Survey,” in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford Lasor* [ed. G. A. Tuttle; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978], 18–79 [61–62]; cf. *NIDOTTE* 2:957–58). However, while allowance has to be made for different contextual uses, a precise distinction is not maintained in lexica, translations, commentaries, and so on. As a comprehensive term the meaning of מלכות is “indistinguishable” from that of ממלכה (*TDOT* 8:360).

<sup>11</sup> ממלכות: Josh 13:12, 21, 27, 30, 31; 1 Sam 15:28; 2 Sam 16:3; Jer 26:1; Hos 1:4; מלוכה: 1 Sam 10:16, 25; 11:14; 14:47; 18:8; 2 Sam 12:26; 16:8; 1 Kgs 1:46; 2:15 (x2), 22; 11:35; 12:21; 21:7; 2 Kgs 25:25; Isa 34:12; 62:3; Jer 41:1; Ezek 16:13; 17:13; Obad 21; Ps 22:29; Dan 1:3; 1 Chr 10:14.

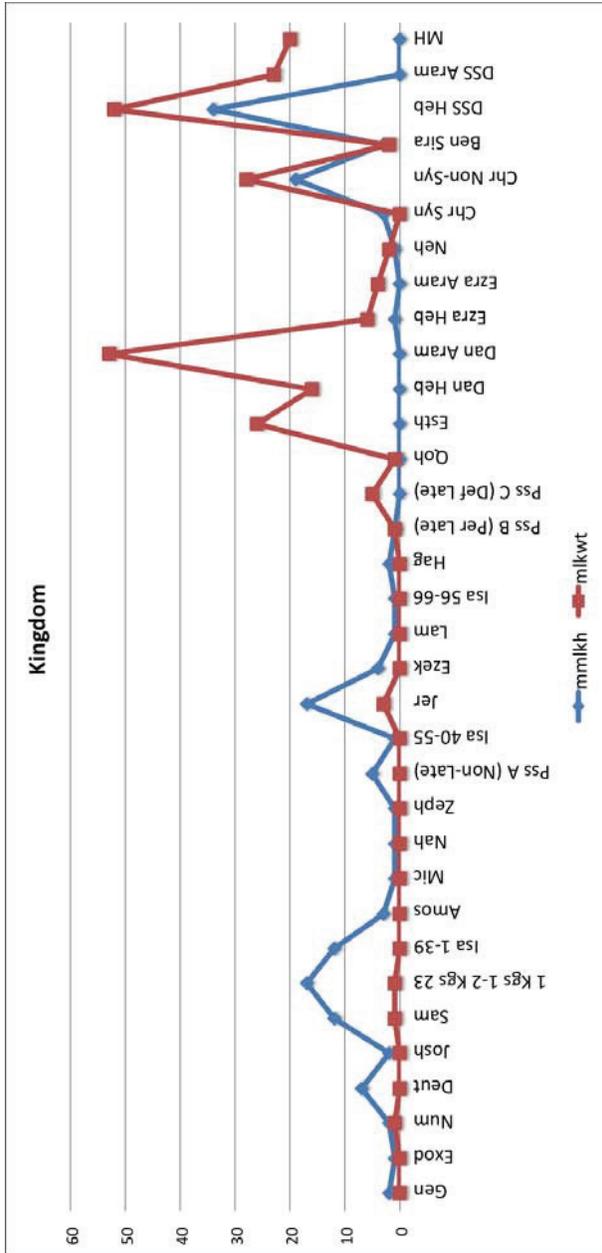


Figure 9.3

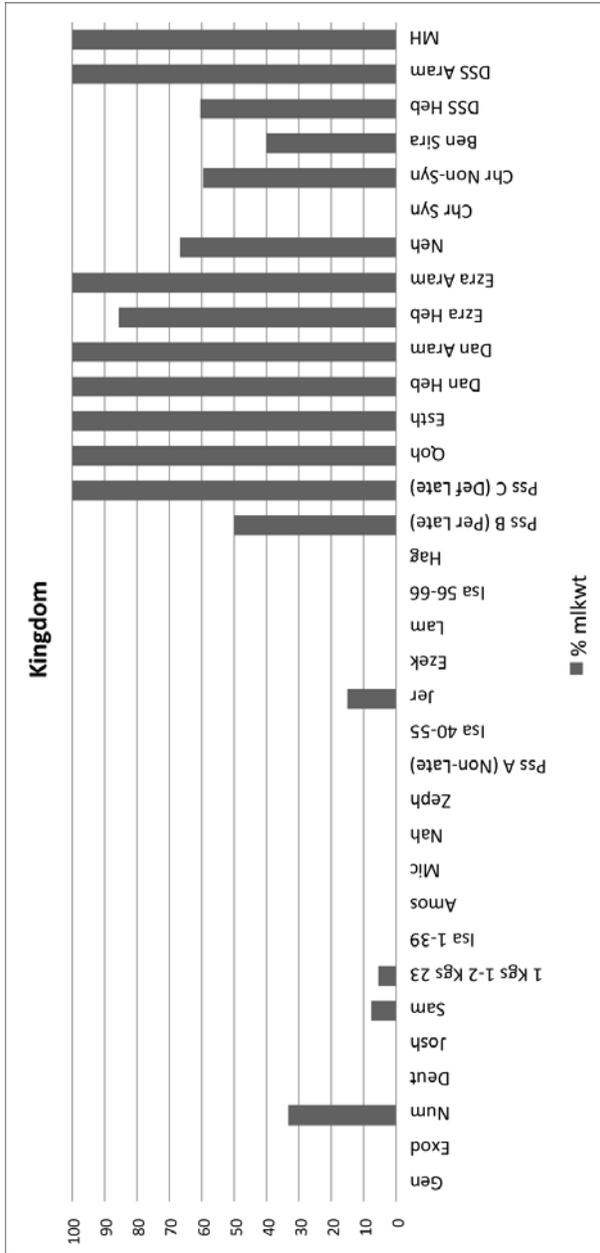


Figure 9.4

Looking at the line chart it is remarkable that if we disregard ממלכה in non-synoptic Chronicles and the Hebrew DSS we see nearly categorical distribution, or almost absolute contrast, between מלכות in Esther–Chronicles, Ben Sira, the DSS, and MH, and ממלכה in books like Deuteronomy, Samuel, Kings, I Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Such categoricity is unattested for other abstract nouns in *-ūt* or for most other lexical and grammatical phenomena generally.<sup>12</sup> Indeed there are only six examples of מלכות in the entirety of the MT Torah and Prophets (Genesis–Malachi): Num 24:7; 1 Sam 20:31; 1 Kgs 2:12; Jer 10:7; 49:34; 52:31. We will return to the others below, but the example in “early” Numbers is often credited to its appearance in poetry (genre) or in the speech of an Aramean (dialect) or both together.<sup>13</sup> The noun מלכו (determined: מלכותא) is the standard Aramaic word for “kingdom,” used in Biblical and Qumran Aramaic (see above), and indeed in all periods and dialects of the language.<sup>14</sup>

A minor point of contrast in “exilic” and “postexilic” BH is the appearance of ממלכה only in II–III Isaiah (x2), Ezekiel (x4), Haggai (x2), and Lamentations (x1). However nine tokens in four books do not weigh very heavy, though they do indicate that “late” writers were not “obliged” to use מלכות, that is, ממלכה was a possible alternative. More significant in this regard is the preference for ממלכה in Jeremiah (17–3) and Ben Sira (3–2), and the frequent use of both nouns in non-synoptic Chronicles (19–28) and the DSS (34–52). We will also return below to some of these books. However the DSS merit further attention at this point.

In the figures above we tabulated the DSS as a single corpus, which is akin to taking the entire Bible as one body of literature. We have argued that this approach, which is common in studies of BH, is problematic and should be avoided (see chapter 7, 7.3.6, 7.3.7, 7.5). What happens when we break down the distribution in the scrolls?

<sup>12</sup> One might compare, for instance, the distributions of עדות (“decree”), גלות (“exile”; e.g., גולה, תונות and זנות (“prostitution”; e.g., זוננים, חזון (“vision”; e.g., חזון), and עבודה (“work”; e.g., עבודה) in BH and other writings. A similar situation holds for the spelling of “David” which also shows a high degree of categoricity (see Qumran Samuel, 2.1). In general though מלכות and דויד are the exceptions rather than the rule (see chapter 8, 8.1.2; *LDBT* 1:83–90, 111–19).

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Moyer, “Literary,” 160–62; G. A. Rendsburg, “Linguistic Variation and the ‘Foreign’ Factor in the Hebrew Bible,” in *Language and Culture in the Near East* (ed. S. Izre’el and R. Drory; IOS 15; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 177–90 (183–84).

<sup>14</sup> *HALOT* 5:1917; J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (2 vols.; HO 21; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 2:644; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reicharamäischen Inschriften, Band 1: Konkordanz* (FoSub 4; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 514. ממלכה and מלכות are unattested in Aramaic, though there are apparently several examples of מלוכה in Imperial Aramaic (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *Dictionary*, 2:632, 646–47; Schwiderski, *Inschriften*, 506).

Scrolls with מלכות and ממלכה	1QH <sup>a</sup> (1–1); 4Q169 (1–1); 4Q401 (2–4); 4Q403 (1–6); 4Q405 (3–8); 11Q19 (1–2)—6 scrolls, 31 tokens (9–22)
Scrolls with מלכות only	1QSb (x3); 1QM (x4); 4Q172 (x1); 4Q200 (x1); 4Q252 (x2); 4Q286 (x1); 4Q287 (x1); 4Q299 (x1); 4Q301 (x1); 4Q365 (x1); 4Q381 (x1); 4Q388a (x1); 4Q400 (x5); 4Q458 (x1); 4Q492 (x1); 4Q509 (x1); 4Q510 (x1); 4Q521 (x2); 4Q524 (x1)—19 scrolls, 30 tokens
Scrolls with ממלכה only	4Q160 (x1); 4Q174 (x1); 4Q176 (x1); 4Q378 (x1); 4Q382 (x1); 4Q385a (x1); 4Q387a (x4); 4Q389 (x3); 4Q390 (x1); 4Q392 (x2); 4Q393 (x1); 4Q416 (x1); 4Q418 (x1); 4Q448 (x2); 4Q462 (x1); 6Q9 (x1); 11Q16 (x1); 11Q17 (x1)—18 scrolls, 25 tokens

We must be cautious because we are dealing with a relatively small number of tokens overall (86; 34–52), usually with single occurrences, and only one manuscript with ten or more (4Q405), but even so it is evident that מלכות and ממלכה mainly have ordered distribution in the DSS.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, this situation in the non-biblical DSS is comparable to what we see in the MT Bible (see above). This evidence cannot be dismissed easily since the scrolls are our earliest and actually only dated and localized manuscript evidence for ancient literary Hebrew.<sup>16</sup> A couple of examples of ממלכה could be attributed to a citation of biblical material (Nah 3:5 in 4Q169 3-4:ii:11; 2 Sam 7:12 in 4Q174 1-2:i:10). But this does not seem very likely elsewhere. Fragments of the pseudepigraphic work Pseudo-Moses are particularly interesting (Pseudo-Moses<sup>a-e</sup>; 4Q385a, 387a, 388a, 389, 390).<sup>17</sup> These attest eight or nine examples of ממלכה and one of מלכות.<sup>18</sup> In several cases the fragments overlap. Thus we

<sup>15</sup> By “ordered distribution” we do not mean “complementary distribution.” The latter refers to two different elements that are used in different environments. Our point is that the distribution of the variants is not indiscriminate: some writings use one variant, some use the other, and some use both. There are many other examples of ordered distribution in Qumran texts, for example, הוּא and הוּאָה, אִשָּׁר and אִשָּׁרָה, and so on.

<sup>16</sup> But issues such as the exact dates of the manuscripts, the fact that the dates of the manuscripts are not the same as the dates of the compositions on them, and questions about the geographical origins of the scrolls found at Qumran, should be kept in mind.

<sup>17</sup> García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead*, 2:770–73, 776–85. For a discussion of the fragments see D. K. Falk, “Moses, Texts of,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:577–81 (579–80).

<sup>18</sup> 4Q385a 4:5; 4Q387 2:ii:5, 7, 9; 2:iii:1; 4Q388a 7:ii:4; 4Q389 8:ii:1 (?), 2, 10; 4Q390 1:5.

find מַמְלַכַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל in 4Q385a 4:5 and 4Q387 2:ii:7,<sup>19</sup> but in another overlap “kingdom of Egypt” is expressed differently, using מַמְלַכָּה in 4Q387 2:iii:1 but מַלְכוּת in 4Q388a 7:ii:4.<sup>20</sup> This evidence suggests that these two nouns are synonymous, or can be used synonymously. It also shows that words for “kingdom” could be “freely” selected and could alternate in manuscripts of a single composition.

Our comments above focused on the MT Bible. The other biblical versions suggest some alternative perspectives. There are no variants between the MT and SP. In one instance, however, the SP has a non-parallel example of מַמְלַכָּה (Num 27:23b). The MT and the biblical DSS disagree three times:<sup>21</sup>

- 1 Sam 15:28: MT has מַמְלְכוּת; 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has מַלְכוּת (cf. Qumran Samuel, 7.3.1)
- 1 Sam 20:31: MT has מַלְכוּתָךְ (from מַלְכוּת); 4QSam<sup>b</sup> has מַמְלַכְתְּךָ (from מַמְלַכָּה) (cf. Qumran Samuel, 7.3.2)
- Isa 39:2: MT has מִמְשַׁלְתִּי (from מַמְשָׁלָה); 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has מַמְלַכְתִּי (from מַמְלַכָּה); cf. LXX minus

The LXX offers some of the most interesting textual data. The four MT “kingdom” terms (מַמְלַכָּה, מַלְכוּת, מְלוּכָה, מַמְלְכוּת) usually correspond with βασιλεία or a cognate word in the LXX (213 of 241 times).<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere the LXX has a different word fourteen times<sup>23</sup> and a minus fourteen times.<sup>24</sup> Since it is impractical to discuss all twenty eight of these texts here we offer some observations on only Samuel, Kings, and Jeremiah.

MT Jeremiah has twenty-two tokens of the “kingdom” terms. The MT and LXX correspond in sixteen of these:<sup>25</sup> מַמְלַכָּה thirteen times,<sup>26</sup> מַמְלְכוּת once,<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> 4Q385a 4:5: [תא[בד בימים] ל[ישראל] מלכת [ומ]; 4Q387 2:ii:7: וממלכת ישראל תאבד בימים.

<sup>20</sup> 4Q387 2:iii:1: [מצרים] ממלכת את מלכות; 4Q388a 7:ii:4: בימו אשבור את מלכות מצרים.

<sup>21</sup> There is another possible variation in 2 Sam 14:9 but the Qumran manuscript is too broken to know for sure. MT: וכסאו נקי (cf. LXX<sup>B</sup> και ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἄθῳς). 4QSam<sup>c</sup>: תוכסא ממלכת] (cf. LXX<sup>L</sup> και ὁ θρόνος τοῦ βασιλέως).

<sup>22</sup> βασιλεία x178, βασιλεύς x25, βασιλεύω x4, βασιλικός x3, βασιλείος x2, βασιλισσα x1. These numbers are based on Rahlfs's edition. We have not checked these 213 texts for intra-Septuagintal variants (e.g., LXX<sup>B</sup>, LXX<sup>L</sup>).

<sup>23</sup> Deut 17:18, 20; Josh 10:2; 1 Sam 14:47; Isa 10:10; 19:2 (x2); Ezek 16:13; 29:14, 15; Esth 1:11; 2:17; 5:1; Dan 11:17. We have not checked for intra-LXX variants.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Sam 18:8; 2 Sam 7:13; 2 Kgs 15:19; Jer 10:7; 27:1; 28:1; 29:18; 34:1; 49:34; Esth 1:7; 5:1, 6; 9:30; 2 Chr 14:4. We have not checked for intra-LXX variants.

<sup>25</sup> The LXX has βασιλεία (x11) or a cognate (x5) in these passages.

<sup>26</sup> Jer 1:10, 15; 15:4; 18:7, 9; 24:9; 25:26; 27:8 [LXX 34:8]; 28:8; 34:17; 49:28; 51:20, 27.

<sup>27</sup> Jer 26:1.

once,<sup>28</sup> and מלכות once.<sup>29</sup> The last instance is in a passage that is paralleled in Kings, and there the MT has מלכו (2 Kgs 25:27; cf. appendix 1, 2.1), thus מלכות in Jer 52:31 may be editorial. MT Jeremiah has two more examples of מלכות, and those also are pluses compared to the LXX. For MT Jer 29:34 (LXX 25:14) the LXX lacks the relevant clause, and the LXX and also 4QJer<sup>b</sup> lack the entire verse of MT Jer 10:7. It is sometimes argued that these three examples of (secondary) MT pluses with מלכות support the conventional chronology, that is, “late” מלכות is used in late editorial changes. However, there are also four other places where the MT has a plus relative to the LXX, and in those we find “early” ממלכה.<sup>30</sup>

The editorial history of the beginning of Solomon’s reign in the book of Kings is complex. There are considerable variations between the Hebrew and Greek versions.<sup>31</sup> Here we are content to follow the common suggestion that the clause with the single “late” instance of מלכות in Kings, ותכן מלכתו מאד (“and his kingdom was established firmly”; 1 Kgs 2:12), was modeled after the subsequent ביד־שלמה נכונה והממלכה (“and the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon”; 1 Kgs 2:46). However, textual evidence elsewhere suggests that ממלכה too was used in editorial adaptations. MT 1 Kgs 5:1 says ושלמה היה מושל בכל־הממלכות (“and Solomon was ruling over all the kingdoms...”). However, the Septuagint and Chronicles suggest that ויהי מושל בכל־המלכים (“and Solomon was ruling over all the kings”) is the earlier form of the text.<sup>32</sup> MT 2 Kgs 15:19 also has an addition with ממלכה that is unattested in the LXX.<sup>33</sup>

Turning to Samuel, twice the MT has מלוכה (“kingdom”) where the LXX reflects either a different *Vorlage* (1 Sam 14:47: מלאכה) or a clause minus (1 Sam 18:8). In both cases MT Samuel has מלוכה, not מלכות, in late editorial changes.<sup>34</sup> In another passage MT 2 Sam 7:13 has ממלכתו, and there both

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<sup>28</sup> Jer 41:1.

<sup>29</sup> Jer 52:31.

<sup>30</sup> Jer 27:1 (LXX 34:1); 28:1 (LXX 35:1); 29:18 (LXX 36:18); 34:1 (LXX 41:1).

<sup>31</sup> See the survey in Tov, *Textual*, 306–309, and the detailed analysis in J. C. Trebolle Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboán: historia de la recensión y redacción de I Reyes 2–12, 14* (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis Dissertationes 3; Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 1980).

<sup>32</sup> LXX 1 Kgs 2:46a: καὶ ἦν ἄρχων ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν; MT 2 Chr 9:26: ויהי מושל בכל־המלכים; LXX: καὶ ἦν ἡγούμενος πάντων τῶν βασιλεύουσιν.

<sup>33</sup> The second infinitive clause, להחזיק הממלכה בידו (“to strengthen the kingdom in his hand”), supplements the first (ambiguous) one, להיות ידיו אתו (lit. “to be his hand with him”). See, for example, J. Gray, *I and II Kings: A Commentary* (3d ed.; OTL; London: SCM, 1977), 623–24; M. A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 373.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, McCarter, *I Samuel*, 253, 255, 311.

LXX Samuel and MT/LXX Chronicles have simply “his throne.”<sup>35</sup> Again it seems likely that MT Samuel has an addition with ממלכה instead of מלכות.<sup>36</sup>

The textual evidence surveyed here suggests that the view that “late” editors predictably, or even commonly, made use of “late” language, is mistaken. In fact, the opposite scenario, that “late” editors usually had recourse to “early” language, seems more common. This result might come as a surprise to some Hebraists, who reason that textual variation would “enhance” the distribution of “early” and “late” language in BH, but the result is nothing new for literary and textual critics.

A few comments on Chronicles are in order. None of Chronicles’ twenty-eight tokens of מלכות is paralleled in Samuel–Kings: twenty one are in non-synoptic material,<sup>37</sup> six correspond to ממלכה or מלך,<sup>38</sup> and one is shared with Ezra.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, Chronicles has fifteen tokens of ממלכה in non-synoptic material,<sup>40</sup> five cases of ממלכה are shared with other passages,<sup>41</sup> and twice ממלכה is parallel to another word of the same root in Kings: 1 Kgs 12:21 (המלוכה)//2 Chr 11:1 (הממלכה); 2 Kgs 11:19 (המלכים)//2 Chr 23:20 (הממלכה).

There is no clear pattern of usage throughout the whole of Chronicles. There is a tendency for the same word to be used in a pericope when the same referent is in view. Both ממלכה and מלכות are used for the Judahite kingdom. Only מלכות is used for the Persian kingdom (2 Chr 36:20, 22). However, for other kingdoms only ממלכה is used.<sup>42</sup> Compare, for example, David’s מלכות with כל-ממלכות הארצות in 1 Chr 29:30; Rehoboam’s מלכות in 2 Chr 12:1 with ממלכות הארצות in 12:8; Jehoshaphat’s מלכות in 2 Chr 20:30 with כל ממלכות הגוים in 20:6 and כל-ממלכות הארצות in 20:29; and also the Persian מלכות in 2 Chr 36:20, 22 with כל-ממלכות הארץ in 36:23. In summary, מלכות and ממלכה were options for the author(s) of Chronicles, and there seems to be some level of thematic or communicative function in their selection. In other words, conscious design or style (“change from above”) seems to be a factor.

<sup>35</sup> LXX 2 Sam 7:13: τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. MT 1 Chr 17:12: כסאו; LXX: τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, McCarter, *II Samuel*, 194.

<sup>37</sup> 1 Chr 11:10; 12:24; 22:10; 26:31; 28:5, 7; 29:25, 30; 2 Chr 1:18; 2:11; 3:2; 11:17; 12:1; 15:10, 19; 16:1, 12; 20:30; 29:19; 33:13; 36:20.

<sup>38</sup> 2 Sam 5:12//1 Chr 14:2; 2 Sam 7:12//1 Chr 17:11 (cf. 2 Sam 7:13//1 Chr 17:12, discussed above); 2 Sam 7:16//1 Chr 17:14; 1 Kgs 2:46//2 Chr 1:1; 1 Kgs 9:5//2 Chr 7:18; 2 Kgs 23:23 (מלך)//2 Chr 35:19.

<sup>39</sup> Ezra 1:1//2 Chr 36:22.

<sup>40</sup> 1 Chr 29:11, 30; 2 Chr 12:8; 13:5, 8; 14:4; 17:5, 10; 20:6, 29; 21:3, 4; 22:9; 29:21; 32:15. LXX 2 Chr 14:4 has a minus.

<sup>41</sup> 1 Kgs 10:20//2 Chr 9:19; 2 Kgs 11:1//2 Chr 22:10; 2 Kgs 14:5//2 Chr 25:3; Ps 105:13//1 Chr 16:20; Ezra 1:2//2 Chr 36:23.

<sup>42</sup> 1 Chr 16:20 (//Ps 105:13); 1 Chr 29:30; 2 Chr 9:19 (//1 Kgs 10:20); 12:8; 17:10; 20:6, 29; 32:15; 36:23 (//Ezra 1:2).

One other piece of evidence needs to be considered before we pull together the various strands of this study of מלכות. The noun מַמְלָכוֹת (not מְמַלְכוֹת) is recorded nine times in the Bible.<sup>43</sup> An interesting observation about this “curious” form is that it is always in construct, and usually with a proper noun (Og, Sihon, Israel, Jehoiakim), but once with a noun phrase (“house of Israel”) and once with “my father.” Also, we mentioned above that in one passage, 1 Sam 15:28, there is a textual variation, the MT with ממלכות and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> with מלכות. This form has been explained in various ways. For example, for some it is a “confusion” or “contamination” of ממלכה and מלכות,<sup>44</sup> or “a *forma mixta*,”<sup>45</sup> or “[une] forme hybride,”<sup>46</sup> or “a hybrid construction...traced back to the Masorettes,”<sup>47</sup> while for others it is “decidedly dialectal.”<sup>48</sup> The fragmentary reading in the War Scroll (4Q491 16:3), [ממלכות בן־הנים] (“a kingdom of pr[iests]”), seems to have gone unmentioned, and it seems to impact both sides. If מלכות (“kingdom,” not “kingdoms”) is an authentic ancient Hebrew form, attested only in what many Hebraists and biblicists would consider “early” or preexilic writings, it *could* be a hybrid form, or “blend,”<sup>49</sup> that arose due to heavy contact between ממלכה and (Aramaic) מלכות. An illustrative English example is “irrespective” + “regardless” = “irregardless.” In short, it is possible that the distribution of מלכות in BH, namely its concentration in Esther–Chronicles, reflects the literary history or usage of this word rather than its real or natural history in spoken Hebrew throughout the First and Second Temple periods.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Josh 13:12, 21, 27, 30, 31; 1 Sam 15:28; 2 Sam 16:3; Jer 26:1; Hos 1:4.

<sup>44</sup> HALOT 2:595; NIDOTTE 2:958. For example, Wellhausen would restore everywhere to the construct ממלכת of ממלכה (Wellhausen, *Text*, 100), but Driver would not (Driver, *Notes*, 128). Stuart remarks that in eighth century B.C.E. orthography both ממלכת and מלכות would have been spelled ממלכת (D. Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah* [WBC 31; Waco: Word, 1987], 29).

<sup>45</sup> Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 169.

<sup>46</sup> Schattner-Rieser, “L’hébreu,” 202–3.

<sup>47</sup> TDOT 8:360.

<sup>48</sup> Smith, “Iron Pen,” 138; cf. Rendsburg, “Comprehensive,” 27

<sup>49</sup> A “blend” or a “lexical blend” “involves a morphological compromise between two forms with identical or similar meaning which are perceived to be in competition with one another” (J. Rini, *Exploring the Role of Morphology in the Evolution of Spanish* [CILT 179; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999], 22); cf. Hock, *Principles*, 189–97; Hock and Joseph, *Language*, 161–66.

<sup>50</sup> Na’aman argues that Ḥorvat ‘Uza Ostrakon No. 5, a preexilic inscription, attests מלכות in line 8. This could be interpreted to suggest that מלכות was more prominent in First Temple period Hebrew than the biblical writings conventionally dated to that period lead us to believe. For discussion of the reading in the inscription see N. Na’aman, “A New Look at the Epigraphic Finds from Ḥorvat ‘Uza,” *TA* 39 (2012): 84–101 (89–90).

In the preceding paragraphs we have reviewed various issues that should guide any depiction of the history of מלכות: distribution in BH and in individual books, distribution in the DSS and in individual writings, variants in the MT, SP, biblical DSS, and LXX, usage in Chronicles, and the blend ממלכות. On the face of it, it seems likely that in the history of ancient Hebrew מלכות gradually became more predominant, and probably due to Aramaic influence. That said, it can now be appreciated that the widely-held conclusion that has been drawn from this plausible general history, namely that מלכות is a diagnostic feature of late Hebrew and can be used to date biblical writings relative to one another, was premature and optimistic. The main reason for our conclusion is that late writers and editors of biblical and other Hebrew writings also had frequent and sometimes consistent recourse to ממלכה. On the whole, then, the present and Kim's variationist studies reach a similar conclusion. Kim concluded that the distribution of these words in ancient Hebrew reflects "an authentic linguistic change," but "since this change was one from above social awareness, or a conscious change," it "may not be understood to be a reliable indicator of the chronology of BH."<sup>51</sup> The main difference between his and our conclusion is that we have emphasized more the "availability" of ממלכה to late writers and editors. It is the "overlap" between ממלכה and מלכות and individual conscious selection or avoidance that make (relative) linguistic dating impossible.

As far as we know Dresher has undertaken the only other variationist study of מלכות. Although we do not agree with his overall conclusion, he makes an important point about מלכות that should be kept in mind: "As we saw with the Mercian glosses, changes begin at different times in different places and move at different rates. Therefore, we do not expect every variable feature to give us the same profile as *mamlākā* and *malkūt*."<sup>52</sup> This is well stated and it coincides with our earlier observations that different changes underway usually do not progress at the same rate and individual speakers/writers may be progressive in their use of some items but conservative with regard to others (see chapter 7). Furthermore, we have emphasized that מלכות is exceptional because its near-categorical distribution in literary writings is unattested for most other lexical and grammatical phenomena. Therefore it is an error to use מלכות as "a classic illustration" of language variation and change in ancient Hebrew, and it is a mistake to generalize from מלכות to other linguistic phenomena or to whole compositions. Furthermore, the history of מלכות and the history of abstract nouns in ות- seem to have very different histories, and now we can see clearly that in previous publications the reconstruction of the latter has depended too heavily on the former.

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<sup>51</sup> Kim, *Early*, 139–40.

<sup>52</sup> Dresher, "Methodological," 36.

## 9.3. PRONOMINAL ENDINGS –OTAM AND –OTEYHEM (םֻּ- AND הֵיָהֶם-)

A morphological feature that has garnered a lot of attention is variation between the third masculine plural endings םֻּ- and הֵיָהֶם-.<sup>53</sup> These endings alternate on feminine plural nouns ending in ת- and on masculine plural nouns that take the feminine plural ending in ות-. Hurvitz, whose discussion is routinely cited, describes the conventional view of the distribution of these forms in ancient Hebrew: “Now the interchange of the two morphemes involved is not simply a free stylistic variation. Underlying this shift is a gradual—but consistent—linguistic process, in which one grammatical form [e.g., אבותם] is replaced by another [e.g., אבותיהם]...the distribution of the *-ōthēyhēm* [sic] ending clearly characterizes the late literature, both in the Bible and outside it.”<sup>54</sup> In addition to the statistics of distribution in BH, various parallel passages are cited where the “later” form interchanges with (or “replaces”) the “early” one (see below), and it is argued that the longer form is a redundant expression of

<sup>53</sup> There are also five examples of the feminine plural endings ותן- and ותיהן- in MT Ezek 1:11; 16:47; 23:4 (x2), 36 and quite a few others in the Mishnah (see below). These numbers are included in this study.

<sup>54</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 25; cf. 24–27; idem, “Terminological,” 113–15. Additional discussions of this morphological issue are GKC §91n, p. 259; JM §94g, pp. 264–65; Blau, *Phonology*, 174–75; J. F. Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (ed. F. Mühlau; 2 vols.; Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1866–1868), 2:42; A. Cohen, “מְבֹרָךְ” (Hebrew), *BM* 61 (1975): 303–5; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, “Linguistic Evidence for the Date of Lamentations,” *JANES* 26 (1998): 1–36 (19–20); Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 135–42; Kim, *Early*, 99–107; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 445, 451; Moyer, “Literary,” 163–65; G. A. Rendsburg, “Aramaic-Like Features in the Pentateuch,” *HS* 47 (2006): 163–76 (171 n. 26); Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 141; Smith, “Iron Pen,” 69–72; Wright, *Linguistic*, 26–30; cf. A. Sperber, “Hebrew Based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission,” *HUCA* 14 (1939): 153–249 (216). Studies with a different perspective include M. Bar-Asher, “The Language of Qumran between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew (a Study in Morphology)” (Hebrew), in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 2* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Dimant; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 2004), 137–49; translated in idem, “Qumran Hebrew between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrews: A Morphological Study,” in M. Bar-Asher, *Studies in Classical Hebrew* (SJ 71; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 139–51; idem, “The Study of Mishnaic Hebrew Based on Written Sources: Achievements, Problems, and Tasks,” in *Studies in Mishnaic Hebrew* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and S. E. Fassberg; ScrHier 37; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998), 9–42 (18–19); reprinted in idem, *Studies in Classical Hebrew* (SJ 71; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 263–91 (270–71); Qimron, *Hebrew*, 63; idem, “The Third Person Masculine Plural Pronoun and Pronominal Suffix in Early Hebrew,” in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources* (ed. S. E. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 108; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 181–88 (188); Rezetko, “Qumran,” 56–59; cf. *LDBT* 1:41, 76; 2:156; cf. 1:128, 132, 135, 156, 273, 287; 2:173.

plurality and may have advanced under the influence of the Aramaic pronominal suffix **הם** (הון-).<sup>55</sup> Finally, the usual (or “suitable”) illustration of the variation in biblical and postbiblical Hebrew is **אבותיהם** vs. **אבותם**. (Compare **מלכות** as the standard illustration in treatments of abstract nouns in ות-.)

The following table gives the raw data for all the relevant occurrences of *-otam* and *-oteyhem* that we have found in BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS. *Kethiv/Qere* variants are counted only once. Items that are problematic for textual or interpretative reasons are followed by a question mark. When the same word occurs with both *-otam* and *-oteyhem* in the same writing (e.g., both **אבותם** and **אבותיהם** in Chronicles) the references are in bold.

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<sup>55</sup> Some include in their discussion the forms **אתהם/אתם**, **בהם/בם**, **עמהם/עמם**, and **תחתיים/תחתם**.

<b>Table 9.3</b>			
<b>Suffixes –otam and –oteyhem</b>			
<b>in the Hebrew Bible (MT), Ben Sira, and the Dead Sea Scrolls</b>			
Word	Gloss	–otam	–oteyhem
אב	“father”	BH (x107): Exod 4:5; 6:14; Lev 26:39, 40; Num 1:2, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 45, 47; 2:2, 32; 3:15, 20; 4:2, 22, 29, 34, 38, 40, 42, 46; 7:2; 14:23; 17:17, 18, 21; 26:2, 55; 34:14 (x2); Deut 10:11; 29:24; 31:7; Josh 1:6; 4:21; 5:6; 21:43, 44; 22:14; Judg 2:12, 17, 19, 20, 22; 3:4; 21:22; <b>1 Kgs 8:34, 48; 9:9; 14:22; 2 Kgs 17:14, 15, 41; 21:8, 15; Isa 14:21; Jer 7:26; 9:13, 15; 11:10 (x2); 16:3, 15; 23:27; 30:3; 31:32; 32:22; Ezek 2:3; 5:10; 20:4, 24; Amos 2:4; Mal 3:24; Ps 78:12, 57; Job 8:8; 15:18; 30:1; Prov 17:6; <b>Ezra 2:59; 10:16; Neh 7:61; 1 Chr 5:15, 24 (x2); 7:2, 4, 9; 9:13; 12:31; 24:4; 26:13; 2 Chr 6:38; 28:6</b> BS (x1): 8:9 QH (x5): 4Q177 1-4:11; 4Q365 35:ii:4; 4Q368 5:3; 4Q383 A:3; 4Q434 1:ii:3</b>	BH (x33): <b>1 Kgs 14:15; Jer 19:4; 24:10; 50:7; Ezra 8:1; Neh 9:2, 23; 1 Chr 4:38; 5:13, 25; 6:4; 9:9, 19; 23:24; 24:30; 29:20; 2 Chr 6:25; 7:22; 11:16; 13:18; 14:3; 15:12; 17:14; 19:4; 20:33; 24:18, 24; 30:7, 22; 31:17; 34:32, 33; 36:15</b> QH (x4): 4Q385a 18:ia-b:9; 4Q390 1:7; 11Q19 59:12; PAM 43.679 7:4
אגרת	“letter”		BH (x1): Neh 6:17
אוצר	“treasure”	BH (x1): Isa 30:6	BH (x1): Prov 8:21
אות	“sign”	BH (x2): Ps 74:4; Job 21:29 QH (x8): 1QS 3:14; 1QpHab 6:4; 1QM 4:6, 7, 8, 11, 13; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 20:8	
אחות	“sister”		BH (x2): Job 1:4; 1 Chr 2:16
אם	“mother”	BH (x3): Jer 16:3; Lam 2:12 (x2) QH (x1): 4Q383 A:3	

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
אָמָה	“maidservant”		BH (x2): Ezra 2:65; Neh 7:67
אָמָה	“people”	BH (x1): Gen 25:16 QH (x1): 4Q266 11:10	
אָנִיה	“ship”		BH (x1): Ezek 27:29
אַרְבֵּה	“window”		BH (x1): Isa 60:8
אַרַח	“path”	BH (x2): Joel 2:7; <b>Prov 9:15</b>	BH (x1): <b>Prov 2:15</b>
אַרְמוֹן	“fortress”		BH (x1): Amos 3:10
אַרְצָא	“land”	BH (x3): Gen 10:5, 20, 31 QH (x1): 4Q379 28:2	QH (x1): 4Q248 1:5
אַשְׁמָה	“guilt”	QH (x1): 11Q19 35:12	
אַשְׁמוּרָה	“watch”	BS (x1): 43:10	
בַּהֲמָה	“beast”	QH (x1): 1QpHab 3:10	
בְּכֹר	“firstborn”		QH (x1): 11Q19 60:2
בִּמְה	“high place”	BH (x3): Num 33:52; Ezek 43:7; Ps 78:58	
בַּת	“daughter”	BH (x1): Gen 34:21	BH (x21): Deut 12:31; Judg 3:6 (x2); 1 Sam 30:3; 2 Kgs 17:17; Jer 3:24; 7:31; 11:22; 14:16; 19:9; 32:35; Ezek 23:47; 24:25; Ps 106:37, 38; Ezra 9:2, 12; Neh 10:29, 31; 13:25; 2 Chr 31:18 QH (x5): 4Q248 1:4; 4Q365 N:1; 4Q378 10:1, 2; 11Q19 40:6
גֵּב	“rim”	BH (x1): Ezek 1:18	
גְּבוּלָה	“boundary”	QH (x1): 4Q215a 1:ii:9	
גַּג	“roof”		BH (x2): Jer 19:13; 32:29
גְּדוּפָה	“reproach”	BH (x1): Isa 51:7 QH (x2): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 10:35; 4Q428 3:4	
גוּיָה	“body”		BH (x2): Ezek 1:11 (fem.), 23 QH (x1): CD 2:19
גִּלְגָּלָה	“head”	BH (x6): Num 1:2, 18, 20, 22; 1 Chr 23:3, 24 QH (x1): 4Q365 26a-b:6	

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
דור	"generation"	BH (x11): Gen 17:7, 9; Exod 12:42; 27:21; 30:21; 31:16; 40:15; Lev 7:36; 17:7; 21:17; Num 15:38 BS (x2): 44:1; 45:13 QH (x10): 1QS 3:14; 4:13, 15; 4Q215a 1:ii:9; 4Q216 1:13; 4Q218 4 (?); 4Q369 1:ii:4; <b>11Q19 8:13; 9:14</b> (?); <b>19:8</b>	QH (x4): <b>11Q19 21:9;</b> <b>22:14; 27:5;</b> 11Q20 6:7
דלת	"door"		BH (x1): 2 Chr 4:9 QH (x2): 4Q365a 2:ii:7; 11Q19 41:16
הוה	"destruction"	QH (x4): 1QM 15:11; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 15:4 (?), 7, 10	
הליכה	"way"	BH (x1): Nah 2:6	
חלוקה	"division"	QH (x1): 4Q491 1-3:6	
חליצה	"spoil"	BH (x1): Judg 14:19	
זבח	"sacrifice"	BH (x1): Hos 4:19	
זרוע	"arm"	BH (x1): Hos 7:15	
חוה	"village"		BH (x1): Num 32:41
חוי	"street"	BH (x1): Zeph 3:6	
חטאת	"sin"	BH (x11): Lev 16:16, 21, 34; Num 16:26; 1 Kgs 14:22; 16:2; Isa 58:1; Jer 14:10; Hos 8:13; 9:9; Mic 7:19	BH (x1): Neh 9:2
חידה	"riddle"	BH (x1): Prov 1:6	BS (x1): 8:8
חלום	"dream"	BH (x1): Jer 23:27	
חנית	"spear"		BH (x2): Isa 2:4; Mic 4:3
חצר	"court"		BH (x1): Neh 8:16 QH (x1): 4Q299 62:5 (?)
חקה	"statute"	BH (x1): 2 Kgs 17:34	BH (x1): Lev 18:3
חרב	"sword"	BH (x6): Isa 2:4; Ezek 16:40; 23:47; 28:7; 30:11; 32:27	BH (x3): Mic 4:3; Neh 4:7; 2 Chr 34:6 ( <i>Qere</i> )
חרבה	"waste"		BH (x1): Ps 109:10
טבעת	"ring"	BH (x1): <b>Exod 36:34</b>	BH (x1): <b>Exod 26:29</b>
טירה	"camp"	BH (x3): Gen 25:16; Num 31:10; 1 Chr 6:39	BH (x1): Ezek 25:4
טמאה	"uncleanness"	BH (x1): Lev 16:16	
יד	"hand"	BH (x1): 1 Kgs 7:33	
יסוד	"foundation"	QH (x1): 4Q511 37:3	
יריעה	"curtain"		BH (x1): Jer 49:29

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
יתד	“peg”	BH (x2): Num 3:37; 4:32	
כליה	“kidney”		BH (x1): Jer 12:2
כסא	“throne”	BH (x2): Isa 14:9; Ezek 26:16	
כתנת	“tunic”	BH (x1): Lev 10:5	
לב	“heart”	BH (x2): Isa 44:18; Ps 125:4	
לשון	“tongue”	BH (x2): Gen 10:20, 31	
מגורה	“fear”	BH (x1): Isa 66:4	
מגרף	“shovel”		BH (x1): Joel 1:17
מוטה	“bar”		QH (x1): 4Q437 2:ii:14
מוסרה	“bond”		BH (x1): Ps 107:14
מועצה	“counsel”	BH (x1): Mic 6:16 QH (x1): 1Q14 17-19:4	BH (x4): Hos 11:6; Pss 5:11; 81:13; Prov 1:31
מופת	“sign”		QH (x1): 4Q416 1:8
מושב	“dwelling”	BH (x6): Gen 36:43; Exod 10:23; Num 31:10; 1 Chr 4:33; 6:39; 7:28 QH (x3): <b>1QM 2:14</b> ; 4Q496 13:3; 11Q19 17:4	BH (x2): Ezek 6:14; 37:23 QH (x4): <b>1QM 2:14</b> ; 11Q19 21:9; 39:9; 11Q20 5:12
מזבח	“altar”	BH (x7): Exod 34:13; <b>Deut 12:3</b> ; Jer 17:2; Hos 10:2, 8; 12:12; 2 Chr 34:5	BH (x3): <b>Deut 7:5</b> ; Judg 2:2; Ezek 6:13 QH (x1): 11Q19 2:6
מזל	“constellation”	QH (x1): 4Q287 1:2	
מזמה	“plan”	QH (x1): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 13:10	
מחלקת	“division”	BH (x8): Josh 11:23; 12:7; 18:10; Ezek 48:29; <b>1 Chr 24:1</b> ; <b>2 Chr 8:14</b> ; <b>31:2</b> ; <b>35:10</b> QH (x1): 4Q372 3:6	BH (x2): <b>2 Chr 31:16</b> , <b>17</b>
מחנה	“camp”	QH (x1): 1QM 7:3	
מחקר	“depth”	BS (x1): 44:3	
מחשבה	“thought”	BH (x4): Jer 6:19; Ps 56:6; Lam 3:60, 61 QH (x4): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 10:17; 12:14, 19; 4Q430 1:2	BH (x3): Isa 59:7; 65:2; 66:18
מטה	“tribe”	BH (x2): Exod 7:12; Num 17:21 BS (x1): 48:6	QH (x1): 4Q387 4:i:1
מכה	“blow”	BH (x1): Ps 64:8 QH (x1): 4Q511 44-47:4	
מכרה	“weapon”		BH (x1): Gen 49:5
מלאה	“setting”	BH (x1): Exod 39:13	
מלואה	“setting”	BH (x1): Exod 28:20	QH (x1): 4Q365 12b:iii:12

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
מלחמה	“war”	QH (x2): 1QpHab 6:4; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 10:26	
ממשלה	“dominion”	QH (x6): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 9:11; 4Q180 1:4; 4Q286 2:2; 4Q299 10:9; 4Q418 47:1; 4Q511 1:1	
מנה	“portion”	QH (x1): 4Q434 7b:2	
מנחה	“offering”	QH (x1): 11Q17 9:4	
מסגרת	“border”	BH (x1): 2 Sam 22:46	BH (x3): 1 Kgs 7:31; Mic 7:17; Ps 18:46
מסורה	“formation”	QH (x2): 1QM 3:13; 4Q405 23:ii:13	
מסכה	“cast image”	BH (x1): Num 33:52	
מסלה	“highway”	BH (x2): Judg 5:20; Isa 59:7 QH (x1): 4Q219 2:25	
מסרה	“passing”	QH (x2): 1QS 10:4; 4Q256 19:2	
מעגל	“path”	BH (x2): Isa 59:8; Prov 2:15	
מענה	“furrow”	BH (x2): Pss 104:22; 129:3	
מערכה	“battle”	QH (x1): 4Q491 1-3:10	
מפלגה	“division”	QH (x1): 1QS 4:17	
מצבה	“pillar”	BH (x4): <b>Exod 34:13</b> ; Deut 7:5; 12:3; Hos 10:2	BH (x1): <b>Exod 23:24</b> QH (x1): 4Q368 2:5
מצודה	“net”	QH (x1): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 12:12	
מצוקה	“distress”	QH (x1): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 13:17	BH (x4): Ps 107:6, 13, 19, 28 QH (x2): 1Q25 4:2; 4Q429 1:ii:4
מקום	“place”	BH (x2): Gen 36:40; Neh 12:27	
מרוצה	“running”	BH (x1): Jer 8:6	
מרכבה	“chariot”		BH (x2): Josh 11:6, 9
משכית	“image”	BH (x1): Num 33:52	
משאת	“tray”	BH (x1): Exod 12:34	
משה	“error”	QH (x1): CD 3:5	QH (x1): 4Q249a 1:3 (?)
משובה	“faithlessness”		BH (x1): Jer 5:6
משחה	“measurement”	QH (x1): 3Q15 12:12	
משכב	“bed”	BH (x4): Isa 57:2; Hos 7:14; Mic 2:1; Ps 149:5	
משכן	“tabernacle”	BH (x1): Ps 49:12	

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
משמרת	"watch"	BH (x5): Num 8:26; <b>2 Chr 7:6; 8:14; 31:16; 35:2</b> BS (x1): 44:3 QH (x5): 1QM 2:2, 3, 4; 4Q491 1-3:7; 4Q494 5	BH (x1): <b>2 Chr 31:17</b>
משענת	"staff"	BH (x1): Num 21:18 QH (x1): 4Q438 10:2	
משפחה	"family"	BH (x85): <b>Gen 10:5, 20, 31; 36:40</b> ; Exod 6:17, 25; Num 1:2, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42; 3:15, 18, 19, 20, 39; 4:2, 22, 29, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46; 26:12, 15, 20, 23, 26, 28, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42 (x2), 44, 48, 50, 57; <b>Josh 13:15, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31; 15:1, 12, 20; 16:5, 8; 17:2 (x2); 18:11, 20, 28; 19:1, 8, 10, 16, 17, 23, 24, 31, 32, 39, 40, 48; 21:7, 33, 40; 1 Chr 4:38; 6:47; 6:48</b> QH (x3): 1QSa 1:15; 4Q287 5:9; 4Q384 8:3	BH (x3): <b>Gen 8:19; Josh 18:21; 1 Chr 6:45</b> QH (x3): CD 3:1; 20:13; 4Q266 11:10
מתלעה	"fang"	QH (x1): 1QH <sup>a</sup> 13:10	
מתנה	"gift"	BH (x1): Ezek 20:26 QH (x1): 11Q19 29:6	
נדבה	"freewill offering"	BH (x1): Lev 22:18 QH (x1): 11Q19 29:5	
נהר	"river"	BH (x3): Exod 7:19; Ezek 32:2, 14	
נחלה	"inheritance"	QH (x1): 4Q524 6-13:4 (?)	
נערות	"youth"		BH (x1): Jer 32:30
נפש	"soul"	BH (x5): Num 17:3; 2 Sam 23:17; Prov 1:18; 1 Chr 11:19 (x2) QH (x3): 11Q19 15:14; 51:9; <b>11Q20 1:20</b>	QH (x1): <b>11Q20 15:3</b>
נר	"lamp"		BH (x2): 1 Chr 28:15; 2 Chr 4:20
נשכה	"chamber"	QH (x1): 11Q19 44:10	
נתיבה	"path"		BH (x1): Isa 59:8
סבלות	"burden"	BH (x3): Exod 1:11; 2:11; 5:5	

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
סכה	“booth”	QH (x1): <b>11Q19 44:12</b>	QH (x2): <b>11Q19 44:6, 10</b>
עון	“iniquity”	BH (x3): Lev 16:22; Isa 53:11; <b>Ezek 32:27</b> QH (x2): 1QS 3:22; 4Q502 19:7	BH (x4): Jer 33:8; <b>Ezek 43:10</b> ; Ps 107:17; Lam 5:7 QH (x3): CD 4:10; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 4:15 (?); 11Q13 2:6
עור	“hide”	BH (x1): Lev 16:27 QH (x2): 4Q397 1-2:2	QH (x1): 4Q394 3-7:ii:3 (?)
עין	“eye”	BH (x1): Hos 10:10 ( <i>Kethiv</i> ; <i>Qere</i> : עון)	
עלה	“burnt offering”		BH (x1): Isa 56:7 QH (x1): 11Q12 7a:2
עלילה	“deed”	BH (x6): Ezek 14:22, 23; 36:17, 19; Zeph 3:7; Ps 99:8	QH (x1): CD 5:16
ענה	“period”	QH (x1): 4Q493 8	
עצבת	“sorrow”	BH (x2): Pss 16:4; 147:3	
עצם	“bone”	BH (x2): Ezek 32:27; <b>Mic 3:2</b> BS (x1): 49:10 QH (x2): 1Q34bis 3:i:3; 11Q19 51:4	BH (x4): Num 24:8; 1 Sam 31:13; <b>Mic 3:3</b> ; 1 Chr 10:12
עקלקל	“crooked”	BH (x1): Ps 125:5 (adj.)	
עקב	“heel”	BS (x1): 16:3	
ערלה	“foreskin”		BH (x1): 1 Sam 18:27
ערש	“couch”	BH (x1): Amos 6:4	
עתוד	“prepared”		BH (x1): Isa 10:13 (adj.)
פנה	“battlement”	BH (x1): Zeph 3:6	
פרסה	“hoof”	QH (x1): 4Q381 46a+b:7	
צבא	“army”	BH (x18): Exod 6:26; 12:51; Num 1:3, 52; 2:3, 9, 10, 16, 18, 24, 25, 32; 10:14, 18, 22, 25, 28; 33:1 QH (x5): 1QS 4:15; 1QSa 1:24; 1QM 7:6; 4Q365 26a-b:7; 4Q471 2:3	
צרה	“distress”	BH (x1): Ps 34:18 QH (x3): 1QS 3:23; 1QM 1:12; 4Q496 1-2:3	QH (x2): CD 4:5; 4Q166 2:14
קינה	“lamentation”		BH (x1): 2 Chr 35:25
קללה	“curse”	QH (x1): 4Q216 1:16	
קנה	“reed”	BH (x2): Exod 25:36; 37:22	

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
קצה	“end”	BH (x3): Judg 18:2; 2 Kgs 17:32; Ps 19:7 QH (x1): 4Q181 2:9	
קשת	“bow”	BH (x2): Jer 51:56; Ps 37:15	BH (x1): Neh 4:7 QH (x2): 4Q171 1-2:ii:16; 4Q437 2:i:3
רבוא	“myriad”	QH (x1): 1QM 12:4	
רוח	“spirit”	QH (x2): 1QS 2:20; 3:14	QH (x1): 4Q176 21:3
רעה	“evil”		BH (x1): Ps 141:5
רקמה	“embroidery”	QH (x1): 4Q405 14-15:i:3	
שדה	“field”	BH (x1): <b>Neh 11:25</b>	BH (x2): Jer 8:10; <b>Neh 5:11</b>
שלמה [סלמה]	“garment”	QH (x1): 11Q19 49:18	BH (x1): Neh 9:21
שמלה	“garment”	BH (x4): Gen 44:13; Exod 12:34; 19:10, 14	
שפה	“lip”		BH (x1): Ps 59:8
שרה	“princess”		BH (x1): Isa 49:23
שבוע	“week”		QH (x1): CD 16:4
שופר	“horn”		BH (x1): Judg 7:8
שורה	“wall”	BH (x1): Job 24:11	
שחית	“pit”	BH (x2): Ps 107:20; Lam 4:20	
שם	“name”	BH (x18): Gen 25:13, 16; 36:40; Exod 28:10, 12, 21; 39:14; Num 3:17, 40; 13:4; 1 Kgs 4:8; Ezek 23:4 (x2; fem.); Pss 16:4; 49:12; Ezra 8:13; 1 Chr 8:38; 9:44 QH (x7): 1QM 4:6, 7, 8, 11, 13; 4Q270 2:ii:11; 11Q15 1:4	QH (x5): CD 2:13; 4:5; 14:3, 4; 4Q267 9:v:6
שנה	“year”	BH (x1): Ps 78:33	QH (x1): 4Q177 1-4:11
שקמה	“sycamore”	BH (x1): Ps 78:47	
שת	“buttock”		BH (x1): 2 Sam 10:4
תועבה	“abomination”	BH (x5): Deut 20:18; <b>Ezek 7:20; 33:29; 43:8; 44:13</b>	BH (x8): Jer 16:18; <b>Ezek 6:9; 11:21; 12:16; 16:47 (fem.); 23:36 (fem.);</b> Ezra 9:1, 11 QH (x3): 1Q22 1:i:7; 4Q169 3-4:iii:1; 4Q219 2:28

Word	Gloss	-otam	-oteyhem
תולדות	“generation”	BH (x25): Gen 10:32; 25:13; Exod 6:16, 19; 28:10; Num 1:20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42; 1 Chr 1:29; 5:7; 7:2, 4, 9; 8:28; 9:9, 34 QH (x3): CD 4:5; 1QM 3:14; 5:1	
תוצאות	“limit”	BH (x1): 1 Chr 5:16 QH (x2): 4Q299 1:7; 4Q417 1:i:13	
תחנה	“plea”		BH (x1): 2 Chr 6:39
תלנות	“grumbling”	BH (x1): Num 17:25	
תנופה	“wave offering”	QH (x1): 11Q19 60:2	
תעודה	“ordained time”	QH (x3): 1QS 1:9; 3:16; 1QH <sup>a</sup> 6:12 (?)	
תקופה	“season”	QH (x1): 4Q286 1:iii:10	
Unclear	Unknown	QH (x2): 1Q22 1:iv:2 (?); 4Q299 6:i:2	

The preceding table has 162 unique nouns (excluding the final two unclear examples) and a total of 792 tokens (excluding the final two unknown examples) of *-otam* and *-oteyhem*. The general breakdown is 444 *-otam* to 149 *-oteyhem* in BH, 9–1 in Ben Sira, and 129–60 in the DSS. The numbers for the Mishnah can be added to these data: 10–77.<sup>56</sup> Before looking at the data from the variationist perspective we offer the following general observations on BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS:

- Total unique nouns that appear with *-otam*: 125
- Unique nouns that appear *only* with *-otam* (i.e., not also with *-oteyhem*): 85
- Total unique nouns that appear with *-oteyhem*: 77

<sup>56</sup> *-otam/-otan* (x10): Terumot 3:9; Rosh HaShanah 2:9 (fem.); Yevamot 7:1; Ketubbot 12:2 (fem.); Nedarim 1:1; 4:3; 5:5; Eduyyot 8:7; Avot 2:2; Niddah 4:2 (fem.). *-oteyhem/-oteyhen* (x77): Pe’ah 1:1 (fem.); Demai 7:6; Ma’aser Shenit 3:8 (x3; 2 are fem.); Hallah 4:7; Shabbat 6:4 (x2); 9:6 (x2); 14:4; 17:1; Pesahim 7:8 (x2); Sheqalim 6:1; Betzah 5:7; Ta’anit 2:1; Yevamot 1:1 (x8; fem.); 3:7 (fem.); 8:3; 10:5 (x2; fem.); 11:3 (fem.); 16:4, 7; Ketubbot 5:8 (fem.); 9:1 (x5; 1 is fem.); Gittin 3:1 (fem.); 5:4; 8:6 (fem.); Sotah 3:6 (x2); 7:5; Arayot 18; Sanhedrin 3:4; 6:5; Makkot 2:6; Avodah Zarah 1:5; Avot 5:19; Zevahim 12:2, 4 (x2); 14:3; Menahot 11:4; Hullin 9:2; Bekhorot 2:4; 8:9 (fem.); Temurah 3:1 (x2), 5; 6:3 (x2), 5; 7:2; Kelim 2:1 (x5); 10:8; Ohalot 15:2; Nega’im 14:13; Parah 1:4; Teharot 1:9; Mikwa’ot 7:5; Uqtzin 3:12.

- Unique nouns that appear *only* with *-oteyhem* (i.e., not also with *-otam*): 37
- Unique nouns that appear with both *-otam* and *-oteyhem*: 39
- Unique nouns that occur only once: 78
- Unique nouns that occur only twice: 34
- Unique nouns that occur 3–9 times: 34
- Unique nouns that occur 10 or more times: 16<sup>57</sup>

Many other observations can be made. For example, the figures for each noun can be broken down further for each corpus (BH, Ben Sira, DSS). In this regard we will make some relevant observations. But before we discuss the data further we offer the figures overleaf which display the frequencies of *-otam* and *-oteyhem*, and the percentage of *-oteyhem* forms relative to both endings, in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, the DSS, and the Mishnah.

Some data in the figures strongly support the conventional view that *-oteyhem* was gradually replacing *-otam*. Speaking broadly one might contrast the Torah (209 *-otam* to 9 *-oteyhem*; 4% *-oteyhem*), or the so-called Primary History (276–23; 8%), with the late prose books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles (49–58; 54%).<sup>58</sup> Or, looking at individual books, some “transitional” or “late” BH writings have relatively higher ratios of *-oteyhem* than most individual books of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets: Jeremiah (18–18; 50%), Ezekiel (28–15; 35%), non-synoptic Chronicles (40–35; 47%), the DSS (131–60; 31%), and MH (10–77; 89%). These distributional data are cited routinely in support of the standard diachronic view.

It is of course a reality of BH studies that most Hebraists assume that that distribution of forms is largely authorial, not editorial or scribal, and that sources such as P are preexilic rather than exilic or postexilic. But the conventional view is unsatisfactory even if for argument’s sake we accept these assumptions. “Early” Samuel (2–4; 67%) and Micah (4–4; 50%) are more “late” in their proportions than some late sources, but they have rather few tokens. The books of Jeremiah (18–18; 50%) and Ezekiel (28–15; 35%) have many more tokens (79 in total), and are often considered to represent exilic or “transitional” BH,<sup>59</sup> but Jeremiah’s numbers are similar to “late” non-synoptic Chronicles (40–35; 47%), and Ezekiel’s numbers are similar to “early” Judges (10–4; 29%).

Most Hebraists would hesitate to consider *-oteyhem* an absolutely late suffix form, if only because of מִכְרֵתֵיהֶם (“their weapons”) in the “archaic” poetry of Gen 49:5. Yet they underline that only late writings use the two endings

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<sup>57</sup> תועבה (x23), צבא (x27), בת (x28), תולדות (x30), שם (x94), משפחה (x150), אב (x16), מחלקת (x11), מזבח (x12), עון (x12), משמרת (x12), חטאת (x15), מושב (x15), דור (x11), מחשבה (x11), אות (x10).

<sup>58</sup> Esther and Daniel have no relevant data.

<sup>59</sup> For example, Jeremiah: Hornkohl, *Ancient*; Smith, “Iron Pen”; Ezekiel: Hurvitz, *Linguistic*; Rooker, *Biblical*.

indiscriminately. For example, *-otam* and *-oteyhem* are used abreast—in the same verse for economy’s sake—in Isa 59:7, 8; Prov 2:15; 1 Chr 4:38; 9:9; 23:24; 2 Chr 31:16. But this observation applies to “earlier” writings also: “exilic”: Ezek 23:47; “preexilic”: Deut 7:5; Isa 2:4. Or, for example, they might underline that some Qumran scrolls have examples of words with both suffixes: דור, גפש, and סכה in 11Q19–20; מושב in 1QM. But this observation would apply to “earlier” writings also: “postexilic”: ארח in Prov 1–9; אב and שדה in Ezra–Nehemiah; אב, מחלקת, משמרת, and משפחה in Chronicles; “exilic”: אב in Jeremiah; עון and תועבה in Ezekiel; “preexilic”: משפחה in Genesis and Joshua; מצבה and טבעת in Exodus; מזבח in Deuteronomy; אב in Kings; עצם in Micah.

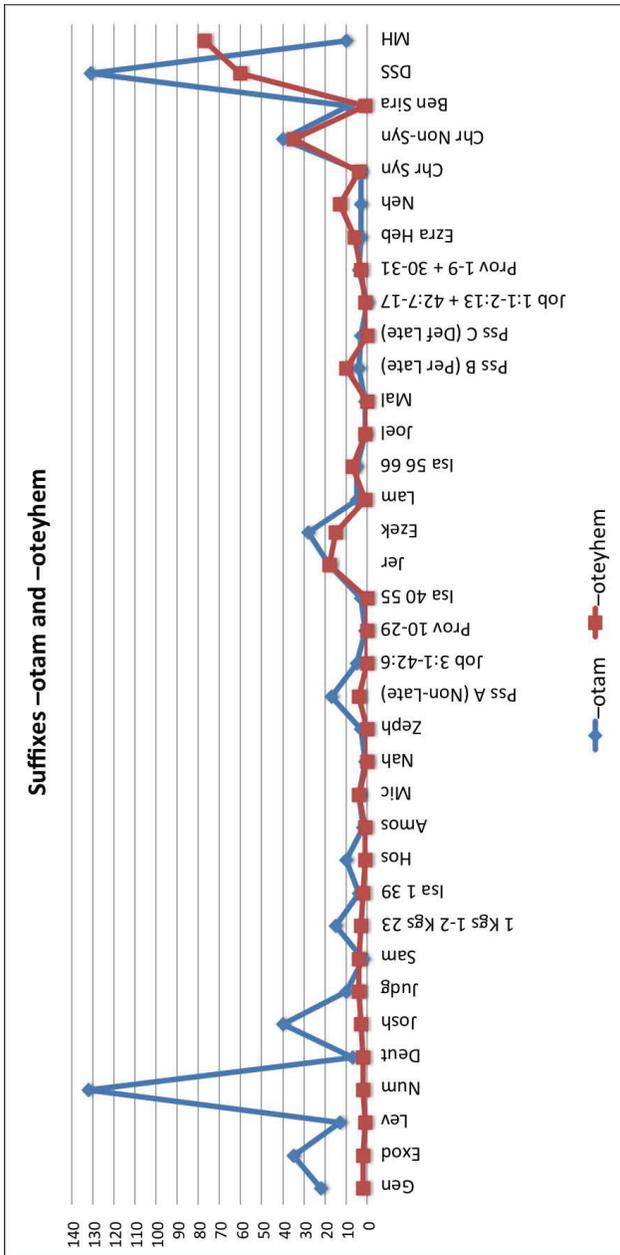


Figure 9.5

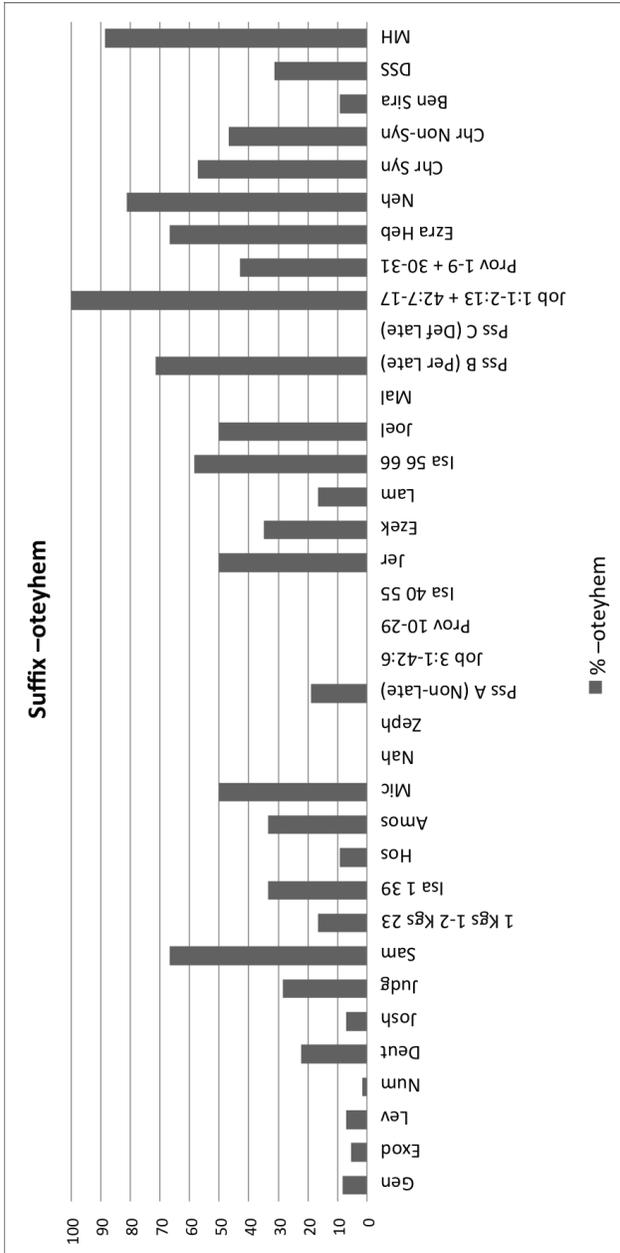


Figure 9.6

To be sure there are dozens of words that do not fit the conventional “early” vs. “late” scheme, either because the “early” writings have only *-oteyhem* forms or because the “late” writings have only *-otam* forms. The full data are available above for independent study. For example, 54 of the 161 unique nouns appear in Ben Sira and/or the DSS with only the “early” *-otam* ending. Indeed all of ancient Hebrew looks much like what Hebraists would consider “transitional” language since there is hardly a single good example of absolute contrast between *-otam* in “early” and *-oteyem* in “late” writings. The “best” examples may be חטאת in various “early” BH writings vs. Neh 9:2; מלואה in Exod 28:20 vs. 4Q365 12b:iii:12; שנה in Ps 78:33 vs. 4Q177 1-4:11; and תועבה in Deut 20:18 vs. Ezra 9:1, 11 and various DSS and both forms in Ezekiel.

The common situation is that the same “early”/short or “late”/long suffix is used with the same word in most or all of the “early” or “late” sources. More frequently occurring nouns that one might consider here are בת, דור, מושב, מושב, משפחה, שם, and תולדות. The tendency, even if an imperfect one, for a noun to carry the same ending in all sources seems to have gone largely undetected.<sup>60</sup> The major exception is אבותיהם/אבותם (x150) and for this reason it may not be the most suitable illustration of “normal” variability of *-otam/-oteyhem* in the ancient Hebrew sources. (Again, compare מלכות as the standard illustration in treatments of abstract nouns in יות–.) Every so often it has been suggested that a particular distribution, usually the “early” appearance of *-oteyhem* on this or that word, has a predominantly non-chronological explanation. JM suggests: “Euphony sometimes seems to have influenced the choice of a form in some nouns which can be found with both suffixes; thus, for מְזַבְּחוֹת comp. Dt 7.5 with 12.3 (where [מְ] avoids a triple repetition of [מְ]); for מְצַבּוֹת, comp. Ex 34.13 with 23.24 ([מְ] in pause).”<sup>61</sup> Others argue that long *-oteyhem* may involve style-switching, for example עצמתיים in Num 24:8 and אבותיהם in 1 Kgs 14:15.<sup>62</sup> As for אבותיהם compare אבתם and חטאתם in 1 Kgs 14:22. But עצמתיים is not so straightforward. “Early” עצמותם appears in Ezek 32:27; Mic 3:2; Sir 49:10; 1Q34bis 3:i:3; 11Q19 51:4; and “late” עצמתיים turns up in Num 24:8; 1 Sam 31:13; Mic 3:3; 1 Chr 10:12. This distribution, and especially a text such as Mic 3:2, 3, seems less favorable to style-switching than free stylistic variation. Genre is another issue. Poetic and Wisdom writings—Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Lamentations—favor *-otam* over *-oteyhem* in 39 of 59 instances, or about 70% of the time. But it is interesting that nouns attested more than once in these books carry the same ending, either *-otam* or *-oteyhem*, in all but one situation.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The only exception we know is: “There is no such variation for אַמְתָּם (twice) *their mothers*, שְׁמוֹתָם and שְׁמוֹתָן *their names*, דִּירוֹתָם *their generations*” (JM §94g, p. 265).

<sup>61</sup> JM §94g, p. 265.

<sup>62</sup> Moyer, “Literary,” 164–65; Rendsburg, “Aramaic-Like,” 170–71.

<sup>63</sup> *-otam*: אבותם in Ps 78:8, 12, 57; Job 8:8; 15:18; 30:1; Prov 17:6; אתתם in Ps 74:4; Job 21:29; מחשבתם in Ps 56:6; Lam 3:60, 61; שחיתותם in Ps 107:20; Lam

Finally, the suggestion is sometimes made that *-oteyhem* forms in “early” writings appear there due to late scribal activity, for example אבותיהם in MT 1 Kgs 14:15 when compared to the Septuagint.<sup>64</sup> Or, for example, Bar-Asher argues that “the change from the short form [in MT 59:7, 8; 66:4] to the long form [in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>] may not be due to diachronic change, but rather analogy with nearby words in which the long forms are found.”<sup>65</sup> This brings us to the broader issue of textual variation involving *-otam* and *-oteyhem*.

One source of textual variation is parallel passages in the MT Bible.<sup>66</sup> The habitually cited example is 1 Kgs 8:34 (אבותם)//2 Chr 6:25 (אבתיהם). Other examples involving *-oteyhem* in Chronicles compared to *-otam* in a parallel are Num 3:20//1 Chr 6:4 and 1 Kgs 9:9//2 Chr 7:22.<sup>67</sup> In contrast there are four instances where Chronicles and a parallel agree on *-otam* (Josh 21:7//1 Chr 6:48; 2 Sam 23:17//1 Chr 11:19; 1 Kgs 8:48//2 Chr 6:38) or *-oteyhem* (1 Sam 31:13//1 Chr 10:12). Other innerbiblical illustrations include 2 Sam 22:46 (ממסגרותם)//Ps 18:46 (ממסגרותיהם)<sup>68</sup> and Isa 2.4 (חרבותם...והניתותיהם)//Mic 4.3 (חרבתיהם...והניתותיהם). There is no empirical basis for deciding which are the earlier readings in these passages.

The Samaritan Pentateuch also offers some relevant data. The MT Pentateuch has 218 tokens (209 *-otam* to 9 *-oteyhem*). The SP is often cited as a text that modernizes the MT. But the MT and SP agree with each other 208 times. Six times the SP has *-oteyhem* compared to MT's *-otam*.<sup>69</sup> Once the SP has *-otam* compared to a different form in the MT.<sup>70</sup> Three times the SP has a different form compared to *-otam* in the MT.<sup>71</sup> And each text has one plus with *-otam*.<sup>72</sup> This is at best only marginal evidence for linguistic updating in the SP.

4:20; *-oteyhem*: ממעצתיהם in Pss 5:11; 81:13; Prov 1:31; עונתיהם in Ps 107:17; Lam 5:7; but ארחותם in Prov 9:15 vs. ארחתיהם in Prov 2:15.

<sup>64</sup> Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 141 n. 101; Hurvitz, “Terminological,” 114 n. 22 (Hurvitz attributes the observation to Hornkohl). Compare MT 1 Kgs 14:1–15 with 3 Kingdoms 12:24. The recensional issues involved here go outside the scope of the present discussion.

<sup>65</sup> Bar-Asher, “Qumran Hebrew,” 147–48.

<sup>66</sup> This is the subject of chapter 5 and appendix 1.

<sup>67</sup> Compare also 1 Kgs 8:49 (תחתם) and 2 Chr 6:39 (תחתניהם).

<sup>68</sup> See appendix 1 (1.1) and Qumran Samuel (3.2.5).

<sup>69</sup> Exod 34:13: MT: מצבתם...מזבתם; SP: מזבתיהם...מזבתיהם; 36:34: MT: טבעתם; SP: טבעתיהם; Deut 7:5: MT: ומצבתם...מזבתיהם; SP: ומצבתיהם...מזבתיהם; 12:3: MT: מזבחותיהם...מצבתיהם; SP: מזבחותיהם...מצבתיהם.

<sup>70</sup> Gen 25:16: MT: חצריהם; SP: חצרותם.

<sup>71</sup> Num 26:12: MT: משפחתם; SP: משפחת; 32:41: MT: חותיהם; SP: חותים; 33:52: MT: מסכתם; SP: מסכותם.

<sup>72</sup> SP Exod 12:40: ואבותם; MT Num 2:24: לצבאתם. There are also some differences of lexeme (e.g., Gen 36:43; Num 1:45) and person (e.g., Exod 27:21).

The situation in the biblical DSS is comparable. The habitually cited example is MT vs. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 59:7, 8. There are eighty-seven clear attestations of *-otam* (x58) or *-oteyhem* (x29) in the biblical DSS. The MT and a scroll agree with each other seventy-seven times (89% agreement). Eight times a scroll has *-oteyhem* compared to *-otam* in the MT. Once a scroll has *-otam* compared to *-oteyhem* in the MT. Some Hebraists are eager to cite the eight linguistic “updates” in the scrolls relative to the MT. Of course their working assumption is that the MT is “original” or at least “earlier” but that is an invalid text-critical presupposition (see chapter 3). Additionally some of the examples are a double-edged sword.

Reference	MT	DSS	Comment
Deut 10:11	אבתם	2QDeut <sup>c</sup> : אבותיהם[ה]	MT Deuteronomy prefers <i>-otam</i> to <i>-oteyhem</i> 7–2 and has only אבתם. אבותיהם is characteristic only of MT Chronicles.
Deut 12:3	מצבתם	4QpaleoDeut <sup>f</sup> : מצבותיהם	MT Deut 7:5 has מצבותיהם. JM suggests that MT Deut 12:3 was revised for the sake of euphony. <sup>73</sup>
Judg 21:22	אבותם	4QJudg <sup>b</sup> : אבותיהם	Rezetko reviews <i>-otam</i> and <i>-oteyhem</i> in Judges and suggests that the form in the MT has been assimilated to the standard form in MT Judges. <sup>74</sup>
Isa 2:4	חניתותיהם	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> : חניתותיהם 4QIsa <sup>b</sup> : חניתותם	MT Isa 2:4 and Mic 4:3 have חנית with <i>-oteyhem</i> . I Isaiah and Micah are considered preexilic writings, when <i>-otam</i> was presumably predominant.
Isa 59:7	מסלותם	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> : מסלותיהמה	מסלה is attested with <i>-otam</i> in MT Judg 5:20; Isa 59:7; 4Q219 2:25. III Isaiah is considered a postexilic writing, when <i>-oteyhem</i> was presumably predominant.

<sup>73</sup> JM §94g, p. 265.

<sup>74</sup> Rezetko, “Qumran,” 56–59.

Reference	MT	DSS	Comment
Isa 59:8	מעגלותם	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> : מעגלותימה	מַעַל is attested with <i>-otam</i> in MT Isa 59:8; Prov 2:15. III Isaiah is considered a postexilic writing, when <i>-oteyhem</i> was presumably predominant.
Isa 66:4	מגורתם	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> : מגורותימה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> : מגרתם	This noun with the suffix is attested only here. III Isaiah is considered a postexilic writing, when <i>-oteyhem</i> was presumably predominant.
Ps 104:22	מעונתם	4QPs <sup>c</sup> : מעונותי[הם] 11QPs <sup>a</sup> : מעונותיהם	מַעַנָה is attested with <i>-otam</i> in MT Pss 104:22; 129:3. Psalms 104 and 129 are considered “perhaps late” and “definite late,” respectively, when <i>-oteyhem</i> was presumably predominant.

It is interesting that in two of these cases (Deut 12:3; Judg 21:22) scholars have suggested non-chronological explanations and in five others (Isa 2:4; 59:7, 8; 66:4; Ps 104:22) the MT form is the one that was presumably less common in the period to which the writings are usually dated. Therefore, if the MT forms are taken as “original” in these cases, they suggest that “non-late” forms were often used in the “late” period and their value for dating would be neutralized, and if the MT forms are taken as secondary, they suggest that later editors/scribes updated texts using “early” forms.

In addition to the MT parallels, the SP, and the biblical DSS, other sources of textual variation include the Septuagint, Qumran sectarian writings, and phylacteries and mezuzot. The endings *-otam* and *-oteyhem* are both represented by the same  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\tilde{\nu}$  in Septuagintal Greek, thus the translation’s value relates to the possibility of detecting MT pluses with either the “early” or “late” suffix. Above we mentioned MT 1 Kgs 14:15. Examples in MT Jeremiah include 17:2 (מזבחותם) and 24:10 (אבותיהם) with the “early” and “late” forms, respectively. We suspect that a thorough comparison of the LXX and MT for the entire Bible will bring to light quite a few examples of both forms in MT pluses. Of course in each case an argument will have to be made for textual priority. Some examples of allusions or citations in the Qumran sectarian writings that involve variations of the suffixes are Gen 25:13 (בשמתם לתולדתם) in CD 4:5 (שמותיהם לתולדותם); Exod 34:13 (מזבחתם...מצבתם) in 4Q368 2:5 (מזבחון[תיהמה...ומציבות[יהמה]) and 11Q19 2:6 ([מזבחותיהם...ומצבותיהם]) and Ps 37:15 (קשתותם) in 4Q171 1-2:ii:15 (קשתותיהם). As for phylacteries and mezuzot, 8QPhyl has בקועתם for MT’s בקעת in Deut 11:11.

In summary, the textual variations we have described in the preceding paragraphs show that *-otam* and *-oteyhem* were probably relatively stable in textual transmission and that *-oteyhem* may have substituted for *-otam* slightly more often than vice versa. However, on the one hand, standardization in particular sources, books, or blocks of material cannot be discarded, but on the other hand, it is evident that no particular manuscript or textual tradition was “modernized” by the routine substitution of *-oteyhem* for *-otam*. To the contrary, the data seem to suggest that sporadic and unsystematic changes occurred, and this fact together with the lack of any empirical basis for determining the directions of change leave us unable to know with any degree of certainty what transpired in individual cases.

There are several other sources of evidence that the conventional diachronic view, that is, *-oteyhem* gradually replaced *-otam* in Second Temple period literature, has not adequately considered. The first important source is Ben Sira. This composition evidences ten tokens of the suffixes, nine “early” and one “late,” on nine different nouns. Three of the nouns, all with *-otam*, are unattested with the relevant suffixes outside of Ben Sira (עֵקֶב in 16:3; אֲשֵׁמֹרָה in 43:10; מַחְקֵר in 44:3). In one case Ben Sira has the noun with the “late” suffix (חִידָה in 8:8) whereas a “late” biblical writing has the “early” one (Prov 1:6). The other five nouns appear in Ben Sira with *-otam*, and these nouns appear also with *-oteyhem* in various “late” biblical and Qumran writings (אֵב in 8:9; מִשְׁמֵרֶת in 44:3; דֹּוֹר in 44:1; 45:13; מִטָּה in 48:6; עֵצִים in 49:19). In short, the late author of Ben Sira routinely used nouns with “early” *-otam* rather than “late” *-oteyhem*.

The second important source is the non-biblical DSS. We already discussed various aspects of these scrolls but one more issue has to be addressed. In the figures above we tabulated the DSS as a single corpus, but as we said before that is similar to taking the entire Bible as a single undifferentiated corpus. We have argued that this approach, which is common in historical linguistic studies of BH, is problematic and should be avoided (see chapter 7, 7.3.6, 7.3.7, 7.5). What happens when we break down the distribution in the scrolls?

- 71 individual scrolls have 82 unique nouns that occur a total of 191 times
- 50 nouns are used only with *-otam* a total of 87 times
- 17 nouns are used only with *-oteyhem* a total of 25 times
- 15 nouns are used with both *-otam* and *-oteyhem* a total of 79 times

These data start to give a slight impression of ordered distribution. But before drawing any conclusion we should look also at the situation from the perspective of the scrolls rather than the nouns and tokens.

- 38 scrolls have only *-otam* a total of 65 times
- 20 scrolls have only *-oteyhem* a total of 23 times
- 13 scrolls have both *-otam* and *-oteyhem* a total of 103 times

Once again the data continue to give a slight impression of ordered distribution. But since in many cases we are dealing with fragmentary scrolls with few nouns and/or tokens, we will focus on scrolls that have ten or more tokens of the relevant forms. There are only five: CD, 1QS, 1QM, 1QH<sup>a</sup>, and 11Q19. The figure overleaf reports our findings.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The specific data are: CD: 2 *-otam* to 11 *-oteyhem* (85% *-oteyhem*); 1QS: 13–0 (0%); 1QM: 22–1 (4%); 1QH<sup>a</sup>: 15–1 (6%); 11Q19: 14–12 (46%). The table above has the words and references.

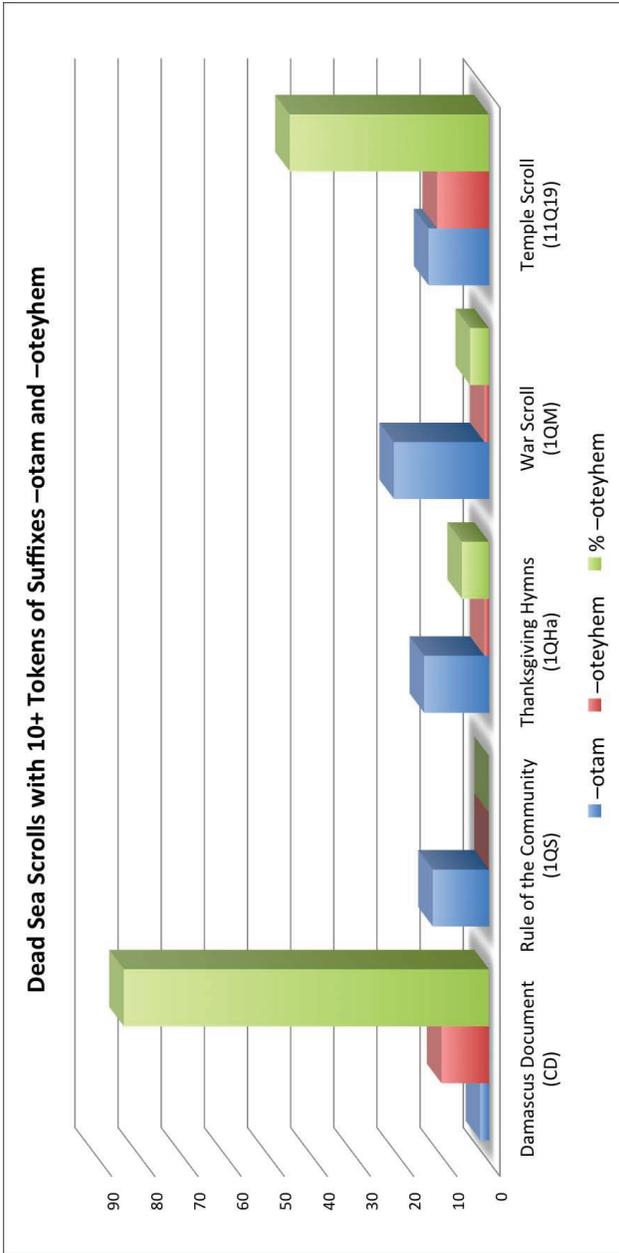


Figure 9.7

What this figure shows us is that there is significant ordered distribution of the endings *-otam* and *-oteyhem* in the non-biblical DSS. Some writings (CD) have a clear preference for *-oteyhem*, others (11Q19) have “mixed” usage, and still others (1QS, 1QM, 1QH<sup>a</sup>) have *-otam* to the total or near absence of *-oteyhem*. The numbers are comparable to books of the MT Bible: CD is similar to Nehemiah, 11Q19 to non-synoptic Chronicles, and 1QS, 1QM, and 1QH<sup>a</sup> to the books of the Pentateuch. More could be said and more work should be done on the language of these scrolls, but it is relatively clear that the late authors of these compositions, like the late author of Ben Sira, routinely used nouns with “early” *-otam* rather than “late” *-oteyhem*.

In a previous publication we stated: “The difference between EBH and LBH is the frequency of the endings. Consequently, this is not an issue of early vs. late but rather stylistic preference. EBH mostly shuns ‘younger’ םָהִי־ whereas less conservative LBH uses both suffixes evenly.”<sup>76</sup> Having looked at most of the ancient Hebrew data more thoroughly and also in the variationist framework, we would restate our view in the following way. Throughout *both* the First and Second Temple periods *-otam* and *-oteyhem* were in “competition” with each another. It seems though on the basis of the current evidence that these endings had the tendency to attach to particular nouns, that is, some nouns were usually used with *-otam* and others with *-oteyhem*. As time passed the proportion of *-oteyhem* forms gradually increased. However, *-otam* was never replaced by *-oteyhem*, as evidenced by “late” BH, QH, and MH. The evidence is best interpreted as indicating that change was underway and never reached completion in the Second Temple period in the sense that one form supplanted another or two forms reached a phase of stabilized or complementary distribution. Furthermore, it seems that there were considerable differences in the participation of individuals in the ongoing change. Some writers participated vigorously (Samuel, Ezra, Nehemiah, CD), some were in between (Judges, Ezekiel, Chronicles, 11Q19), and some hardly joined in (Torah, Ben Sira, 1QS, 1QM, 1QH<sup>a</sup>). In other words, some were progressives, others were moderates, and others were conservatives (see chapter 7, 7.3.5, 7.3.6). It is a reasonable suggestion that writers of the ancient literary works were conscious of their participation in the ongoing change and their individual propensities were guided by factors such as aesthetics or tradition (e.g., archaism, prestige). Therefore we would continue to attribute the use of these forms to stylistic preference. As a final point, because the change was in progress and the participation of writers varied considerably, particular instances and rates of usage cannot be used to date the writings relative to one another.

Hebraists have struggled to explain the evidence of Ben Sira and the non-biblical DSS. For example, Kim recognizes “the reversal of development in

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<sup>76</sup> *LDBT* 1:76.

QH,” that is, the ongoing change he describes in BH was arrested in QH. He explains this by recourse to Schniedewind’s theory of “antilanguage,” in which the speakers/writers of QH manipulated the linguistic forms in order to differentiate themselves from others.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Hurvitz recognizes that “the dominant ending in the postbiblical DSS and Ben Sira is not the expected (longer) post-Classical אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם, but, rather, the (shorter) CBH אֲבוֹתָם.” He says further:

Obviously, *the postbiblical sources* exhibit certain irregularities in their depiction of the linguistic development of the two morphemes...Nevertheless, it is widely acknowledged that, as far as *BH itself* is concerned, the shift from the (earlier) אֲבוֹתָם to the (later) אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם reflects a diachronic development, which finds unmistakable expression in the differences in wording between biblical texts written in CBH and those formulated in LBH.<sup>78</sup>

Among other matters we would take issue with Hurvitz’s concentration on the single “exceptional” BH lexeme אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם/אֲבוֹתָם (cf. Ben Sira, some Qumran scrolls) and also his curtailing of the evidence of Ben Sira and the DSS. In contrast to both these scholars, we believe the evidence of Ben Sira and the DSS should be weighed equally to BH, and in fact it is arguable that the evidence of the DSS should be weighed heavier than BH because, in fact, it is the only dated and localized manuscript evidence available to us.

#### 9.4. DIRECTIVE *HE* (הֵ-)

Hebrew has an adverbial suffix *-āh* (הֵ-), as in אֲרֻצָּה (“to the land”), that attaches mainly to common nouns, proper nouns, and adverbs and serves to express movement toward a place, location at a place, and movement through time. The directional sense (“directive *he*”) is more common and is usually considered more primitive than the locational meaning (“locative *he*”).<sup>79</sup> The

<sup>77</sup> Kim, *Early*, 106–7. Kim makes the additional point that the situation in QH “would probably qualify as a case of a change from above social awareness” (*ibid.*, 107 n. 22) but we would extend this observation to BH, as described above, since we do not believe Kim’s methodology related to text type is sound. See the detailed discussion of this point in Rezetko, “Evaluating.”

<sup>78</sup> Hurvitz, “Terminological,” 114–15 n. 23. We would extend Hurvitz’s comment about Priestly texts not being “contaminated” (*ibid.*, 114) by postexilic language (e.g., אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם) to other biblical and postbiblical sources.

<sup>79</sup> For discussions of the origin and meaning of the directive *he* in BH see GKC §90a–i, pp. 248–51; JM §93c–f, pp. 256–58; WO §10.5, pp. 185–86; B. T. Arnold and J. H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4–5, 18–19, 142; Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik*, 527–29; M. Lambert, *Traité de Grammaire Hébraïque* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1938), 111–14; T. J. Meek, “The Hebrew Accusative of Time and Place,” *JAOS* 60 (1940): 224–33; van der

conventional chronological view is that the directive *he* changed in both frequency and function from “early” to “late” BH. Frequently used words are “enfeebled,” “weakened,” “meaningless,” “otiose,” “fossilized,” “ornate,” and so on. For example, Joosten says:

A feature illustrating even better the closeness of epigraphic Hebrew to CBH in particular is the locative *he*. Locative *he* is attested 752 times in Genesis to 2Kings, but only 97 times in the LBH corpus (8 times more cases in CBH than in LBH). These figures illustrate a diachronic development: over the biblical period, locative *he* is slowly dying out. The evolution is confirmed by several other factors...<sup>80</sup>

In addition to the statistical argument, to which we return below, other factors mentioned in the literature include an increasing incidence of fossilized forms, pleonastic combination with prepositions, and “nonstandard” or “deviant” (i.e., non-directional) uses; a different ratio of usage in particular syntactic constructions; differences of frequency and function in the writings of Ben Sira, QH, and MH; interchanges in parallel passages and in the MT, SP, and biblical DSS; and misunderstandings and mistranslations of directive *he* forms by the translators of the LXX.<sup>81</sup>

In this chapter on variationist analysis we focus our comments mainly on the distribution of the directive *he* in the MT Bible and the DSS, but we also

Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze, *Biblical*, 227–28; R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 169–70; M. Rosik, “The Meaning and the Function of *He-Locale*,” *The Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 2 (2001): 207–11; R. J. Williams, *Williams’ Hebrew Syntax* (3d ed.; rev. and expanded by J. C. Beckman; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 25–26.

<sup>80</sup> Joosten, “Distinction,” 337; cf. 337–38. He discusses the directive *he* elsewhere in idem, “Gesenius,” 103; idem, “La vérité philologique dans les débats sur la datation des textes bibliques,” in *Vérité(s) philologique(s). Études sur les notions de vérité et de fausseté en matière de philologie* (ed. P. Hummel and F. Gabriel; Paris: Philologicum, 2008), 19–29 (27–28); idem, “Qumran Scrolls,” 357; idem, “The Operation of a Syntactic Rule in Classical Biblical Hebrew and in Hebrew Inscriptions of the Monarchic Period,” in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies* (ed. J. K. Aitken, K. J. Dell, and B. A. Mastin; BZAW 420; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 493–505 (498–99).

<sup>81</sup> In addition to the pieces by Joosten cited in the preceding note see, for example, Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 203–17; A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen* (BZAW 16; Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1909), 43–44, 74; and Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 122; and for discussions with a particular focus on BH and QH see Fassberg, “Syntax,” 99–101, 103, 105, 106–7; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 413–14; Muraoka, “Approach,” 206–8; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 69, 88, 90–91; Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah*, 90–91; Y. Thorion, “Neue Bemerkungen über die Sprache der Qumran-Literatur,” *RevQ* 11 (1984): 579–82 (579–80).

give some data from the biblical DSS to supplement our remarks elsewhere in this book on textual variation involving the suffix.<sup>82</sup> We have discussed various related and important matters in detail in other publications, and rather than repeating those treatments here we simply refer the reader to them.<sup>83</sup>

One difficulty with analyzing the variable frequencies and functions of the directive *he* in ancient Hebrew is that there are almost 2,000 tokens in the various sources combined. The MT Bible has about half of these.<sup>84</sup> Comparison of the unprocessed data or numbers of occurrence in particular sources is easy to do. For example, above we cited Joosten's remark that "[l]ocative *he* is attested 752 times in Genesis to 2Kings, but only 97 times in the LBH corpus (8 times more cases in CBH than in LBH)."<sup>85</sup> Such statements could be improved in various ways. For example, we could normalize the frequencies to units of 1,000 words (either morphemes or graphic units), and even so the difference between sets of books like Genesis–Kings ("core EBH") and Esther–Chronicles ("core LBH") would remain substantial.<sup>86</sup> We could also ungroup the constituents, as is the custom in historical linguistic research, because it would enable us to make observations such as Genesis (4.8 tokens per 1,000 graphic units) and Joshua (8.3 per 1,000) are very different from Esther (0 per 1,000) and Ezra (0.4 per 1,000), but Kings and Chronicles are quite similar (2.6 and 2.2 per 1,000, respectively), and Leviticus (1.9 per 1,000) has a substantially different rate of usage than the other individual books of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. Another similar approach would be to calculate proportions of "standard" and "nonstandard" uses of the directive *he* in various sources. Hornkohl does this.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.1) and Qumran Samuel (5.2).

<sup>83</sup> See *LDBT* 1:78–80, 169–70, 350–51; Rezetko, "Qumran," 48–56.

<sup>84</sup> According to Accordance the specific numbers are: inscriptions, x6; MT, x1099; SP, x408; biblical DSS, x212; Ben Sira, x3; non-biblical DSS, x126; MH, x83; total, x1,937. The number 1,099 for the MT includes four *Kethiv/Qere* variants: two in Josh 19:22: ושחצומה (K), ושחצימה (Q); one in 1 Sam 9:26: הגג (K), הגגה (Q); one in 2 Sam 21:12: שם (K), שמה (Q); and two in Ezek 25:9: וקריתמה (K), וקריתימה (Q). These numbers are highly accurate but not necessarily absolutely correct. For example, some forms are not parsed as having the directive *he* in the Groves-Wheeler Westminster Hebrew Morphology, but arguably they have it. Examples are ממערבה in MT Isa 45:6 and התחתונה in MT Ezek 40:19. Note also that some fossilized forms are not parsed as having the directive *he*, such as אָנָה ("whither"), הִנָּה ("hither"), and לַיְלָה ("night"), but other words are, including the interjection הַלֵּיָלָה ("far from it!"), the adverb שָׁמָּה ("there, thither"), and the cardinal directions צָפוֹנָה ("northward"), קִדְמָה ("eastward"), תִּימָנָה ("southward"), and יָמָה ("westward").

<sup>85</sup> Joosten, "Distinction," 337. Accordance gives the numbers 769 for Genesis–Kings and ninety seven for Qoheleth–Chronicles.

<sup>86</sup> 769 in 149,641 graphic units in Genesis–Kings, or 1 per 195 words, or 5 per 1,000 words, and 93 in 42,088 graphic units in Esther–Chronicles, or 1 per 453 words, or 2 per 1,000 words.

<sup>87</sup> Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 209–10.

But aside from several inherent drawbacks,<sup>88</sup> this method too would need to calculate proportions for individual writers/writings in order to have a valid historical linguistic application. Unfortunately Hornkohl only talks about groups like the Torah as a unit, the DSS as a group, and so on.

To get a firmer grip on the morphosyntax of the directive *he*, and potential change underway in ancient Hebrew as possibly reflected in the literary writings, a different tactic is called for. We suggest that the variationist approach is a fitting method since it helps us to view the directive *he* as an item in a particular variable context in individual writings. An important question is how frequently the directive *he* is used in a particular context in comparison with other variants that express the same meaning, or how many actual occurrences are there compared to total possible occurrences (zero-instances<sup>89</sup>). In a previous publication we broached this matter in a brief discussion of ארץ and ארצה—the latter being the most frequent common noun in BH to have the directive *he* suffix. We observed that while there are eight other places in Samuel where ארצה could have been used, there are only two other such places in Chronicles, and in fact “early” Samuel and “late” Chronicles have nearly identical ratios of usage of ארצה.<sup>90</sup> This approach could be repeated for other common and proper nouns and particles in individual writings (בית, מצרים, שם, etc.), and then the various results could be synthesized.

We decided to follow another path in this case study. Seeing that there are thousands of directive *hes*, dozens of individual lexemes that carry the particle, and an undetermined number of collocations (combinations of words), we selected as the subject of study the verb of movement בוא (“to come) when used with a place of destination. The following table illustrates the variants used for the “come to X” variable context we have examined in ancient Hebrew.

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<sup>88</sup> For example, the subjectivity of deciding what is ordinary and anomalous in ancient language specimens, the idealist or prescriptivist mentality that underlies such a quest, and so on. See also our discussion of “pseudoclassicisms” in chapter 3 (3.6.4.1), especially the example of עוד.

<sup>89</sup> Zero-instances are cases where a linguistic variant could have been used but was not.

<sup>90</sup> Samuel: 76%; Chronicles: 71%. See Rezetko, “Qumran,” 51.

Reference	Form	Hebrew	English
2 Sam 10:15	noun + Ø	ויבא ירושלם	“and he came to Jerusalem”
2 Sam 24:6	noun + ה	ויבאו הגלעדה	“and they came to Gilead”
1 Sam 30:26	אל + noun	ויבא דוד אל-צקלג	“and David came to Ziklag”
1 Sam 9:12	ל + noun	בא לעיר	“he came to the city”
2 Sam 6:6	עד + noun	ויבאו עדי-גרן נכון	“and they came to the threshing floor of Nacon”
2 Sam 5:20	ב + noun	ויבא דוד בבעל-פרצים	“and David came to Baal-perazim”
1 Sam 2:11	על + noun	וילך אלקנה הרמתה על-ביתו	“and Elkanah went to Ramah to his house”
<i>Example of על + noun without intervening noun + ה as in MT 1 Sam 2:11: 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam 20:27<sup>91</sup></i>	על + noun	[מדוע לא בא בן ישי גם תמל] גם היום על השלחן	“Why didn’t the son of Jesse come to the table yesterday or today?”

The issue we want to explore is how frequently do the individual writings use the directive *he* and the non-directive *he* variants in the same variable context. In this study, when the directive *he* is not used, we refer to that situation as a zero-instance.

Before we give the full set of data a few introductory remarks need to be given. First, this study proceeds along the lines of Austel’s doctoral dissertation. He categorizes the usage of about fifty verbs, including the most common ones like בוא, הלך, יצא, and so on, and more than 2,500 tokens in BH.<sup>92</sup> Second, the specific parameters of this study largely coincide with Austel’s, mainly so that

<sup>91</sup> For discussion see Qumran Samuel (6.1.17).

<sup>92</sup> H. Austel, “Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements with Verbs of Motion in Biblical Hebrew” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1969). There is a brief two-sentence summary of several of his results, framed as Genesis–Kings vs. Ezra–Chronicles, in idem, “The United Monarchy: Archaeological and Literary Issues,” in *Giving the Sense: Understanding and Using Old Testament Historical Texts* (ed. D. M. Howard, Jr. and M. A. Grisanti; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2003), 160–78 (176–77). A similar approach is taken in S. Holloway, “On the Supposed Diminishment of Locative-Heh Forms in Chronicles: A Fresh Look at the Evidence” (B.A. honors thesis, University of Sydney, 2006), now a Ph.D. candidate at the same university.

we can compare our results with his.<sup>93</sup> For example, we only consider the intransitive or *Qal* use of בּוֹא. *Hiphil* and *Hophal* forms are excluded. Some would criticize this decision,<sup>94</sup> but it allows us to keep the study from becoming unwieldy, there is no absolute rule that requires us to consider all possible forms and uses,<sup>95</sup> as long as the selected parameter is applied equitably to all the data, and in any case Austel remarks that his preliminary surveys indicate that generally the same principles apply to causative and passive verbs.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, we are completely cognizant that this is a preliminary study. If another chooses to undertake the full-scale project s/he will have to consider many more thousands of data. In any case, we have added a substantial number of examples to Austel's study of בּוֹא in BH and we have included the data offered by the DSS as well.<sup>97</sup> Altogether our table of data records 742 tokens in BH and the DSS. Third, we only consider the constructions presented in the table above, excluding other prepositions and compound prepositions such as בֵּין, אֶל-תּוֹךְ, and so on,<sup>98</sup> and we look at places of destination only, excluding persons and other non-place "destinations."<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> For concise summaries of his method see Austel, "Prepositional," xxii, 22–23, 29–30.

<sup>94</sup> Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 219 n. 118; Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqṣat Ma'aše Ha-Torah*, 88.

<sup>95</sup> It is common in historical linguistic studies to control for morphological, syntactic, and semantic constraints, and other factors such as dialect, genre, and so on, in order to make valid comparisons between groups of data. As an illustration, observe that Hurvitz wishes to exclude the *Hithpael* of בָּנַס in Isa 28:20 in his study of this verb (Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 124 n. 201). See our discussion in chapter 8 (8.3.6). Our motivation in this study is different and relates only to the manageability of the project.

<sup>96</sup> Austel, "Prepositional," 18.

<sup>97</sup> For Austel's data and analysis of בּוֹא see Austel, "Prepositional," 34–77. We have also corrected numerous mistakes, such as wrong verse references. Nevertheless, we applaud Austel for his thoroughness and accuracy given that he worked without the benefit of digitized texts and search capabilities.

<sup>98</sup> For nuances of the *Qal* of בּוֹא with various prepositions see Austel, "Prepositional," 34–77; BDB 97–99; *Concise DCH* 41–42; *DCH* 2:101–27; *HALOT* 1:112–14. For examples of the excluded prepositions and compound prepositions see Austel, "Prepositional," 18; *DCH* 2:114–15.

<sup>99</sup> For the sake of transparency we report the following parameters which have been considered and which would have to be disambiguated in a published presentation of data that goes beyond several pages: common vs. proper nouns of place; simple vs. composite (two or more units) place names; number and order of constituents (e.g., "to come to X person to Y place" and vice versa); anarthrous vs. arthrous nouns; nouns vs. pronominal suffixes with nouns of place as referents; human vs. non-human actors; unforced vs. forced non-use of directive *he* (e.g., שְׁלַח, מַחֲנֶה); semantic nuances of individual prepositions (e.g., אֶל and עַל as hostile "against" rather than "to"); personified places

The following table gives the raw data for all the relevant occurrences of בּוֹא with a place of destination in BH and the DSS.<sup>100</sup> There are no relevant examples in Ben Sira. Examples in the inscriptions are discussed below.

Table 9.6 Motion Verb בּוֹא with a Place of Destination in the Hebrew Bible (MT) and the Dead Sea Scrolls							
Book	Noun with Directive <i>he</i>	Noun without Directive <i>he</i>	אֶל	עַד	עַל	בַּ	לְ
Genesis <sup>101</sup>	28	6	15	4	1	6	0
Exodus <sup>102</sup>	7	3	15	0	2	4	0
Leviticus <sup>103</sup>	0	0	17	0	1	0	0
Numbers <sup>104</sup>	2	4	15	2	0	3	0
Deuteronomy <sup>105</sup>	0	1	16	6	0	9	0
Joshua <sup>106</sup>	2	5	8	3	0	1	1
Judges <sup>107</sup>	5	11	7	8	1	4	0

(e.g., “Jerusalem” in some poetic texts, usually with *lamed*); specific collocations (e.g., “to come the house,” “to come to Jerusalem”). We have excluded constructions where another verb intervenes between בּוֹא and the destination. The notation “x2,” for example, refers to two similar prepositional complements (e.g., both with אֶל) that are governed by the same בּוֹא.

<sup>100</sup> Biblical books and parts of books with no relevant data are not listed: Joel, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Psalms C (“Definite Late”), Job 1:1–2:13 + 42:7–17, and the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra.

<sup>101</sup> Noun with הַ: Gen 10:19 (x2), 30; 12:5, 11, 14; 19:1, 23; 24:32; 25:18; 35:6, 16; 37:14; 39:11; 41:57; 42:29; 43:26, 30; 44:14; 45:17; 46:1, 6, 8, 26, 27, 28; 48:5, 7. Noun without הַ: 13:10; 23:10, 18; 33:18; 35:27; 45:25; אֶל: 6:18; 7:1, 7, 9, 13, 15; 14:7; 19:3; 20:13; 22:9; 24:42; 32:9; 34:20; 39:16; 43:21. עַד: Gen 10:19 (x2); 11:31; 50:10. עַל: Gen 34:25. בַּ: Gen 19:8; 31:33 (x4); 41:29.

<sup>102</sup> Noun with הַ: Exod 1:1; 8:20; 15:23, 27; 18:7; 33:8, 9. Noun without הַ: Exod 8:20; 19:1, 2. אֶל: Exod 3:1; 7:23; 12:23, 25; 16:1, 35 (x2); 18:5; 28:29, 35, 43; 29:30; 30:20; 40:32, 35. עַל: Exod 18:23; 34:12. בַּ: 7:28; 8:20; 14:28; 15:19.

<sup>103</sup> אֶל: Lev 9:23; 10:9; 12:4; 14:8, 34, 46; 15:14; 16:2, 3, 23 (x2), 26, 28; 19:23; 21:23; 23:10; 25:2; עַל: Lev 11:34.

<sup>104</sup> Noun with הַ: Num 21:23; 33:9. Noun without הַ: Num 20:1, 22; 21:27; 22:39. אֶל: Num 7:89; 13:26, 27; 14:30; 15:2, 18; 17:23; 19:7, 14; 20:6, 24; 25:8; 31:24; 32:9; 34:2. עַד: Num 13:22, 23. בַּ: Num 10:9; 31:23 (x2).

<sup>105</sup> Noun without הַ: Deut 1:7. אֶל: Deut 1:7, 22; 4:21; 12:9 (x2), 26; 17:14; 18:6, 9; 24:10; 26:1, 3; 27:3; 29:6; 31:7; 32:52. עַד: Deut 1:19, 20, 24, 31; 9:7; 11:5. בַּ: Deut 19:5; 23:2, 3 (x2), 4 (x2), 9, 25, 26.

<sup>106</sup> Noun with הַ: Josh 2:22; 24:6. Noun without הַ: Josh 2:1; 6:11, 19, 22; 8:19. אֶל: Josh 9:17; 10:19, 20; 20:6 (x3); 22:10; 24:11. עַד: Josh 3:1, 8, 15. בַּ: Josh 2:18. לְ: Josh 2:3.

Book	Noun with Directive <i>he</i>	Noun without Directive <i>he</i>	א	ע	ל	ב	ל
Samuel <sup>108</sup>	24	37	27	12	0	10	1
1 Kgs 1–2 Kgs 23 <sup>109</sup>	13	33	23	3	1	5	0
2 Kgs 24–25 <sup>110</sup>	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
Isa 1–39 <sup>111</sup>	1	5	3	0	1	8	0
Isa 40–55 <sup>112</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Isa 56–66 <sup>113</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Jeremiah <sup>114</sup>	8	24	10	2	9	11	4
Ezekiel <sup>115</sup>	1	6	13	0	3	3	3

<sup>107</sup> Noun with ה: Judg 8:4; 9:5, 31; 11:16; 18:7. Noun without ה: Judg 6:4; 9:5, 27; 11:33, 34; 17:8; 18:2, 8, 18; 20:26; 21:2. א: Judg 9:46; 11:34; 18:15; 19:22, 23, 29; 21:8. ע: Judg 7:13; 9:52; 11:33; 14:5; 15:14; 17:8; 18:13; 19:10. ל: Judg 18:27. ב: 6:5; 7:17, 19; 11:18.

<sup>108</sup> Noun with ה: 1 Sam 1:19; 8:4; 10:10; 15:12; 17:20; 19:18; 21:2; 22:9; 25:40; 26:1, 3; 27:8; 31:12; 2 Sam 5:1, 3; 10:17; 14:31; 17:17, 20, 24, 27; 19:16; 24:6 (x2). Noun without ה: 1 Sam 4:12; 5:5, 10; 9:13; 10:5 (x2), 13; 11:4; 12:8; 13:8; 15:7; 16:4; 17:52; 21:1; 22:5 (x2); 23:7; 30:1; 2 Sam 2:29; 3:20; 4:7; 5:25; 6:16; 10:2, 14 (x2), 16; 12:20; 15:37 (x2); 16:15; 19:4, 26; 20:3; 24:7 (x2), 8. א: 1 Sam 1:19; 4:3, 5, 6, 7; 6:14; 14:26; 20:19, 27, 29; 21:16; 23:10; 24:4; 26:5; 30:3, 26; 2 Sam 2:23; 4:5; 5:8; 11:11; 12:20; 17:18; 19:12, 31; 20:3; 23:13; 24:6. ע: 1 Sam 10:3; 15:5; 17:52; 19:22; 20:37; 27:8; 30:9; 2 Sam 2:24; 6:6; 15:32; 16:5; 19:16. ב: 1 Sam 2:14; 7:13; 9:5; 14:25; 19:23 (x2); 23:7; 2 Sam 5:20; 17:12; 24:13. ל: 1 Sam 9:12.

<sup>109</sup> Noun with ה: 1 Kgs 1:15; 9:28; 10:2; 13:7; 14:12, 17; 18:46; 20:43; 2 Kgs 4:32; 6:4; 9:6, 30; 10:6. Noun without ה: 1 Kgs 3:15; 11:17, 18 (x2); 12:1, 21; 14:4 (x2), 28; 19:3; 20:30; 22:25, 37; 2 Kgs 2:4; 5:18; 6:20; 7:4; 8:7; 10:17, 21, 23; 11:13, 16, 18, 19; 12:10; 14:13; 15:14; 16:6; 18:17; 19:1, 23; 23:34. א: 1 Kgs 2:30; 13:1, 10, 22, 29; 14:13; 16:18; 17:10; 19:9; 20:30; 21:4; 2 Kgs 3:24; 4:25, 27; 5:24; 7:5, 8 (x2), 10, 12; 8:1; 19:32, 33. ע: 2 Kgs 7:5, 8; 8:7. ל: 2 Kgs 15:19. ב: 1 Kgs 14:6, 17; 2 Kgs 6:23; 9:31; 13:20.

<sup>110</sup> Noun without ה: 2 Kgs 25:8, 23, 26. ל: 2 Kgs 24:11; 25:1.

<sup>111</sup> Noun with ה: Isa 20:1. Noun without ה: Isa 13:2; 19:1; 35:10; 37:1, 24. א: Isa 16:12; 37:33, 34. ל: Isa 10:28. ב: Isa 2:10, 19 (x2), 21 (x2); 19:23; 26:20; 30:29.

<sup>112</sup> Noun without ה: Isa 51:11. ב: Isa 52:1.

<sup>113</sup> ל: Isa 59:20.

<sup>114</sup> Noun with ה: Jer 27:18; 28:4; 36:20; 40:6, 8, 12, 13; 41:1. Noun without ה: Jer 14:18; 16:5, 8; 20:6; 26:21; 27:3; 32:24; 34:3; 35:11; 36:5; 38:11; 40:4 (x2), 12; 41:17; 42:14, 15, 17, 18, 19; 43:2, 7; 44:12; 51:61. א: Jer 4:5; 8:14; 32:8; 37:16 (x2); 39:1; 47:5; 48:8, 21; 51:60. ע: Jer 25:31; 43:7. ל: Jer 3:18; 12:12; 14:3; 37:19; 49:14; 51:51, 56 (x2); 52:4. ב: Jer 4:29; 9:20; 17:19, 20, 25, 27; 21:13; 22:2, 4; 36:9; 52:12. ל: Jer 44:28; 50:26; 51:48, 53.

Book	Noun with Directive <i>he</i>	Noun without Directive <i>he</i>	א	ע	ל	ב	ל
Hosea <sup>116</sup>	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
Amos <sup>117</sup>	0	3	0	0	1	0	0
Obadiah <sup>118</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Jonah <sup>119</sup>	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Micah <sup>120</sup>	0	0	0	3	0	2	0
Nahum <sup>121</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Habakkuk <sup>122</sup>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Zechariah <sup>123</sup>	0	1	2	0	2	1	0
Malachi <sup>124</sup>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Psalms A (“Non-Late”) <sup>125</sup>	0	6	3	0	0	8	2
Psalms B (“Per Late”) <sup>126</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Job 3:1–42:6 <sup>127</sup>	0	0	2	2	0	2	0
Prov 1–9, 30–31 <sup>128</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Prov 10–29 <sup>129</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Ruth <sup>130</sup>	0	7	1	0	0	0	0
Song of Songs <sup>131</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Qoheleth <sup>132</sup>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

<sup>115</sup> Noun with ה: Ezek 47:8. Noun without ה: Ezek 3:15; 17:12; 21:25 (x2); 42:14 (x2). א: Ezek 3:4; 13:9; 17:3; 20:38; 23:39; 38:8; 40:6; 43:4; 44:9, 16, 17, 21, 27. ל: Ezek 7:2; 33:3; 38:18. ב: Ezek 7:22; 26:10; 30:4. ל: Ezek 41:3; 44:2 (x2).

<sup>116</sup> Noun without ה: Hos 4:15; 9:4, 10. ב: Hos 11:9 (?).

<sup>117</sup> Noun without ה: Amos 4:4; 5:5, 19. ל: Amos 5:9.

<sup>118</sup> Noun without ה: Obad 11. ב: Obad 13.

<sup>119</sup> Noun with ה: Jonah 1:3. Noun without ה: Jonah 1:3. א: Jonah 2:8. ב: Jonah 3:4.

<sup>120</sup> ע: Mic 1:9, 15; 4:10. ב: Mic 5:4, 5.

<sup>121</sup> ב: Nah 3:14.

<sup>122</sup> א: Hab 2:16 (x2).

<sup>123</sup> Noun without ה: Zech 6:10. א: Zech 5:4 (x2). ל: Zech 12:9; 14:16. ב: Zech 9:9.

<sup>124</sup> א: Mal 3:1.

<sup>125</sup> Noun without ה: Pss 5:8; 66:13; 71:3; 100:4; 105:18, 23. א: Pss 43:4; 73:17; 95:11. ב: Pss 66:12 (x2); 69:3; 79:1; 105:31; 118:19, 20; 132:3. ל: Pss 96:8; 132:7.

<sup>126</sup> ב: Pss 45:16; 63:10.

<sup>127</sup> א: Job 5:26; 38:22. ע: Job 23:3; 38:16. ב: Job 3:6, 7.

<sup>128</sup> Noun without ה: Prov 7:20.

<sup>129</sup> Noun without ה: Prov 27:10. ב: Prov 23:10.

<sup>130</sup> Noun without ה: Ruth 1:2, 19 (x2), 22; 2:18; 3:14, 15. א: Ruth 4:11.

<sup>131</sup> ל: Song 4:16; 5:1.

<sup>132</sup> א: Qoh 9:14.

Book	Noun with Directive <i>he</i>	Noun without Directive <i>he</i>	אֵל	עַד	עַל	בַּ	לְ
Lamentations <sup>133</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Esther <sup>134</sup>	0	0	6	1	0	0	1
Daniel Hebrew <sup>135</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	6	0
Ezra Hebrew <sup>136</sup>	0	3	3	0	0	0	2
Nehemiah <sup>137</sup>	0	1	4	0	0	1	1
Chronicles Synoptic <sup>138</sup>	1	10	0	1	0	1	0
Chronicles Non-Synoptic <sup>139</sup>	4	4	9	5	1	1	11
Dead Sea Scrolls <sup>140</sup>	2	5	24	5	0	10	11

In order to maximize our observations on the distribution of these variants it is helpful to view the data in several figures. We begin with the figure overleaf which displays the occurrences and relative proportions of the data for each variant individually.

<sup>133</sup> Noun without ה: Lam 1:10. ב: Lam 4:12.

<sup>134</sup> אֵל: Esth 4:2; 5:4, 5, 8, 10, 14. עַד: Esth 2:13. לְ: Esth 6:4.

<sup>135</sup> Noun without ה: Dan 1:1. ב: Dan 11:7, 9, 24, 29, 40, 41.

<sup>136</sup> Noun without ה: Ezra 3:8; 7:8; 8:32. אֵל: Ezra 3:8; 7:9; 8:15. לְ: Ezra 2:68; 3:8.

<sup>137</sup> Noun without ה: Neh 6:10. אֵל: Neh 2:7, 8, 11; 6:11. ב: Neh 2:15. לְ: Neh 13:7.

<sup>138</sup> Noun with ה: 2 Chr 8:18. Noun without ה: 1 Chr 19:15; 21:4; 2 Chr 1:13; 11:1; 12:11; 18:24; 20:28; 23:12, 17, 20. עַד: 1 Chr 13:9. ב: 2 Chr 33:14.

<sup>139</sup> Noun with ה: 1 Chr 5:9; 12:24, 39; 19:15. Noun without ה: 2 Chr 11:16; 23:6; 24:23; 32:21. אֵל: 1 Chr 19:2; 2 Chr 7:2; 8:11; 23:2, 7, 15; 24:23; 26:16; 27:2. עַד: 1 Chr 12:17 (עַד-לְ); 15:29; 21:21; 2 Chr 12:4; 14:8. עַל: 2 Chr 20:24. ב: 2 Chr 32:1. לְ: 1 Chr 12:1; 24:19; 2 Chr 20:22; 28:9; 29:17; 30:1, 8, 11, 27 (x2); 31:16.

<sup>140</sup> Noun with ה: 4Q364 1a-b:1 (//Gen 25:18); 4Q365 6a:ii+6c:9 (//Gen 15:23); cf. below 4Q161 5-6:5. Noun without ה: 1QM 14:2; 4Q169 3-4:ii:2; 4Q177 12-13:i:10; 4Q252 2:9 (cf. Gen 11:31 [עַד]); 4Q493 9. אֵל: CD 5:1 (//Gen 7:9); 6:12; 7:19; 11:21-22; 12:6; 4Q161 5-6:5 (אֵל עִתָּה); cf. Isa 10:28 [עַל-עִיִּת]; 4Q266 6:ii:3-4; 4Q365 23:4 (cf. Lev 24:2; also Lev 14:34; 19:23; 23:10; 25:2); 11Q19 45:7-8, 10 (x2), 11, 16-17; 46:8; 49:6, 17; 50:11 (suf.); 53:9; 56:12; 60:12-13, 16; 11Q20 12:11, 20; 11Q21 3:2. עַד: 1QM 19:9; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:35; 4Q364 21a-k:7 (//Deut 1:20); 4Q365 32:12 (//Num 13:23); 4Q492 1:9. ב: CD 12:14; 1QS 5:13; 1QM 10:6-7; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:25, 27, 35; 4Q365 6b:3 (//Exod 15:19); 4Q421 12:3; 11Q19 31:7 (suf.); 36:7 (suf.). לְ: 1QM 7:3; 4Q159 1:ii:3; 4Q248 1:6; 4Q379 12:5-6; 4Q394 3-7:i:8; 11Q19 45:13 (suf.), 17 (suf.), 18 (suf.); 47:6 (suf.); 48:15; 58:6.

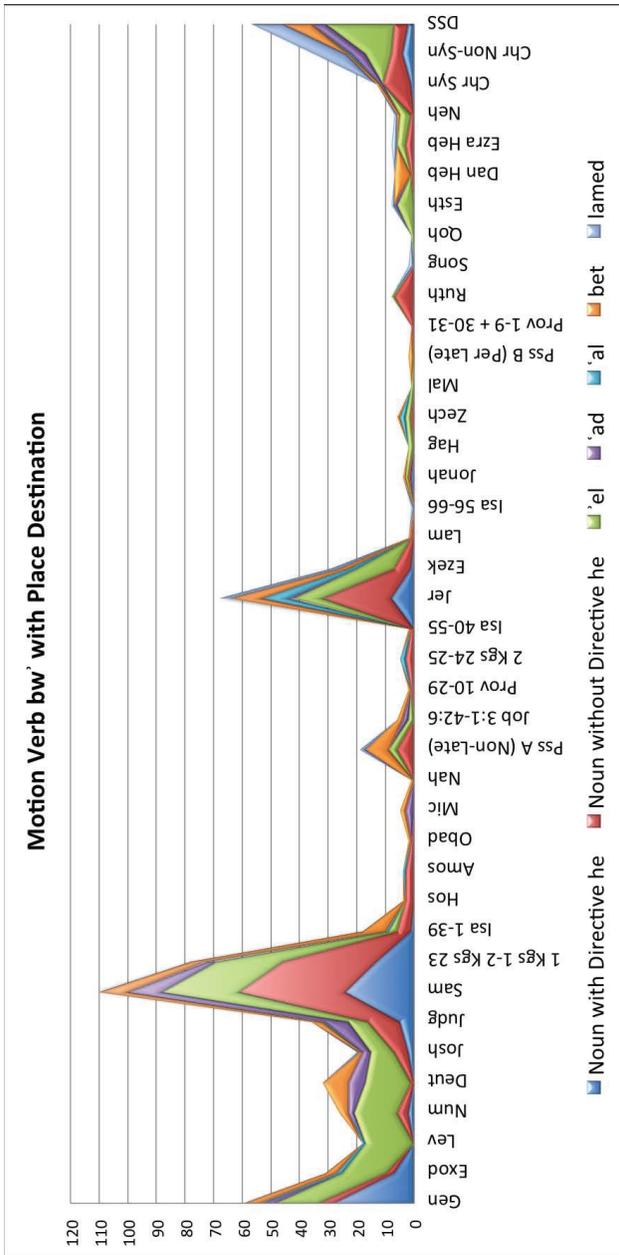


Figure 9.8

The highest densities of total tokens are visible in the books of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, several books of the Latter Prophets (Jeremiah–Ezekiel), and finally non-synoptic Chronicles and the DSS. Many of these are prose writings and the others have a large prose component. In contrast, most books in the Latter Prophets and Writings, the latter including books with a significant amount of prose such as Esther–Nehemiah, have relatively few tokens of the variable “to come to X place.” Text type (e.g., prose) and genre (e.g., historiography) induce the use of the variable, even though it is clearly optional in some writings probably in relation to the subject matter. Turning to the individual variants, several facts stand out. High absolute numbers (10+) of the directive *he* are found in only three books: Genesis, Samuel, and Kings. If we focus on nouns without the suffix, Genesis is removed from the group but Judges, Jeremiah, and synoptic Chronicles are added to it. We offer the following additional selected observations at this point. The preposition לֹא is relatively common in all the books with the variable “to come to X place.” In contrast, דַּע has a concentration in Samuel only (x12), לַע in Jeremiah only (x9), וְ in Samuel (x10), Jeremiah (x11), and the DSS as a group (x10), and הַ in non-synoptic Chronicles (x11) and the DSS as a group (x11). We return below to some of these points.

Our main interest in this case study is the frequency of the directive *he* relative to the other variants of the variable “to come to X place.” Therefore we present the data in the line chart overleaf which shows the relative proportions of nouns with the directive *he* and the other six variants combined.

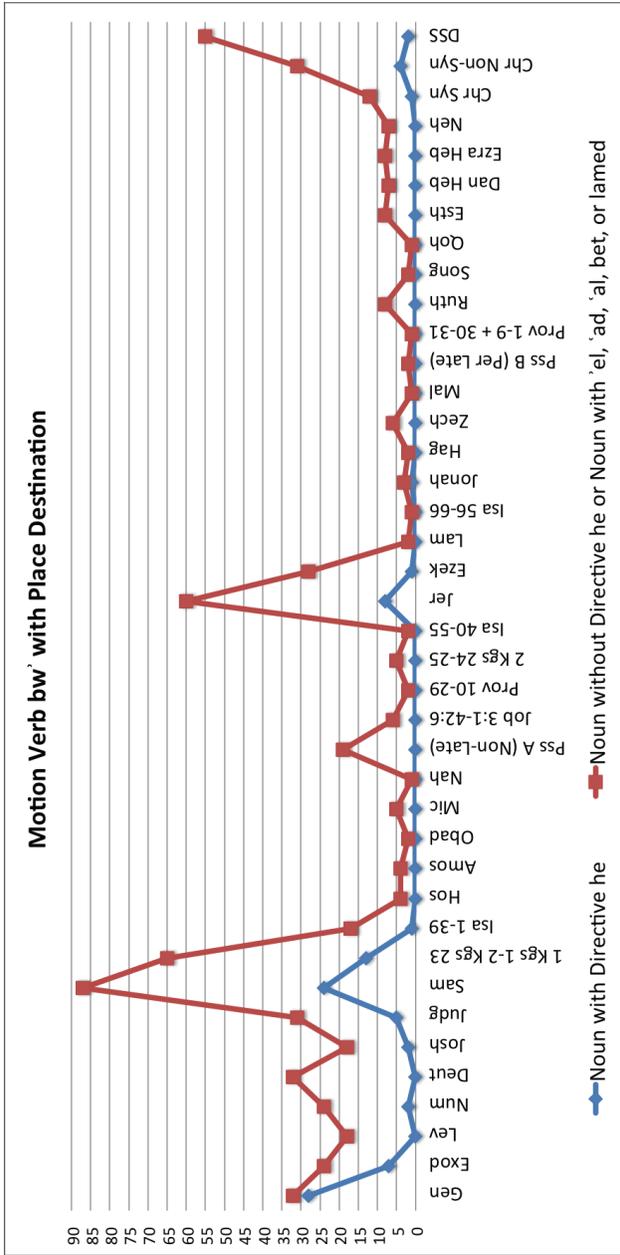


Figure 9.9

Genesis, Exodus, Judges, Samuel, and Kings stand out as the books that make regular use the suffix. Of these, however, there is a substantial difference between Genesis, which has similar proportions of the *he* and non-*he* variants, and the other books, where directive *he* is much less preferred. All the other biblical and DSS writings evidence much higher absolute and relative frequencies of the non-*he* variants, and this observation applies to writings that are conventionally dated early (e.g., Leviticus–Joshua) or late (e.g., Esther–Chronicles). There is a palpable difference between, for example, Exodus and Deuteronomy or Joshua and Samuel. This finding is better appreciated in the figures overleaf. The first figure displays the percentage of nouns with directive *hes* in the various writings. In order to appreciate even better the relative marginality of the directive *he* in most of the writings, or conversely its relative exclusiveness in some of them, the second figure overleaf inverts the data in the first figure.

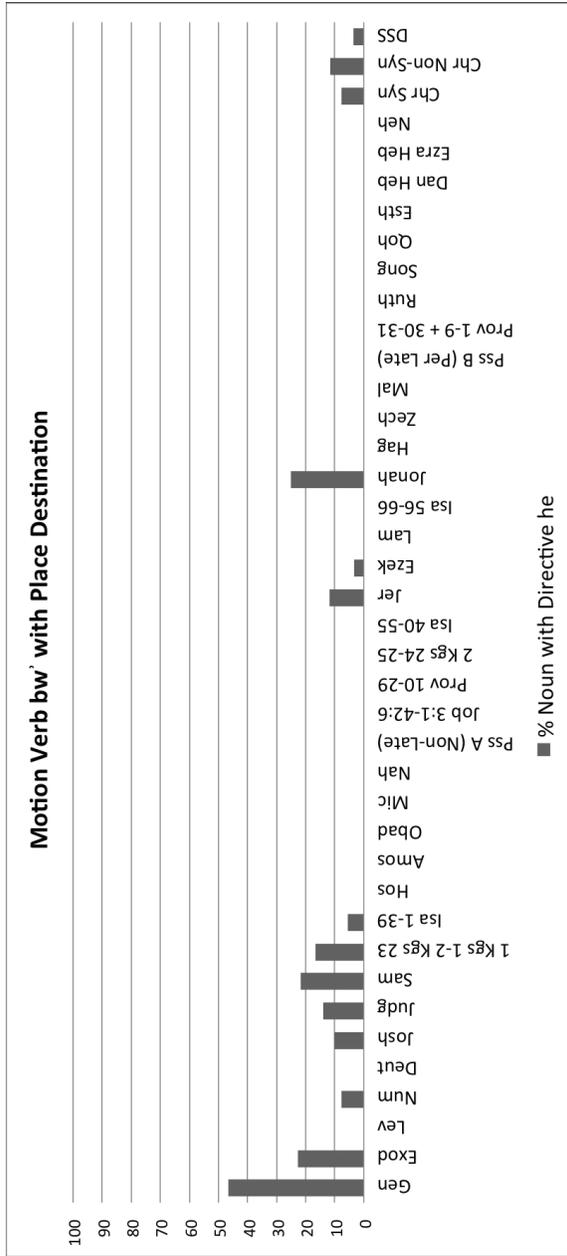


Figure 9.10

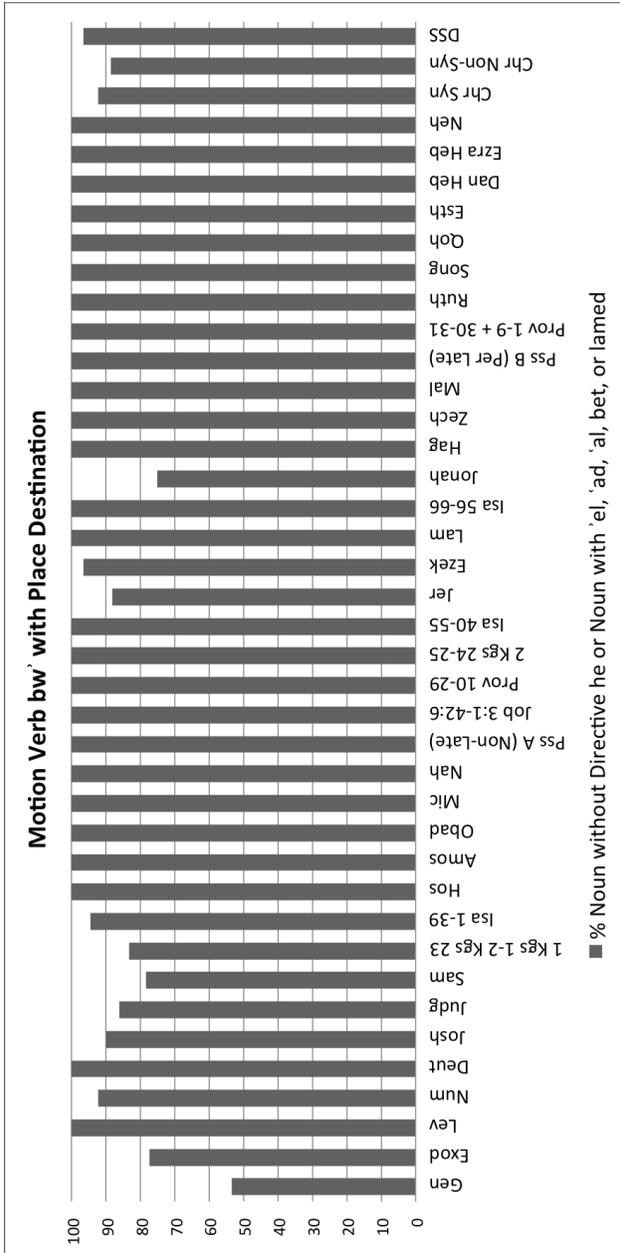


Figure 9.11

From this viewpoint there is a statistically insignificant difference between “early” prose books like Joshua and Judges on the one hand and “late” synoptic/non-synoptic Chronicles on the other.<sup>141</sup> Also, it is highly probable that large segments of Exodus, the books of Leviticus–Deuteronomy, and much of the Writings and the DSS do not select the directive *he* mainly due to the factors of text type and genre. For example, procedural discourse, as we find in legal writings, does not favor the use of the variable “to come to X place,” and such discourse favors even less a variant such as the directive *he* that is mainly characteristic of historiographical prose. In any case, it is evident that the non-*he* variants are constant in all the writings, and it is arguable that there are considerable differences in the participation of (contemporaneous) individual writers/writings in any ongoing change.

The preceding remarks could be faulted for obscuring several other differences between the “early” and “late” writings. The notable example is **בוא** + **ל** + place. This is regarded as a characteristic of “late” Second Temple Hebrew.<sup>142</sup> Above we made the observation that only non-synoptic Chronicles (x11) and the DSS as a group (x11) have substantive numbers of this variant. Other examples are attested in Jeremiah (x4), Ezekiel (x3), Song of Songs (x2), and Ezra (x2), and once in each of Joshua, Samuel, III Isaiah, “Non-Late” Pss 96 and 132, and Esther and Nehemiah. This construction, and movement verb + **ל** + place more generally, is attested in “early” writings, conventionally dated, but it is attested more often in “late” ones. However, while this construction might possibly be construed as encroaching on other constructions, including other prepositional constructions, in Chronicles and the DSS as a group, that is less evident in Esther–Nehemiah. Furthermore, it is even less obvious when the DSS are ungrouped and examined individually. First, the usage seems to be nothing more than marginal in the DSS. For example, Hornkohl cites six examples: 3Q15 5:13 (following the noun **ביאה**); 4Q248 1:6 (following **בוא**), 8 (following **שוב**); 4Q365 32:10 (following **עלה**); 4Q379 12:5-6 (following **בוא**); and 4Q522 9:ii:2 (following **בוא**).<sup>143</sup> However, the last, 4Q522 9:ii:2, has to be excluded since the crucial factors (e.g., verb **בוא**, preposition **ל**) are reconstructed. The two

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<sup>141</sup> These books have twenty, thirty-six, and forty-six total tokens, respectively. Jonah has only four tokens in total (see the table above) so the high percentage it displays is statistically less reliable.

<sup>142</sup> The relevant literature is cited in *LDBT* 1:42; Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 221 n. 131; cf. 218–26 for his analysis of the collocation. Hornkohl’s study is helpful because it presents the largest collection of data that we have seen. But it is unfortunate that he only discusses the feature in relation to groups of books: Torah, Former Prophets, Latter Prophets, LBH, and “other books” (*ibid.*, 219–21). He would need to calculate proportions for individual writers/writings, and of both occurrences and zero-instances, in order to substantiate his historical linguistic (= his linguistic dating) argument, for reasons we discussed in detail in chapter 7.

<sup>143</sup> Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 223 with n. 135.

examples with **בוא** are included in our table above, where we also cited nine other examples with this verb. Each of the scrolls has only one token with the exception of the Temple Scroll. In this scroll there are no examples of a noun with/without *he* or of **עד** following **בוא**, but there are fifteen with **אל**, two with **ב**, and six with **ל**. The distribution of the variants with **אל** and **ל** is interesting. The preposition **אל** is clearly the norm, used for example for entering the sanctuary or the city where the sanctuary is located, but **ל** is used only for entering the city and only when the city is the referent of **לה**. In other words, we find mainly complementary distribution in these contexts, thus it does not seem to be the case that **ל** is encroaching on **אל**. Therefore, as far as **בוא** + **ל** + place is concerned, it is attested only twice in the Temple Scroll where **אל** would seem to have been a viable option: 11Q19 48:15 (**יבואו לעריכמה**) and 11Q19 58:6 (**בא (לארץ ישראל)**).<sup>144</sup>

The results we have obtained in this preliminary study cohere well with Austel's more extensive investigation, once we correct a mistake in his method. His conclusions that are relevant to the present study are:<sup>145</sup>

1. Verbs of motion generally follow similar patterns with regard to their use of the verbal and prepositional complements.
2. These use patterns are generally applicable over the whole Bible, with two major exceptions: **ל** with place names is virtually restricted to Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles, and the density of the **ה** directive is considerably greater in the prose passages of the Pentateuch than in the prose passages of the rest of the books.

Unfortunately, Austel commits the common error of discussing only the groups of “Genesis–Deuteronomy” and “Ezra–Chronicles.”<sup>146</sup> Once these sets of books are ungrouped, as they should be for historical linguistic analysis—and we have added the individual DSS into the mix as well—we are able to perceive more clearly (see above) that different writers/writings even within each of these groups of writings have quite different tendencies with regard to the variable “to come to X place.”

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<sup>144</sup> Note that **בוא** + **ל** + **עיר** is attested in 1 Sam 9:12 (in speech) and **בוא** + **ל** + **ארץ** is found in Jer 44:12, 28 (both in speech). Of course the Temple Scroll itself is couched in the first person singular (of the deity).

<sup>145</sup> Austel, “Prepositional,” xxii; cf. 25 n. 79, 324, 329; 348–57 for tables comparing the frequency of occurrence of the directive **ה** after all the verbs studied in the Pentateuch and remaining books.

<sup>146</sup> He does, however, speak about the individual books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

Elsewhere in this book we have looked in detail at textual variations related to the directive *he* in the book of Samuel.<sup>147</sup> Here we summarize the data for the MT and biblical (and related) DSS as a whole.<sup>148</sup> The scrolls have about 212 occurrences of (non-restored) examples of the directive *he*. In 135 of 212 cases (2 of 3, 64%) the MT and the scrolls agree. However, against twenty-four minuses there are seventy-seven pluses of the suffix in the scrolls.<sup>149</sup> If we exclude examples of the QH innovation מואדה (x29),<sup>150</sup> and if we exclude examples that some would consider “deviant” in usage (x29),<sup>151</sup> we are still left with nineteen pluses of the suffix in the scrolls that reflect “normal” biblical usage.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, in many cases overlapping scrolls have different readings, some with and some without the suffix. This is a good illustration of

<sup>147</sup> Chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.1) and Qumran Samuel (5.2).

<sup>148</sup> This paragraph updates several details in Rezetko, “Qumran,” 52. We do not consider here allusions or citations to biblical writings in the non-biblical scrolls (e.g., Deut 18:7 in 11Q19 60:14). Examples are given in Muraoka, “Approach,” 206–8.

<sup>149</sup> The minuses are in Gen 46:7 (MasGen), 8 (MasGen); Exod 9:8 (4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>; cf. 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup>); 21:13 (4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>); 26:33 (4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>d</sup>); 40:22 (4QExod-Lev<sup>f</sup>); Deut 3:27 (4QDeut<sup>d</sup>); 10:22 (4QPhyl A, 4QPhyl K; cf. 4QMez B, 8QPhyl); 11:8 (8QPhyl; cf. 4QDeut<sup>i</sup>, 4QDeut<sup>k1</sup>); Judg 21:19 (4QJudg<sup>b</sup>); 2 Sam 4:3 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); 8:2 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); Isa 8:23 (x2; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 22:18 (4QIsa<sup>f</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>), 18 (4QIsa<sup>f</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 28:6 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 36:2 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 43:14 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>); Jer 20:4 (4QJer<sup>c</sup>); Ezek 36:21 (MasEzek); Jonah 1:3 (4QXII<sup>a</sup>; 1st), 3 (4QXII<sup>f</sup>; 2nd; cf. MurXII).

<sup>150</sup> Exod 2:14 (4QExod<sup>b</sup>); 12:38 (4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>; cf. 4QExod<sup>c</sup>); Num 11:33 (4QNum<sup>b</sup>); 12:3 (4QLev-Num<sup>a</sup>); 22:17 (4QNum<sup>b</sup>); Deut 6:3 (4QPhyl A, 4QPhyl J; cf. 4QMez C, XQPhyl 2); 2 Sam 14:25 (4QSam<sup>c</sup>); Isa 31:1 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 36:2 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 38:17 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 47:6 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), 9 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 52:13 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>); 64:8 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), 11 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); Joel 2:11 (4QXII<sup>c</sup>); Pss 6:4 (11Ps<sup>d</sup>; cf. 4QPs<sup>a</sup>); 104:1 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>; cf. 4QPs<sup>d</sup>); 119:4 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>), 43 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>; cf. 4QPs<sup>e</sup>), 96 (x2; 11QPs<sup>a</sup>), 107 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>), 138 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>), 140 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>; cf. 5QPs); 139:14 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>); 142:7 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>); 145:3 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>). Note that these pluses are mainly in Isaiah and Psalms and they are usually in parallel to  $\text{אָדָה}$  in the MT.

<sup>151</sup> Exod 12:46 (XQPhyl 1); Lev 17:3 (4QLev<sup>d</sup>; cf. 11QpaleoLev<sup>b</sup>); Num 13:22 (4QNum<sup>b</sup>); 35:5 (4QNum<sup>b</sup>); Deut 5:15 (4QPhyl J; cf. 4QDeut<sup>a</sup>, XQPhyl 3); 11:10 (4QPhyl K; cf. 4QDeut<sup>j</sup>, 4QDeut<sup>k1</sup>, 8QMez); 26:2 (4QDeut<sup>k2</sup>); Isa 6:2 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 10:28 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 13:20 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), 21 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 14:13 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 23:12 (4QIsa<sup>c</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 34:12 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), 14 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 35:8 (x2; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), 9 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 45:8 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>); 48:16 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 51:6 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>); 52:4 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), 11 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>); 57:6 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 65:20 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>); Jer 47:7 (2QJer); Pss 14:5 (11QPs<sup>c</sup>); 104:25 (11QPs<sup>c</sup>); 133:3 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>). These passages are cited in Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 210 n. 86. Note that most of these pluses are in Isaiah (x18 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; x1 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>) and/or involve a form of  $\text{אָדָה}$  (x20).

<sup>152</sup> Gen 48:7 (4QGen<sup>f</sup>); Exod 27:9 (4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>d</sup>; cf. 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>); 39:21 (4QExod-Lev<sup>f</sup>); Num 20:13 (4QNum<sup>b</sup>); Deut 1:37 (4QDeut<sup>b</sup>); 5:31 (4QPhyl H); 1 Sam 5:9 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>), 11 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); 20:35 (4QSam<sup>b</sup>); 21:1 (4QSam<sup>b</sup>); 27:11 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); 2 Sam 2:29 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); 3:27 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); 15:29 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); Isa 39:6 (4QIsa<sup>b</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); 45:6 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; cf. 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>); Jer 13:5 (4QJer<sup>a</sup>); Ps 122:4 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>); Dan 8:4 (4QDan<sup>a</sup>).

the fluidity of language in biblical manuscripts. What would we find if the scrolls had survived for the other 80% or so of the MT's examples, and unknown non-examples, of the directive *he*?

The small corpus of extra-biblical Hebrew inscriptions of the late First Temple period has played an important role in discussions of the absolute and relative dating of biblical writings. This is because, it is argued, there are similarities between the inscriptions and "Classical" BH that are not shared by "Late" BH: "the linguistic ground common to pre-exilic inscriptional Hebrew and classical BH, excludes LBH."<sup>153</sup> In such a framework Joosten argues that a closeness between the inscriptions and "early" BH is indicated by the shared frequency of the directive *he* and the shared attestation of a directive *he* attached to a noun in the construct state (e.g., *ויבאו ארצה כנען*, "and they went to the land of Canaan"; Gen 12:5).<sup>154</sup> In keeping with the themes of this section, we would like to offer some additional observations about *בוא* + noun + directive *he* in the inscriptions and BH.

The verb *בוא* is attested eight times in monarchic-era Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>155</sup> The directive *he* is attested six times.<sup>156</sup> It is interesting to observe that in all three cases where *בוא* expresses movement toward a place, and not toward a person or something else, the directive *he* is used: Arad 17.obv.1–2 (*בא ביתה אלישב*); Arad 24.rev.9 (*תבא...שמה*); Lachish 3.obv.15–16 (*לבא מצרימה*). The same observation applies to the movement verb *עלה* and the directive *he*: Lachish 4.obv.7 (*יעלהו העירה*). These verbs, *בוא* and *עלה*, occur more than 400 times in the book of Samuel,<sup>157</sup> and forty times in collocations with these particular destinations, *בית*, *מצרים*, *עיר*, and *שם*. We can remove nine examples where there is forced non-use of the directive *he* because of a pronominal suffix on the destination (e.g., *אל-ביתו*). We are left with thirty-one examples, and in only *one* of these does the MT express the destination with the directive *he*: *לבוא העירה* (2 Sam 17:17). The other thirty examples have unforced non-use, or zero-instances, of the directional suffix. In other words, MT Samuel

<sup>153</sup> A. Hurvitz, "The Relevance of Biblical Hebrew Linguistics for the Historical Study of Ancient Israel," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29–August 5, 1997: Division A: The Bible and Its World* (ed. R. Margolin; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999), 21\*–33\* (31\* n. 30). For a critique of this viewpoint see *LDBT* 1:143–72, and elsewhere (cf. index in *LDBT* 2:286).

<sup>154</sup> Joosten, "Distinction," 337–38; idem, "Operation," 498–99; idem, "La vérité," 27–28. For an analysis of his argument related to the directive *he* attached to a noun in the construct state see Rezetko, "Qumran," 53–56.

<sup>155</sup> Arad 17.obv.1–2; 24.rev.9; 40:7–8; Lachish 3.obv.11, 15; 3.rev.3; 5:9; Meşad Hashavyahu 1:7; cf. Lachish 4:9.

<sup>156</sup> Arad 17.obv.2; 24.rev.9; Lachish 3.obv.16; 4.obv.7, 8; 8.rev.2.

<sup>157</sup> 428 times total, x321 *בוא* (1st in MT), x107 *עלה* (2nd in MT following Kings, x113).

uses the directive *he* in these collocations only 3% of the time.<sup>158</sup> The DSS of Samuel have survived to attest only two or three of these examples, including probably [וּתְבִיאֵהוּ בִּית יְהוָה] in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam 1:24 (= MT) and possibly [וַיְבִיאֻ] [בֵּית אַבְיָן] in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam 7:1 (= MT). In the third passage we discover, however, that 4QSam<sup>b</sup> 1 Sam 20:1 shows the directive *he* in [וַיִּהְיוּ בְּאֵר] compared to the MT's [וַיִּהְיוּ בְּאֵר הָעֵיר].<sup>159</sup>

The inscriptional corpus is too small to reach solid conclusions on this issue, but the evidence is suggestive. On the basis of these data, one could suggest a tentative theory, that in early, preexilic Hebrew, the use of the directive *he* in these collocations was obligatory or at least the default construction. This might mean that those scholars are right who see those biblical books like Samuel which use a relatively large number of directive *hes* as reflecting an earlier stage of Hebrew than those books which seldom use it. However, it would also mean that even in those books, the MT has already suffered drastic loss of the early grammatical form compared to early, preexilic Hebrew, so that the distribution of the form in MT Samuel bears no relation to the actual use of the form in early Hebrew. The high degree of variability in the preservation of this feature in our current manuscripts (most of the minuses are in MT Samuel) would be a snapshot of a late stage of the loss of this early grammatical feature. This would raise the further question whether those MT books which use even less of this feature than MT Samuel originally lacked it, or have just undergone an even more thorough process of purging the form in their textual history. This highly theoretical discussion gives an indication of what might be achievable if we had a more adequate corpus of dated and localized evidence for ancient Hebrew, and it casts further doubt on the view that the distribution of linguistic forms in our late manuscripts gives us reliable evidence of the state of the language in earlier periods.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Word without ה (x19): 1 Sam 1:24; 2:14; 5:2, 5; 9:11, 13, 14; 10:5, 10 ( וַיְבִיאֻ שָׁם ); 12:8; 20:40; 21:1; 2 Sam 2:2; 4:7; 6:16; 10:14; 15:37; 19:4, 6. Preposition (x11): 1 Sam 1:7; 7:1; 9:12; 15:5; 23:7; 30:3; 2 Sam 4:5; 5:8; 14:31 ( וַיְבִיאֻ עַבְדֵי אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁה הַבַּיִת ); 17:18, 20 ( וַיְבִיאֻ עַבְדֵי אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁה הַבַּיִת ). Three of these texts have a directive *he* in the immediate context but they still count as zero-instances of the collocations under study since they could have been expressed as indicated.

<sup>159</sup> For discussion of this textual variant see Qumran Samuel (5.2.10).

<sup>160</sup> Similarly, in the concluding discussion of his monograph on the directive *he*, Hoftijzer points out that the stage of language development in texts does not necessarily coincide with the order of the dates in which the texts were originally written. In other words, one is mistaken if one states that a text originally written at an earlier date than another one cannot represent a later stage in the development of the language, or conversely a text originally written at a later date cannot represent an earlier stage of language. See J. Hoftijzer, with the collaboration of H. R. van der Laan and N. P. de Koo, *A Search for Method: A Study in the Syntactic Use of the H-Locale in Classical Hebrew*

9.5. DISCUSSION OF PERIODIZATION<sup>161</sup>

The conventional view of the history of BH held by Hebraists is that the biblical writings were initially composed in one of three historical periods. The separate linguistic profile and many specific linguistic characteristics of each of the three periodized groups of writings, and their constituent books, therefore represent a distinct period in the history of the language. The language of the first period, the preexilic period, is represented in the biblical writings of Genesis–Kings, which are written in “Classical Biblical Hebrew.” The language of the second period, the exilic period, is regarded as a period of transition, and its language is represented in the biblical writings of Jeremiah–Ezekiel. The language of the third period, the postexilic period, is represented in the biblical writings of Qoheleth and Esther–Chronicles, which are written in “Late Biblical Hebrew.” Other writings in the Latter Prophets and Writings are dated to one of these periods on the basis of the similarity of their language to the language of the writings of either Genesis–Kings, Jeremiah–Ezekiel, or Qoheleth and Esther–Chronicles. The intermediate language period, which is dated relatively between the preexilic (or First Temple) and postexilic (or Second Temple) periods, is dated absolutely but flexibly from around the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth century B.C.E., and this period’s written language specimens are described as exhibiting “transitional” language or a blend of “Classical” and “Late” BH.<sup>162</sup>

This periodization of BH rests on two main foundations. The first is the inner-biblical distribution of particular linguistic forms and uses, for example the presence of items that entered the Hebrew language of the Bible through contact with Aramaic or Persian, or differences between parallel writings of the Bible like (early) Samuel–Kings and (late) Chronicles.<sup>163</sup> The second foundation of the conventional periodization is the linguistic ground that is common, on the one

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(SSLL 12; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 245–46. This is illustrated further in the discussion of English in chapter 4 (4.3.1) where several examples are cited of later manuscripts or compositions persistently having earlier linguistic forms and uses. Finally, the following appeared too late for consideration in the preceding discussion: K. Medill, “Directional Strategies in Biblical Hebrew: Influences on the Use of Locative Hey,” *IULC Working Papers* 14 (2014) (<https://www.indiana.edu/~iulcwp/wp/article/view/14-03>).

<sup>161</sup> This discussion follows up and expands on the discussion in chapter 8 (8.3.12).

<sup>162</sup> Nuanced descriptions of the three suggested periods of BH are given in Joosten, “Gesenius”; Hornkohl, “Biblical Hebrew.”

<sup>163</sup> Sáenz-Badillos succinctly expresses the latter point: “Work in this field demands precise methods. If we begin by comparing writings that we know for certain to be post-exilic, such as 1 & 2 Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah, with parallel pre-exilic texts, like Samuel–Kings (which runs parallel to Chronicles), we can discover many differences between the two periods” (Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 115–16). Following this statement Sáenz-Badillos proceeds to discuss the second point we give here.

hand, to the early biblical writings and Hebrew inscriptions of the monarchic period and, on the other hand, to the late biblical writings and elements of QH or MH. Hurvitz expresses these matters clearly and concisely:

The suggested division is not based solely on internal biblical considerations: its chronological and typological validity is supported by extra-biblical evidences as well. It is highly significant that such outside confirmation exists, since the extant biblical corpus is not overly abundant. Because of their limited number (and narrow range of topics), the biblical books alone cannot possibly provide us with a complete cross-section of the actual living language of those days. Consequently, the supplementary information to be gleaned from non-biblical sources is essential to any diachronic investigation of the Hebrew language of that period.<sup>164</sup>

At several points in this book we have discussed the issue of language periodization. In chapter 1 (1.2) we introduced the topic of periodization and we posed a series of questions about a “period” of language such as whether the concept of a period is valid, how a period could be isolated, and so on. In chapter 2 (2.3.3) and chapter 7 (7.4) we explored some aspects of the history of English, and how historical linguists approach a variety of issues related to sources of data, extra-linguistic factors that constrain language variation, the distribution of linguistic phenomena in individual writing specimens, and so on. Also in chapter 2 (2.5) we elaborated on several serious problems with the notion of periodization, such as the arbitrariness of endpoints and the fiction of homogeneity, and we commented further on specific problems with the conventional periodization of English that become evident when attention turns from generalizations to specifics of language that are exhibited in the surviving literature. We repeat: *Language changes begin at different times and places, and they diffuse at different rates in different language structures and among different speakers depending on a variety of internal and external constraints, thus there can be considerable differences in the participation of (contemporaneous) individual speakers/writers in ongoing changes.* Our discussions of these matters in previous chapters are the indispensable foundation for the remarks that follow.

It would seem that few Hebraists have thought deeply about these issues and/or published their thoughts. For example, Hornkohl’s article “Biblical Hebrew: Periodization” in the recently published *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, is written as a discussion of the *linguistic dating* of BH texts to distinct historical periods, and it does not mention any of the relevant historical linguistic issues we have discussed, and it does not contain any references to literature written by non-Hebraists or on the theoretical and methodological problems of periodization that are treated in the historical

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<sup>164</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic*, 158.

linguistic literature.<sup>165</sup> A decade earlier, however, Naudé had published the article “The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion,”<sup>166</sup> and he was already getting at the heart of the matter. Naudé’s aim was “to outline a constrained theory of language change and diffusion.”<sup>167</sup> And being in tune with historical linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics—he cites Labov, for example—he was aware that “[m]any factors influence the spread of linguistic innovations,” “diffusion is a many faceted phenomenon,” “[t]he process of change and diffusion is a continuous process,” and “[i]t follows from the very nature of diffusion that variation should be present during the period of diffusion (those grammars retaining the original form will continue to coexist for some time side by side with those grammars in which no innovation is apparent).”<sup>168</sup> Consequently, “[t]he typology of Hebrew (and the so-called EBH and LBH)...provides no workable basis for an empirical linguistic research,” and “no variety of BH can be viewed exclusively as a Hebrew in transition.”<sup>169</sup> Furthermore,

from the viewpoint of the socio-political notion of language, the classifications EBH and LBH may be practical terms to designate the language of a certain linguistic corpus of the Hebrew Bible to a certain time dimension, but from the viewpoint of language change and diffusion this distinction does not reflect the reality of the language variation of the various grammars of BH as reflected in styles, registers, idiolects, dialects, and so on.<sup>170</sup>

Few others seem to have caught on to the significance of Naudé’s argument. Holmstedt is an exception. In his article “Issues in the Linguistic Analysis of a Dead Language, with Particular Reference to Ancient Hebrew,” he cites Naudé’s work, following his own comment that “it is a significant linguistic concern whether it is responsible and accurate to speak of ‘biblical’ Hebrew as a single linguistic system. Perhaps it has come to the point at which a new bottom-up approach is needed, in which separate descriptions are constructed for each “bibliolect,” that is, the grammar of each text.”<sup>171</sup> In a more recent article he refers again to Naudé’s work, arguing likewise that “the categories of ‘Archaic BH,’ ‘Standard/Classical/Early BH,’ and ‘Late BH’ are not only unhelpful, they have no empirical status,” and “the notion of a ‘transitional’ stage between SBH

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<sup>165</sup> Horhkohl, “Biblical Hebrew.”

<sup>166</sup> J. A. Naudé, “The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion,” in *BHSCT*, 180–214

<sup>167</sup> Naudé, “Transitions,” 189.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 199–200, 205, 215.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 202, 215.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 205; cf. 213.

<sup>171</sup> Holmstedt, “Issues,” 18 with n. 53.

and LBH is not justifiable,” because “every change and its resulting diffusion (if it becomes diffuse) has its own history.” Consequently, “[i]t is unlikely, therefore, that any two change-and-diffusion features will have the same origin,” and “[i]t is also unlikely that any two I-languages will reflect the same cluster of change-and-diffusion features, which implies that the exact order of texts may vary for each feature analyzed.”<sup>172</sup> Cook, De Caën, and Drescher also cast off the familiar three-stage diachronic model as the starting point for historical linguistic research.<sup>173</sup> In conclusion, our main point is nicely summed up by Kim. In the framework of language variation and change theory, and from the variationist viewpoint in particular,

we can no longer argue for the existence of “Biblical Hebrew in transition,” or a linguistic body within BH that is considered to represent the intermediate stage between EBH and LBH...If we understand that there was no decisive moment in the history of BH, it is difficult to say that the Hebrew of the preexilic period was distinct from that of the postexilic period and vice versa or that there was a kind of Hebrew that was a mixture of both. The situation is much more complex and intricate...*What the evidence pictures is not two separate linguistic bodies and a mixture of both, but rather a continuum, which is multidimensional and which shows a great degree of variability.*<sup>174</sup>

In these chapters we have studied דרש for “to study” (8.2), ten sets of “early”/“late” verbs (8.3), abstract nouns in ות- and especially מלכות (9.2), the pronominal endings ותם- and ותיהם- (9.3), and the directive הֵ (הֵ-) in conjunction with the verb of movement בוא (“to come) when used with a place of destination (9.4). The substance of our variationist studies harmonizes well with the arguments of Naudé, Kim, and the other Hebraists we mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, and the results correspond well with what we expect in the framework of variationist theory (chapter 7) and in light of the long and complex composition and transmission history of biblical literature (chapters 3–

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<sup>172</sup> Holmstedt, “Historical,” 101–2; cf. 101–4 for the entire discussion and other relevant remarks. Holmstedt’s comments are set in the framework of Chomsky’s distinction between I-language (internalized language; *Language*) and E-language (externalized language; *language*). See chapter 2 (2.3.2).

<sup>173</sup> Cook, “Detecting,” 83; V. De Caën, “Hebrew Linguistics and Biblical Criticism: A Minimalist Program,” *JHS* 3 (2001): 7–8 (<http://www.jhsonline.org>); Drescher, “Methodological,” 36. Indeed, already in the early 1990s, Ben Zvi showed similar insight when he commented, “it seems that the relative status of Ezekiel among other biblical books cannot be assessed by comparing Ezekiel to two sets of linguistic features [EBH and LBH], but by thoroughly comparing it to other biblical books” (E. Ben Zvi, Review of M. F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel*, *CBQ* 54 (1992): 540–42 (541). See also the remarks on the lexicon of biblical and postbiblical Hebrew and the “phases” of Hebrew in Elwolde, “Developments,” 51–52.

<sup>174</sup> Kim, *Early*, 160 (emphasis added); cf. *LDBT* 1:49–54.

6). The distribution of linguistic variants is multidimensional and inconsistent, not unilinear and categorical.<sup>175</sup> This is not news. We have argued previously that two persistent problems that surface regularly in historical linguistic and linguistic dating studies of BH are overestimation of linguistic contrast *between* “early” and “late” BH and overestimation of linguistic uniformity *within* “early” or “late” BH.<sup>176</sup>

The lexical variables we have studied exhibit a higher degree of categoricity than the grammatical ones, at least from one angle. The “late” variants—we recall that they were recognized as “late” in the first place mainly because they appear mainly or only in “late” and not “early” writings—appear sporadically or never in the books of Genesis–Kings and other writings which many would consider “early.” In contrast, however, these variants *also occur irregularly* in Esther–Chronicles, Ben Sira, and the DSS. Their low density is seen in two ways. First, these are represented by very few tokens in individual writings—מלכות is the obvious exception. Second, they appear unevenly in the “late” writings in the sense that some or many individual writings do not attest them—again מלכות is the obvious exception in BH, though not in the DSS when they are ungrouped. Overall the “late” lexical variants we have studied are *peripheral* to the “early” variants which predominate in the “late” writings as a whole and often occur exclusively in many individual “late” writings.

This often is dismissed or goes unrecognized. For example, we cited above Hurvitz’s view on the distribution of *-otam* and *-oteyhem* in the DSS (9.3). In the same article he makes this general comment regarding variation and change in “late” BH:

In post-Classical compositions, archaic, outdated modes of expression are not completely neglected or systematically replaced by their later counterparts. After all, we are dealing here with a gradual and continuous process, not with a sudden, instantaneous event; so it is necessary to allow for a (shorter or longer) “transitional period,” during which both competing elements may have coexisted side by side.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> It hardly needs to be pointed out that none of the line charts in chapters 8 or 9 resembles an “s-curve,” despite organizing the writings in the conventional tripartite periodization of biblical writings which many Hebraists and biblicists would more or less agree with.

<sup>176</sup> See, for example, *LDBT* 1:83–90, 111–19; Rezetko, “What,” 241–51. Many other illustrations of this are given throughout *LDBT* and in other publications by us cited there or in this book. It is also interesting to see that of the 88 morphological and syntactical items that are listed in the “Tables of Linguistic Features Suggested to be LBH in Major Publications: Table 1: Grammar,” in *LDBT* 2:162–78, with the exception of #39, all the entries begin with “increase of” (x52), “decrease of” (x8), “preference for” (x13), “occasional use of” (x11), “use once” (x1), and “use twice” (x2).

<sup>177</sup> Hurvitz, “Terminological,” 113 n. 19.

In fact, however, the common situation in BH is closer to the opposite of what Hurvitz describes. The “late” variants are “not completely neglected.” The “early” ones are “systematic.” We believe several factors are at play here. The first is the relative instability of the lexicon where there is less resistance to variation and change.<sup>178</sup> This comment applies to both authorial and editorial/scrubal aspects of text composition and transmission. The second factor is the distinction between leaders and laggards (chapter 7, 7.3.5). We find it more plausible, given the distribution of the data in all the sources, that the “late” variants are used not just simply because they are “late,” but because the writers of those compositions were more progressive in their intermittent yet conscious selection of those (mainly) uncommon variants.

Turning to the grammatical variables we have studied, they are both better attested and more constant in their distribution. This applies to BH, Ben Sira, and the DSS as a whole. In some cases it is argued that different tendencies are seen, for example, in Genesis–Kings in contrast to Esther–Chronicles. This can be true when these sets of books are assumed to be discrete and coherent units. However, this approach is methodologically problematic because it obscures distributional differences between individual writings and different degrees of participation by authors/editors/scribes in ongoing linguistic change (chapter 7, 7.3.6, 7.3.7, 7.5). We have in fact seen that when the individual books of the Bible and the DSS are ungrouped, very often the “pattern” of “early” vs. “late” distribution breaks down. The distribution of *-otam* and *-oteyhem* in various DSS is a clear illustration of this (9.3).

There is no doubt whatsoever in our minds that a history of Hebrew is reflected in the Bible.<sup>179</sup> Any other conclusion is unbelievable. How could the situation be otherwise given the Bible’s long and complex history of composition and transmission? However, at the same time, it is precisely that production history, taken together with the unique nature of literary/religious literature, the absence of authentic, non-composite, dated, and localized manuscripts, and the non-categorical distribution of the data in the surviving sources, that have kept Hebraists and biblicists from reaching a consensus on the history of the biblical writings and their language. The linguistic profiles of the biblical writings are not reducible to their dates of earliest origin but reflect the entire history of involvement of a multiplicity of editors and scribes who processed those writings and handed them down through time.

In previous publications we argued that SCH (or EBH) and PCH (or LBH) are largely interpretable in terms of two conscious tendencies or “styles” among authors/editors/scribes of the biblical period: conservative and non-conservative (or traditional and non-traditional, or standard and non-standard). In addition, we

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<sup>178</sup> See the discussions and references to other literature chapter 7 (7.3.7) and chapter 8 (8.1.2).

<sup>179</sup> See appendix 3.

argued that their linguistic choices, or the conscious selection of linguistic variants, could represent acts of identification or have conceptual or ideological motivation.<sup>180</sup> Some would hesitate at the idea of “style” as an explanation, or at least as a prominent explanation, for the variability of language in biblical literature. However, style is an independent variable that is routinely considered in historical (socio)linguistic research.<sup>181</sup> We agree that style should not be adopted as a single all-inclusive explanation—no independent variable should—but it is a legitimate explanation for language variability alongside other independent variables such as time, dialect, sociolect, idiolect, and so on. Furthermore, because other variables such as the time and place of individual biblical writings cannot be independently or empirically established or eliminated—all of them are speculative—we cannot exclude *a priori* any variable as a potential constraint on linguistic variation in BH.<sup>182</sup>

In our minds the long and complex production history of the Bible necessarily involved, very likely to a significant degree, an ongoing and conscious choice between linguistic variants, involving many different sets of variants in (stable or unstable) variation with each another. Such “learned change” or “conscious implementation of change in a prestigious area of language use,”<sup>183</sup> is actually quite common in the redaction and transmission of literary writings,<sup>184</sup> and especially in the case of literary writings of religious

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<sup>180</sup> See, for example, *LDBT* 1:70, 141, 361; 2:96–99; Rezetko, “Evaluating”; Young, “Peshet Habakkuk”; cf. appendix 3. The idea of conceptual or ideological motivation as a determinative factor is argued in Ben Zvi, “Communicative,” 285–86 (cf. 287, 289–90); Schmid, *Old Testament*, 31; cf. C. Levin, Review of R. M. Wright, *Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-exilic Date of the Yahwistic Source*, *RBL* 1 (2006): 4 (<http://www.bookreviews.org>).

<sup>181</sup> See chapter 4 (4.3.1, English; 4.3.2, French; 4.3.3, Spanish) and throughout chapter 7.

<sup>182</sup> Holmstedt cites several articles by Crystal in support of his own argument that “before ‘style’ can be discussed, all regional, historical, and social dialectal factors must be eliminated” (Holmstedt, “Historical,” 113). See D. Crystal, “New Perspectives for Language Study. I: Stylistics,” *English Language Teaching* 24 (1970): 99–106; idem, “Style: The Varieties of English,” in *The English Language* (ed. W. F. Bolton and D. Crystal; London: Penguin, 1987), 199–222. Crystal’s point, however, is not that all other factors must be eliminated, or that style should be subordinated to them, but rather that the analysis of style should be contextualized among varieties of language and other constraints on variation. The problem we have, of course, is that the dimensions of variation (historical, regional, social, etc.) which are relevant for ancient Hebrew cannot be independently or adequately distinguished and defined, and therefore no independent variable can be discarded before the fact.

<sup>183</sup> Nevalainen, “Change,” 167.

<sup>184</sup> Some examples are given in chapter 4 (4.3.1, English; 4.3.2, French; 4.3.3, Spanish).

character such as the Bible.<sup>185</sup> With this we come back to Labov's notion of "change from above." "Change from above," or consciously-chosen language, is for all intents and purposes "stylistic" variation,<sup>186</sup> and it may appear "sporadic or unsystematic from a linguistic point of view."<sup>187</sup> The results of our case studies in this book and elsewhere indicate to us that the common linguistic features of BH appear relatively stable in the biblical sources—both within the MT and between the MT and other texts. Large-scale linguistic invariance of this sort is quite normal for literature that is written in a High dialect or standard literary language. However, the less common linguistic features are highly fluid—again both within the MT and between the MT and other texts. Because these variations, especially the distribution of the so-called late linguistic forms and uses, do not appear to systematically align with any identifiable or hypothetical chronological or regional pattern of variation, we continue to think that "style" is a plausible and significant factor behind the distribution of many of these linguistic variants in the Bible.

#### 9.6. CONCLUSION

In an article on the use of literary sources in historical sociolinguistic research, Anipa incorporates a short study on variation in Shakespeare's language. Remarkably, he gives a list of twenty-seven variants of the spelling of Shakespeare's own surname, used by his contemporaries and *him*.<sup>188</sup> This is followed by a table that displays variation in twenty variables from thirteen of Shakespeare's plays as a snapshot of linguistic variation across a number of his plays over a twenty-year period.<sup>189</sup> One of his points is that Shakespeare went back and forth in his choice of the variants available to him:

Such linguistic behavior transcends certain common sociolinguistic concepts such as "innovators," "early-adopters," "laggards" and "resisters"—an oversimplification of human ingenuity and creativity, for, in effect, "each individual is a battle-field for conflicting linguistic types and habits"...It mirrors the "uncertainty principle," whereby the same speaker can simultaneously act as an innovator, a laggard and even a resister, a phenomenon designated as "the tug-of-war theory of variability,"...

The case of Shakespeare is, therefore, a manifestation of that intra-personal linguistic tug-of-war. The eventual acceptance of the fact that, at the

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<sup>185</sup> For some general remarks on the linguistic properties of religious (as opposed to secular) writings see Campbell, *Historical*, 289–91; Janda and Joseph, "Language," 16–17, 140–41 n. 21; Schendl, *Historical*, 14–15.

<sup>186</sup> See the discussion in chapter 7 (*passim*, especially 7.3.3, 7.3.4, 7.3.8).

<sup>187</sup> Labov, *Social Stratification*, 240 n. 24.

<sup>188</sup> Anipa, "Use," 181.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 184–85.

micro-, individual level, it is sometimes impossible to determine why an individual switches from one variant to another, will be a quantum leap for sociolinguistics. Normal humans are susceptible to an open-ended range of temperaments and attitudes, all with indeterminate shades of idiosyncratic variation.<sup>190</sup>

Perhaps in these chapters we have managed to communicate a little of our feeling that it is often difficult or impossible to know the precise reasons behind the linguistic variations in the Hebrew Bible.

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<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 183, 186.



## Chapter 10

### Conclusion

The origin of the writings in the Hebrew Bible is a controversial subject that has long fascinated and divided laypeople and academics. Even experts, including Hebraists and biblicists, often have opposing views on when and how the Bible became a book, and about the circumstances of its writing, revising, and copying by many people in different times and places. With the hope of arriving at more certain conclusions about the Bible's production, and persuading others that they are right, scholars have expended a lot of energy trying to establish the absolute and relative dates of the biblical writings using a variety of benchmarks. Language has figured prominently in those efforts, as have literary, conceptual, and other criteria.

The main source for ancient Hebrew is the Bible, and the main sources for the Bible are the later and fragmentary Dead Sea Scrolls and the much later medieval manuscripts of the Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch. In this book we have explored a variety of fundamental issues related to these sources and what we can know about the history of Hebrew prior to the third century B.C.E. (the date of the oldest Dead Sea Scrolls). The general framework of our discussion has been the field of historical linguistics. Related to that discipline we have looked at theoretical and methodological matters connected to the objective and sources of the research and the variation and periodization of language. The two topics around which most of our discussion has revolved are the evaluation of the nature of the sources and the description of their language.

Our main contention, contrary to what has usually been the case among Hebraists and biblicists, is that the two issues, the nature of the sources and the description of their language, should not be studied separately. Instead, building on work by experts on premodern scribally-created writings in English, French, and Spanish, we argue that a joint history of texts and history of language approach, both revolving around the single idea of variation, is the only sensible and indeed the only suitable way to study the history of ancient Hebrew. This integrated approach is called for by the fact that the Bible, like other medieval

and ancient literature, did not evolve in a modern setting where a text when printed is usually reproduced again in the same form, but rather in a context where a “published” text was edited and copied by hand and so its form was prone to change. In other words, variations arose over time between the textual details and hence the linguistic features of the copies.

Our aim therefore in this book has been to work toward constructing a more philologically robust approach to the history of ancient Hebrew and thereby also overcoming the chasm of academic specialization. Like Kabatek, the Romance philologist whom we cited in the first chapter, we realize that the postulated reform of historical linguistic study of ancient Hebrew may strike some as very idealistic, or too complex, or maybe even unnecessary, but we believe it is the only way forward given the nature of the object itself (the Bible).

Chapter 1 introduced the background to this book, the key issues at hand, and our objectives. Chapter 2 explored in detail from a general historical linguistic perspective crucial topics such as sources and philology. Chapter 3 followed closely on the heels of chapter 2, arguing that historical linguists of ancient Hebrew are in tension with diachronicians of other languages, including specialists on various Ancient Near Eastern and Indo-European languages, because they generally disregard the philological analysis of the written sources of linguistic data. Moreover, they are in tension with textual critics of the Hebrew Bible because they usually presuppose that the Masoretic Text is something like the “original” text of the Bible. Instead, we argued that the absence of authentic, non-composite, dated, and localized sources for the study of the Bible’s language should be taken very seriously. Furthermore, we argued that neither the Masoretic Text nor any other biblical text is likely to preserve the authentic details of the language of any biblical author.

Chapters 4 and 7 introduced two methods for documenting the distribution of linguistic data in the written sources, cross-textual variable analysis and variationist analysis. These were applied to the texts of Bible and other sources in chapters 5–6 and 8–9, respectively. The emphasis throughout these chapters fell on knowledge discovery, or data mining, and the ultimate goal has been the comprehensive and transparent reporting of the distribution of linguistic variables.

The first method we used was cross-textual variable analysis. This method compares linguistic variants in different versions of the same writing. We began by discussing some examples from divergent copies of writings in English, French, and Spanish. We then applied the method to four sets of parallel passages in the Masoretic Text of the Bible, and to the Masoretic Text and the Qumran scrolls of the book of Samuel. The principle conclusion of the cross-textual variable analysis was that biblical manuscripts are reliable as evidence for the basic and common linguistic forms of ancient Hebrew, because these are quite stable in the textual witnesses, but the manuscripts do not provide secure

evidence of the distribution of less common linguistic items in the biblical writings, because these were highly fluid during the editing and copying of the writings. This conclusion undermines much of the work that has been done on the history of ancient Hebrew. Previous scholarship has routinely drawn far-reaching conclusions about the language of original authors of biblical writings from the distribution of precisely these less common linguistic features in one text, the Masoretic Text. On the contrary, in agreement with the consensus view of textual critics that we outlined in chapter 3, we argued that the surviving texts of the Hebrew Bible do not provide evidence even for the original shape of the biblical compositions, and much less for the linguistic features used by any original authors. Just as the surviving biblical texts are the result of a long and complex history of writing and rewriting, so too the surviving texts represent a composite of linguistic features from numerous authors, editors, and scribes who produced and transmitted the biblical writings through the centuries.

The second method we used was variationist analysis. This method compares changing proportions of occurrence of linguistic variables in different writings. Important aspects of the theoretical discussion that we would emphasize again are the importance of the principle of accountability (all variants related to the variable context are reported), the principle of individuality (numbers for individual writers/writings rather than groups are compared), and the potential *misuse* of the s-shaped diffusion curve to try to establish a relative sequence of linguistic variables and the writings which have them. The method was illustrated with an example from the history of English, and then it was applied to an assortment of lexical and grammatical variables in the Hebrew Bible (Masoretic Text, Samaritan Pentateuch, biblical Dead Sea Scrolls), monarchic-era inscriptions, the Wisdom of Ben Sira, and the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. Of the noteworthy conclusions of the variationist analysis we would underline the following. First, the basic and common linguistic forms of ancient Hebrew, in contrast to the less common items, are quite stable between “early” and “late” writings. This conclusion fits well with the result of the cross-textual variable analysis. Second, historical linguists often talk about groups of books, such as the books of Genesis–Kings or Esther–Chronicles or the Dead Sea Scrolls, but when these are ungrouped there arise considerable linguistic differences between compositions that are usually regarded as having been written in more or less the same historical period. This conclusion fits well with the general (historical) sociolinguistic idea that some speakers/writers are leaders or progressives, others are moderates, and still others are conservatives or laggards with respect to any given linguistic change in progress.

In general the distribution of less common and low-density linguistic variants in the ancient Hebrew sources is multidimensional and inconsistent rather than unilinear and categorical. We would attribute this to fact that the sources that have survived are predominantly religious writings which are

written in a High dialect or standard literary language, and consequently the distribution of such forms relates above all to “change from above,” or “learned change,” or “conscious implementation of change in a prestigious area of language use.” Obviously we would not attribute all variation in the ancient Hebrew literary writings to this factor, or “style” generally speaking, but it is a familiar and viable explanation that has to remain on the table, particularly given that other extra-linguistic factors and social dimensions that constrain variation cannot be independently or adequately established for the literary writings of the Bible. Finally, as for the matter of periodization which we examined more closely in chapters 2 and 9, we believe together with some other Hebraists that the conventional three-stage model of Biblical Hebrew—Early Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew with a transition between them—is problematic in a variationist framework, offers no workable basis for empirical research, and should be set aside in favor of less idealized and more rigorous descriptive approaches to the database.

We do not claim that the theoretical and methodological issues we have handled in this book are exhaustive, or that cross-textual variable analysis and variationist analysis are the only tried-and-true historical (socio)linguistic methods that have the potential to elucidate variation and possible change underway in ancient Hebrew. At the conclusion of this book we therefore wish to list some other approaches, refinements, and issues which other researchers may want to consider, in addition of course to the deficiencies in previous research, especially the absence of an integrated text-language approach, that we have described in this book.<sup>1</sup>

First, cross-textual variable analysis of multiversion literature can be developed further, applied to manuscripts of other biblical books and even some Qumran writings, and targeted toward the entire range or particular linguistic variables in these. The analysis should be done of course without the typical MT bias of conventional studies. A desideratum is an electronic database of biblical manuscript variants (MT, SP, DSS), which are systematically collected, classified, and analyzed, and that can be manipulated for various objectives of quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Second, variationist analysis of ancient Hebrew writings can also be further developed in multiple ways. First, the database should ideally include all available ancient Hebrew sources, including the Hebrew Bible (MT, SP, DSS), inscriptions, Qumran writings, the book of Ben Sira, the Bar Kochba letters, the

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<sup>1</sup> See also the suggestions in Miller-Naudé, “Diachrony,” 12–13; Zevit, “Not-So-Random,” 482–83. Miller-Naudé even mentions “finding ways to incorporate text-critical considerations” in historical linguistic work on BH, but her suggestion sounds like a lot less than the “paradigm shift” that is overdue in Hebrew and biblical studies (Ulrich, “Evolutionary Production,” 2010: 210; 2011: 48), and it falls far short of the text-language approach we have described in this book.

Mishnah, and other early rabbinic writings (MH1/RH1). Of course, as one studies these s/he must also keep in mind fundamental factors such as dialect, text type, genre, style, and other parameters and social dimensions of variation, even if many of these cannot be established independently for the writers/writings in question. Second, attention should turn from uncommon items, whether retention of archaism or introduction of neologism,<sup>2</sup> to more widespread morphological and syntactic structures at the phrase, clause, and sentence levels, even if many and perhaps most structures in these areas of grammar will vary only marginally between the different writings, we suspect. For example, very little has been published dealing with the type, number, and order of constituents in noun, adjective, adverb, preposition, and verb phrases. Polak's work is the major exception.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, however, his helpful analysis of degrees of syntactic complexity is bogged down by the problematic link between his "rhythmic-verbal" and "complex-nominal" styles and his *relative* periodization of the writings exhibiting these styles.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the raw and normalized data derived from the variationist studies can be mapped more thoroughly (see below).

Third, diachronic typology, which studies pathways of change cross-linguistically, has been relatively unexplored in historical linguistic research on

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<sup>2</sup> By "introduction of neologism" we mean so-called marked "late" language, which includes the typical objects of study in most research carried out in the EBH vs. LBH framework. By "retention" of archaism we mean so-called marked "early" language, including the kinds of uncommon items that are discussed in Joosten, "Gesenius," 103–4; Schniedewind, *Social*, 148–55.

<sup>3</sup> F. H. Polak, "Language Variation, Discourse Typology, and the Sociocultural Background of Biblical Narrative," in *DBH*, 301–38; idem, "Orality: Biblical Hebrew," in *EHL* 2:930–37; idem, "Parler de la langue: Labov, Fishman et l'histoire de l'hébreu biblique," *Yod: Le Proche-Orient ancien à la lumière des sciences sociales* 18 (2013) (<http://yod.revues.org/1814>). Polak's work has been picked up (uncritically) by some other Hebraists, for example, in Rendsburg, "Haggai," 337–40; idem, "Northern," 351–54; idem, "Some," 33–35, 44–45.

<sup>4</sup> See the critical remarks by other experts of orality in Carr, *Formation*, 126–27 n. 56; S. Niditch, "Epic and History in the Hebrew Bible: Definitions, 'Ethnic Genres,' and the Challenges of Cultural Identity in the Biblical Book of Judges," in *Epic and History* (ed. D. Konstan and K. A. Raaflaub; The Ancient World: Comparative Histories; Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 86–102 (91–92); Person, "Orality"; cf. idem, "Foley and the Study of the Hebrew Bible" (unpublished paper delivered in the session "Orality, Textuality, and the Formation of the Hebrew Bible" at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Baltimore, November 2013); D. H. Aaron, "Reflections on a Cognitive Theory of Culture and a Theory of Formalized Language for Late Biblical Studies," in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (ed. D. V. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 451–73 (465 n. 23); *LDBT* 1:95–102; 2:80–83.

ancient Hebrew.<sup>5</sup> One of its benefits is that trajectories of change can be discerned without dependence on the absolute or relative dates of the written sources. Already, however, it is clear that the results of studies in this vein will not necessarily coincide with the conventional “EBH–LBH ‘pathway’ of change.” For example, the grammaticalization of לָאִמַּר as a complementizer, as in “And all Israel heard that (לָאִמַּר) Saul had smitten the garrison of the Philistines” (1 Sam 13:4), is not restricted to “late” writings as conventionally dated.<sup>6</sup> Or, for example, the lexicalization of the routinized meaning of נָשָׂא from “to forgive” a sin to “to bear” a sin is attested in the Priestly source of the Pentateuch, Ezekiel, and Isa 53:12, and the distribution of the variants could be interpreted to be more consistent with the traditional late exilic or early postexilic dating of P than the earlier dating that is advanced by some other Hebraists.<sup>7</sup>

Fourth, the results obtained from studies such as those discussed in the previous points can become a database that is used “to crunch the huge biblical corpus and to rapidly execute statistical analyses to identify *associative patterns*.”<sup>8</sup> In other words, software packages for statistical computing can be used to record the distributions of many linguistic variants and to calculate degrees of (in)variance between the writings in which the individual variants cluster, thus producing a variational map or matrix of ancient Hebrew.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See the summary in Miller-Naudé, “Diachrony,” 5–6, and the other literature she cites as well as the articles in *DBH* she references. Another recent contribution is H. H. Hardy, II, “Diachronic Development in Biblical Hebrew Prepositions: A Case Study in Grammaticalization” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Grammaticalization deals with shifts from lexical to grammatical structure, as in the reanalysis and extension of the verb “to go” as a future auxiliary in “Jack *is going* to like Jill.” See, for example, P. J. Hopper and E. C. Traugott, *Grammaticalization* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; 2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). On the grammaticalization of לָאִמַּר see Deutscher, *Syntactic*, 88–90; Miller, *Representation*, 199–212.

<sup>7</sup> Lexicalization deals with shifts from grammatical to lexical structure, as in “to up the ante” in “John *upped the ante* on the poker game.” See, for example, L. J. Brinton and E. C. Traugott, *Lexicalization and Language Change* (Research Surveys in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). On the lexicalization of נָשָׂא see J. C. P. Lam, “The Metaphorical Patterning of the Sin-Concept in Biblical Hebrew” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2012), 164–218; cf. Hardy, “Diachronic,” 347–48 on יָבֵן in P and LBH.

<sup>8</sup> De Caën, “Hebrew,” 21; cf. 23–24; *LDBT* 1:139–40; 2:102–3; Cook, “Detecting,” 93; Drescher, “Methodological,” 36; Zevit, “Not-So-Random,” 483.

<sup>9</sup> Suggestive examples are Gries and Hilpert’s analysis of the third person singular forms *-th* and *-s* in English (Gries and Hilpert, “Modeling”); Lass’s preliminary archaism matrix for Germanic (Lass, “Language,” 26–35); and Octavio de Toledo’s variational map of *El Crotalón* and other writings (Octavio de Toledo Huerta, “*Varia*,” 213–56). A

However, there are several potential caveats in this kind of research, which we have already touched on in chapters 7–9. First, there are the problems of low-density and non-categorical distributions of many data in the surviving sources, so that it may be challenging to find ample variables that are attested sufficiently and have adequately distributed variants in order to give meaningful and conclusive results. Second, there is the problem of the complete nonexistence of dated and localized (authentic) manuscripts for the biblical writings, which means that any “associative patterns” that are identified will inevitably be open to more than one interpretation.

Fifth, the writing and publication of grammars of individual biblical books would help to clarify the “idiolects” or “bibliolects” of individual writers/writings. “Perhaps it has come to the point at which a new bottom-up approach is needed, in which separate descriptions are constructed for each ‘bibliolect,’ that is, the grammar of each text.”<sup>10</sup> “In addition, the relative status of a book among other biblical books cannot be adequately assessed by comparing linguistic features in one book to two sets of linguistic features found in two other groups of books, but only by thoroughly comparing the languages of different biblical books.”<sup>11</sup> Several series in preparation are a good first step toward remedying this deficiency.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, we hope that this current book is a helpful stimulus to a rapidly changing field of research.

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recent preliminary application to BH is M. Naaijer, “The Common Nouns in the Book of Esther: A New Quantitative Approach to the Linguistic Relationships of Biblical Books” (M.A. thesis, Radboud University Nijmegen, 2012); cf. D. Roorda, G. Kalkman, M. Naaijer, and A. van Cranenburgh, “LAF-Fabric: A Data Analysis Tool for Linguistic Annotation: Framework with an Application to the Hebrew Bible,” forthcoming. The Aramaic DSS are examined in J. M. Starr, “A Quantitative Analysis of the Aramaic Qumran Texts” (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2013). We can mention here also the forthcoming study of language contact, including statistical analysis, in B. J. Noonan, *Foreign Words in the Hebrew Bible: Linguistic Evidence for Foreign Contact in Ancient Israel*, a revision of his “Foreign Loanwords and *Kulturwörter* in Northwest Semitic (1400–600 B.C.E.): Linguistic and Cultural Contact in Light of Terminology for Realia” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> Holmstedt, “Issues,” 18.

<sup>11</sup> *LDBT* 1:54.

<sup>12</sup> For example, the series *Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible* by Baylor University Press and *Text of the Hebrew Bible* by Sheffield Phoenix Press.



# Appendix 1

## Linguistic Variants in Parallel Passages in the Masoretic Text

### 1. MT 2 SAMUEL 22//MT PSALM 18

See our introduction and general comments on these parallel passages in chapter 5 (5.4.2).<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 1.1. FEATURES WITH LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS<sup>2</sup>

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	2 Sam 22:1//Ps 18:1	Both texts in their introduction to the song use דבר (“to speak”) with the preposition ל in the sense “speak to” even though they are phrased differently. Samuel has “and David spoke to YHWH,” while Psalms has “of David who spoke to YHWH.” “Speak to” is more commonly expressed by אל than ל by c. 408–37. <sup>3</sup>	Sam=Ps

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<sup>1</sup> For a layout of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendauid, *Parallels*, 61–62. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 115–19; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 64–69.

<sup>2</sup> In the summary the book with the rare form is listed first.

<sup>3</sup> A. Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Bible: Hebrew and Aramaic: Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases and Synonyms* (Jerusalem: “Kiryat Sefer,” 1990), 247.

	References	Comments	Summary
2.	2 Sam 22:1//Ps 18:1	Both texts in their introduction to the song share the phrase “in the day YHWH saved him,” “him” being expressed by אָתוּ rather than a verbal suffix.	Sam=Ps
3.	2 Sam 22:2//Ps 18:2	Psalms’ אֶרְחַמְךָ (“I love you”) is the only <i>Qal</i> of this root רָחַם, and its meaning “to love” is more usually conveyed by אָהַב. The use of רָחַם for “to love” is considered an Aramaism, and it is certainly more common in Aramaic than in Hebrew. The colon in which it appears “I love you, O YHWH my strength,” is not paralleled in 2 Sam 22.	Ps≠Sam
4.	2 Sam 22:2//Ps 18:2	Also in the added line discussed in the previous section, the form of “my strength,” חֲזָקִי (*חֲזִיקִי), is unique. More common are the nouns חֲזָקָה and חֲזָקָה. This is of course a matter of vocalization only.	Ps≠Sam
5.	2 Sam 22:2//Ps 18:2	Both texts have וּמַפְלִי (“and my deliverer”) but Samuel in addition follows this with לִי. JM comments: “The suffix and genitival ל are only very rarely found together.” <sup>4</sup>	Sam≠Ps
6.	2 Sam 22:4//Ps 18:4	Psalms has וּמִן אֹיְבֵי (“and from my enemies”), with an unassimilated מִן before an anarthrous noun. This is sometimes considered a “late” language feature. Samuel has the more usual assimilated form וּמֵאֹיְבֵי.	Ps≠Sam
7.	2 Sam 22:6//Ps 18:6	Samuel’s third masculine plural <i>qatal</i> סָבְּנוּ (“they surrounded me”) for the geminate root סָבַב is attested five times in the MT, whereas Psalms’ סָבְּבוּנִי is attested eleven times in the MT.	Sam≠Ps

<sup>4</sup> JM §146f, p. 509.

	References	Comments	Summary
8.	2 Sam 22:8//Ps 18:8	Samuel has “the foundations of the heavens trembled,” whereas Psalms has “the foundations of the mountains trembled.” For “foundations” Samuel uses the feminine plural מוסדות which is attested five times in the MT, whereas Psalms uses the more common masculine plural ומוסדי, used eight times in the MT.	Sam≠Ps
9.	2 Sam 22:12//Ps 18:12	Both texts agree that God “set darkness around him” in the first part of the verse, even if there are other variations involved, using the common word for darkness (eighty times in the MT): חשך. In the second part of the verse, Samuel uses the <i>hapax legomenon</i> חשרת (“sieve”) while Psalms has another, less common (six times) form of the word “darkness” (in construct): חשכת.	Ps≠Sam
10.	2 Sam 22:14//Ps 18:14	Samuel has an unassimilated מן before an anarthrous noun in the form מן שמים (“from heaven”). Psalms has בשמים (“in the heavens”).	Sam≠Ps
11.	2 Sam 22:16//Ps 18:16	Both texts talk about “the foundations of the world” using the less common feminine plural (מוסדות) we mentioned above in relation to v. 8.	Sam=Ps
12.	2 Sam 22:20//Ps 18:20	In “and he brought me out,” Psalms uses the common verbal suffix, whereas Samuel uses the less common את plus suffix.	Sam≠Ps
13.	2 Sam 22:21//Ps 18:21	The feminine form for “righteousness” in “according to my righteousness” (כצדקתי) used in Samuel is more common than the masculine form (כצדקי) used in Psalms, although both are common: 142–119.	Ps≠Sam

	References	Comments	Summary
14.	2 Sam 22:23//Ps 18:23	Samuel uses the potentially archaic orthography: משפטו (“his judgments”) while Psalms has the regular form משפטיו.	Sam≠Ps
15.	2 Sam 22:23//Ps 18:23	Psalms has the rarer form מני (“from me”; ten times in the MT); the more common form is ממני (eighty-eight times in the MT; see, e.g., v. 18; however Samuel here in v. 23 has “from it [=his laws]”: ממנה).	Ps≠Sam
16.	2 Sam 22:24//Ps 18:24	Samuel has the <i>wayyiqtol</i> with the <i>he</i> of the III- <i>He</i> retained: ואהיה (“and I was”), whereas Psalms has the more common form ואהי.	Sam≠Ps
17.	2 Sam 22:24//Ps 18:24	While Psalms has the regular form of the first person <i>wayyiqtol</i> , Samuel has the unusual (often described as “late”) <i>wa'eqlah</i> : ואשתמרה.	Sam≠Ps
18.	2 Sam 22:25//Ps 18:25	As we saw in v. 21, the feminine form for “righteousness” in “according to my righteousness” (כצדקתי) used in Samuel is more common than the masculine form (כצדקי) used in Psalms.	Ps≠Sam
19.	2 Sam 22:27//Ps 18:27	For the <i>Hithpael</i> of ברר Samuel has תתבר, Psalms תתברר (“you show yourself pure”). The <i>Hithpael</i> of this root is rare, used elsewhere only in Dan 12:10: “they will purify themselves” (or: “be purified”). More relevant to linguistic opposition, apart from the case of הנבא (“to prophesy” <sup>5</sup> ), the assimilation of the <i>taw</i> to <i>nun</i> in a <i>Hithpael</i> seems unusual, and the form with all three root consonants is the one attested elsewhere. <sup>6</sup>	Sam≠Ps

<sup>5</sup> GKC §54c, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> GKC §671, p. 179 recommends to read according to the form in Psalms.

	References	Comments	Summary
20.	2 Sam 22:28//Ps 18:28	The object marker <b>את</b> is not common in poetry, but the focus here is its unusual use in Samuel with an indefinite noun in the phrase <b>ואת עם עני</b> (“and a humble people [you will save]”). In contrast Psalms reads <b>כי אתה עם עני</b> (“for you yourself a humble people [you will save]”).	Sam≠Ps
21.	2 Sam 22:35//Ps 18:35	In the expression <b>קשת נחושה</b> (“a bow of bronze”), both texts use the less common <b>נחושה</b> for “bronze” (ten times in the MT), a (poetic) synonym of the more common <b>נחשת</b> (133 times in the MT).	Sam=Ps
22.	2 Sam 22:37//Ps 18:37	Samuel’s <b>תחתני</b> (“under me”) is unique to this chapter. Psalms has the regular form <b>תחתי</b> . <sup>7</sup> See also vv. 40, 48.	Sam≠Ps
23.	2 Sam 22:39//Ps 18:39	Samuel has the rarer verb form with paragogic <b>num</b> , <b>יקומון</b> (“so they [did not] rise”). <sup>8</sup> Psalms has a different construction with this verb in the infinitive, <b>ולא יכלו קום</b> (“and they were not able to rise”).	Sam≠Ps
24.	2 Sam 22:40//Ps 18:40	Samuel’s form exhibits the loss of a root consonant <b>’aleph</b> , <b>ותזרני</b> (“and you girded me”). Psalms has the form with <b>’aleph</b> : <b>ותאזרני</b> .	Sam≠Ps
25.	2 Sam 22:40//Ps 18:40	As in v. 37, Samuel’s <b>תחתני</b> (“under me”) is unique to this chapter. Psalms has the regular form <b>תחתי</b> .	Sam≠Ps
26.	2 Sam 22:41//Ps 18:41	Samuel exhibits the strange loss of the initial <b>num</b> in the form <b>תתה</b> (“you gave”), while Psalms has the regular form <b>נתתה</b> .	Sam≠Ps

<sup>7</sup> See Qumran Samuel (3.2.4).

<sup>8</sup> See Qumran Samuel (4.6).

	References	Comments	Summary
27.	2 Sam 22:42//Ps 18:42	Samuel has the preposition <b>אל</b> in the phrase <b>אל...יהוה ישעו</b> (“they looked...to YHWH”). Psalms has <b>אל...על יהוה ישעו</b> (“they cried...to YHWH”), with <b>על</b> rather than the expected <b>אל</b> . Preference for the preposition <b>על</b> is often considered a feature of “late” Hebrew. <sup>9</sup>	Ps≠Sam
28.	2 Sam 22:45//Ps 18:45	Samuel has the only <i>Hithpaal</i> <b>יתכחשו</b> (“they came cringing”). Psalms has the common <i>Piel</i> , and the sense “come cringing” is attested a number of other times outside these parallel texts in the <i>Piel</i> . <sup>10</sup>	Sam≠Ps
29.	2 Sam 22:46//Ps 18:46	Psalms has the less common third person masculine plural suffix on a feminine plural noun: <b>ותיהם</b> . In contrast Samuel has the more common form <b>ממסגרותם</b> (“from their strongholds”). <sup>11</sup> The longer form is often considered a “late” feature of Hebrew.	Ps≠Sam
30.	2 Sam 22:48//Ps 18:48	As in v. 37, Samuel’s <b>תחתני</b> (“under me”) is unique to this chapter. Psalms has the regular form <b>תחתי</b> .	Sam≠Ps
31.	2 Sam 22:49//Ps 18:49	Psalms has an unassimilated <b>מן</b> before an anarthrous noun in the phrase <b>מן קמי</b> (“and above those who rose against me [you exalted me]”), while Samuel has the regular assimilated form: <b>ומקמי</b> .	Ps≠Sam

<sup>9</sup> See Qumran Samuel (6.1).

<sup>10</sup> BDB 471a.

<sup>11</sup> See Qumran Samuel (3.2.5).

	References	Comments	Summary
32.	2 Sam 22:49//Ps 18:49	In the expression “from the man/men of violence” Samuel has the second element of the construct in plural, מאיש חמסים, whereas Psalms has it in singular, מאיש חמס, which is slightly more common, 4–3. <sup>12</sup>	Sam≠Ps

TABLE 1.2. RARE FEATURES WITHOUT LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	2 Sam 22:8//Ps 18:8	The Qal of the root געש is used only in these parallel texts. It is notable that the more common (but still quite rare) form in <i>Hithpael</i> is found also in this verse (and elsewhere in Jer 5:22; 46:7). <sup>13</sup>	Sam=Ps
2.	2 Sam 22:12//Ps 18:12	Samuel uses the form חשרת (“sieve”) which is a <i>hapax legomenon</i> . Psalms uses חשכת (“darkness”) which we discussed above.	Sam≠Ps
3.	2 Sam 22:12//Ps 18:12	The double plural construct chain עבי שחקים indicating “thick clouds” is found only in these texts, but there is no comparable material to indicate whether the double plural is unusual.	Sam=Ps
4.	2 Sam 22:17//Ps 18:17	The <i>Hiphil</i> of the root ימשני, משה (“he drew me out”) occurs only here (cf. the <i>Qal</i> in Exod 2:10, seemingly with the same sense).	Sam=Ps

<sup>12</sup> Second element singular: Pss 18:49; 140:12; Prov 3:31; 16:29. Second element plural: 2 Sam 22:49; Ps 140:2, 5.

<sup>13</sup> Note that while *HALOT* 1:200 gives the same gloss for both, “to rise and fall loudly,” other authorities do not consider the two terms to be synonymous, e.g., BDB 172: *Qal*: “quake”; *Hithpael*: “shake back and forth,” and we have followed this judgment by including the form in this section.

	References	Comments	Summary
5.	2 Sam 22:21//Ps 18:21	The noun בָּר ("cleanness") is found elsewhere only in v. 25 and in Job 22:30, albeit formed from the root בָּרַר which is not uncommon.	Sam=Ps
6.	2 Sam 22:24//Ps 18:24	We discussed the forms וַאֲשַׁמְרָה/וַאֲשַׁמְרָם in the previous section, point 17. In addition, note that the <i>Hithpael</i> of שָׁמַר ("to keep oneself") is very rare, being found only here and in Mic 6:16.	Sam=Ps
7.	2 Sam 22:25//Ps 18:25	For the noun בָּר ("cleanness") see on v. 21.	Sam=Ps
8.	2 Sam 22:26//Ps 18:26	The verb תַּחַסֵּד ("you show yourself loyal") occurs only in these texts in the MT.	Sam=Ps
9.	2 Sam 22:26//Ps 18:26	The <i>Hithpael</i> of the root תָּמַם (תָּמַמַּת) occurs only here. The assimilation of the <i>taw</i> to a following <i>taw</i> is regular. <sup>14</sup>	Sam=Ps
10.	2 Sam 22:27//Ps 18:27	The <i>Niphal</i> of בָּרַר (נָבַר) occurs only here and in Isa 52:11 in the MT.	Sam=Ps
11. 12.	2 Sam 22:27//Ps 18:27 (x2)	Both Samuel (תַּפְּלוּ) ["you are ignominious" {?}] <sup>15</sup> , root: תָּפַל) and Psalms (תַּפְּתַל) ["you are devious"], root: פָּתַל) have unique forms.	Sam≠Ps Ps≠Sam
13.	2 Sam 22:30//Ps 18:30	The "Aramaism" שוֹר ("wall") is found also in Gen 49:22 and (feminine) Job 24:11. It is difficult to know what sort of "wall" is being referred to in order to establish a linguistic opposition. <sup>16</sup>	Sam=Ps
14.	2 Sam 22:35//Ps 18:35	The <i>Piel</i> of the root נָחַת ("to pull back a bow" <sup>17</sup> ) is found only here and in Ps 65:11. <sup>18</sup>	Sam=Ps

<sup>14</sup> GKC §54c, p. 149.

<sup>15</sup> See the discussion of these words in McCarter, *II Samuel*, 458.

<sup>16</sup> For example, *HALOT* 4:1453 suggests that this reference refers to "a barrier between fields."

<sup>17</sup> *HALOT* 2:692. Note that the form is third person masculine singular in Samuel, and feminine in Psalms.

	References	Comments	Summary
15.	2 Sam 22:37//Ps 18:37	The <i>hapax legomenon</i> קרסלי (“my ankles”) is shared by both texts.	Sam=Ps
16.	2 Sam 22:46//Ps 18:46	Psalms has the <i>hapax legomenon</i> ויחרגו (“and they came trembling”). Samuel’s ויחגרו (“and they girded”), while more common, is also more difficult in the context. <sup>19</sup>	Ps≠Sam
17.	2 Sam 22:48//Ps 18:48	Psalms has the “Aramaism” וידבר (“and he subdued”), found also in Ps 47:4. Samuel has ומוריד (“and brings down”). <sup>20</sup>	Ps≠Sam

## 2. MT 2 KINGS 24–25//MT JEREMIAH 52

See our introduction and general comments on these parallel passages in chapter 5 (5.4.3).<sup>21</sup>

TABLE 2.1. FEATURES WITH LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS<sup>22</sup>

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	2 Kgs 24:18//Jer 52:1	The two texts use אחת עשרה for “11,” which is less common than compounds using עשתי; see 2 Kgs 25:2//Jer 52:5: עשתי עשרה.	Kgs=Jer
2.	2 Kgs 25:1//Jer 52:4	Both texts use ויהי in the date formula “in the ninth year of his reign.” While ויהי is regular in some temporal clauses such as with the infinitive construct plus <i>beth</i> or <i>kaph</i> , with “in the Xth year” it is less common than the form without it in Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, 27–14.	Kgs=Jer

<sup>18</sup> Where *HALOT* 2:692 gives the gloss “to flatten, sink.”

<sup>19</sup> See the discussion in McCarter, *II Samuel*, 462.

<sup>20</sup> See Qumran Samuel (7.8).

<sup>21</sup> For layouts of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendavid, *Parallels*, 157–64; Kegler and Augustin, *Synopse*, 216–19. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 337–49; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 257–69.

<sup>22</sup> In the summary the book with the rare form is listed first.

	References	Comments	Summary
3.	2 Kgs 25:1//Jer 52:4	Kings' use of the construct <b>בשנת</b> ("in the year [of]") with an ordinal number in the date formula "in the ninth year of his reign" is less common than Jeremiah's use of the absolute form of "year": <b>בשנה</b> .	Kgs≠Jer
4.	2 Kgs 25:1//Jer 52:4	Jeremiah's NebuchadRezzar is less common in the MT than Kings' NebuchadNezzar. The parallel in Jer 39:1 agrees on the spelling with <i>resh</i> with Jer 52.	Jer≠Kgs
5.	2 Kgs 25:4//Jer 52:7	Jeremiah: <b>ויברחו</b> for <b>יברחו</b> . The use of a <i>yiqtol</i> is unexpected in the sentence, "The city was breached and all the men of war <i>would flee</i> (?) and they went out from the city by night." The parallel in Kings is itself defective, "and all the men of war <...> by night," but does not read the unusual <i>yiqtol</i> . Scholars commonly restore the expected <i>wayyiqtol</i> form in Kings with reference to the parallel in Jer 39:4. <sup>23</sup>	Jer≠Kgs
6.	2 Kgs 25:4//Jer 52:7	Assimilated <b>מהעיר</b> ("from the city"). The non-assimilated form <b>מן ה</b> is by far the most common, 635–94; in Jeremiah, 31–3. <sup>24</sup> The phrase "they went out from the city" is absent from Kings; see the previous point. The parallel in Jer 39:4 has the regular form <b>מן העיר</b> .	Jer≠Kgs
7.	2 Kgs 25:4//Jer 52:7	Kings' <b>הלילה</b> for "by night" only appears elsewhere in Zech 1:8, and Neh 4:16, whereas Jeremiah's <b>לילה</b> is a more common way of saying "by night" according to BDB. <sup>25</sup> Jeremiah 39:4 agrees with Jer 52 in using the common form.	Kgs≠Jer

<sup>23</sup> Holladay, *Jeremiah* 2, 436.

<sup>24</sup> Young, "Patterns."

<sup>25</sup> BDB 539a.

	References	Comments	Summary
8.	2 Kgs 25:5//Jer 52:8	Kings' use of the form אחר ("after") in "and the army of the Chaldeans pursued after the king" is much less common than Jeremiah's אחרי. <sup>26</sup> The parallel in Jer 39:5 has, different to both of them: אחריהם ("after them").	Kgs≠Jer
9.	2 Kgs 25:5//Jer 52:8	Kings uses את plus suffix, which is a rarer linguistic form than verbal suffixes, in the phrase: "and they overtook him (אתו)." Jeremiah instead reads: "and they overtook Zedekiah." The parallel in Jer 39:5 agrees with Jer 52.	Kgs≠Jer
10.	2 Kgs 25:6//Jer 52:9	Both texts use את plus suffix in ויעלו אתו ("and they brought him up").	Kgs=Jer
11.	2 Kgs 25:6//Jer 52:9	Jeremiah has the plural משפטים; Kings the singular משפט in the idiom "speak judgments with (את)," which is found only in Jeremiah (five times, including the parallel in Jer 39:5), and in this parallel in Kings, where the unusual singular is labeled as an error by Holladay. <sup>27</sup>	Kgs≠Jer
12.	2 Kgs 25:7//Jer 52:11	"And he brought him to Babylon": Kings: בבל is absent the directive he, but it is present in Jeremiah: בבבל. The parallel in Jer 39:7 agrees with Jer 52.	Kgs≠Jer
13.	2 Kgs 25:8//Jer 52:12	Jeremiah's NebuchadRezzar is less common in the MT than Kings' NebuchadNezzar.	Jer≠Kgs

<sup>26</sup> See Qumran Samuel (6.15.2).

<sup>27</sup> W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1–25* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1986), 40. Holladay further discusses whether the את should be understood as the *nota accusativa* or "with," since both are used in the MT (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 22, 40).

	References	Comments	Summary
14.	2 Kgs 25:10//Jer 52:14	Jeremiah says that the walls of Jerusalem were broken down by “the army of the Chaldeans who were with (אִתּוֹ) the chief of the bodyguards.” For “with,” אִתּוֹ is less common than עִמּוֹ in general, <sup>28</sup> in particular in the sense of accompaniment. Note however that there is a strong preference for אִתּוֹ in Kings and especially Jeremiah (combined: 199–107). Kings does not have אִתּוֹ here. <sup>29</sup> The whole phrase is missing from Jer 39.	Jer≠Kgs
15.	2 Kgs 25:11//Jer 52:15	With נָפַל in the sense of “to defect to,” BDB indicates that Kings’ use of עָל is the more common form in the MT, while Jeremiah’s אָל is the less common. <sup>30</sup> The parallel in Jer 39:9 agrees with Kings (עָלִיו).	Kgs≠Jer
16.	2 Kgs 25:11//Jer 52:15	Kings expresses the phrase “the king of Babylon” as הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּבֶּל, with an unexpected definite article on the first element.	Kgs≠Jer
17.	2 Kgs 25:14//Jer 52:18	Kings: בָּם; Jeremiah: בְּהֵם (“with them”). The form בְּהֵם is the more common overall in the MT; as in MT Kings (7–6), but not in MT Jeremiah (7–18).	Kgs≠Jer
18.	2 Kgs 25:17//Jer 52:21	In the expression “18 cubits was <i>the height</i> of the one (pillar),” Jeremiah ( <i>Kethiv</i> ), apparently due to error, has the absolute for “height” (קוֹמָה), not the construct which the <i>Qere</i> shares with Kings (קוֹמַת).	Jer≠Kgs

<sup>28</sup> *LDBT* 2:112.

<sup>29</sup> Cogan and Tadmor recommend reading it in line with some manuscripts of Kings and of the parallel in Jeremiah (Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 316).

<sup>30</sup> BDB 657b, §4b.

	References	Comments	Summary
19.	2 Kgs 25:17//Jer 52:22	Kings ( <i>Kethiv</i> ): שלש אמה; Jeremiah: חמש אמות. The occurrence in Kings seems to be the only time that the word “cubit” occurs in the singular with a number between 3–10. <sup>31</sup>	Kgs≠Jer
20.	2 Kgs 25:18//Jer 52:24	Both texts share the name שריה which has the less common short form of the theophoric ending –yah instead of –yahu.	Kgs=Jer
21.	2 Kgs 25:18//Jer 52:24	For “chief priest” the expression כהן הראש is rare, especially outside Chronicles, הכהן הגדול being used instead. Perhaps this is not strictly a linguistic variation.	Kgs=Jer
22.	2 Kgs 25:18//Jer 52:24	As with שריה above, Jeremiah has the short form of the name צפניה with the theophoric ending –yah instead of –yahu. However, here Kings has the long form צפניהו.	Jer≠Kgs
23. 24.	2 Kgs 25:20//Jer 52:26 (x2)	Both texts agree on two uses of אה plus suffix: “and Nebuzaradan the chief of the bodyguards took them and brought them to the king of Babylon.”	Kgs=Jer Kgs=Jer
25.	2 Kgs 25:20//Jer 52:26	Kings’ “he brought them to (על) the king of Babylon” is a case of the use of על for the expected אל which is what is used in Jeremiah.	Kgs≠Jer
26.	2 Kgs 25:21//Jer 52:27	Jeremiah: ויכה, long III- <i>He wayyiqtol</i> ; Kings: ויך. The more usual form is the form without the final <i>he</i> .	Jer≠Kgs
27.	2 Kgs 25:21//Jer 52:27	Due to the previous variant, Kings has an unforced use of אה plus suffix, while Jeremiah’s use is forced due to the variant verbal form.	Kgs≠Jer

<sup>31</sup> See GKC §134e, f, p. 433.

	References	Comments	Summary
28.	2 Kgs 25:27//Jer 52:31	Both texts use ויהי in the date formula “in the thirty-seventh year of his reign.” While ויהי is regular in some temporal clauses such as with the infinitive construct plus <i>beth</i> or <i>kaph</i> , with “in the Xth year” it is less common than the form without it in Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, 27–14.	Kgs=Jer
29.	2 Kgs 25:27//Jer 52:31	Jeremiah: מלכותו; Kings: מלכו (“his reign”). The noun מלכות is uncommon in the MT in general, and especially in “early” books like Kings or Jeremiah.	Jer≠Kgs
30.	2 Kgs 25:27//Jer 52:31	Jeremiah uses את plus suffix when describing how the king of Babylon “showed favor to (literally: lifted up the head of) Jehoiachin, king of Judah, and brought him out (ויצא אתו) from the prison house.” Kings reads simply that the king of Babylon “favored Jehoiachin, king of Judah, from the prison house.” <sup>32</sup>	Jer≠Kgs
31.	2 Kgs 25:27//Jer 52:31	The form in Jeremiah for “prison,” מבית הכלי (Qere: מבית הכלוא), is found elsewhere only in Jer 37:4. Kings uses the more usual form מבית כלא.	Jer≠Kgs
32.	2 Kgs 25:28//Jer 52:32	Kings’ use of מעל for “above” is described as “late” by BDB, which further notes that this occurrence in Kings is paralleled in Jeremiah by the “more class[ical] למעל ל” <sup>33</sup>	Kgs≠Jer

<sup>32</sup> Scholars have different opinions on the text of Kings. For example, Cogan and Tadmor add “and he brought him out” on the basis of the parallel and the Greek versions (Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 328), as does Gray, who adds, however, “though this is not strictly necessary” (Gray, *I and II Kings*, 774), while Montgomery and Gehman simply render the text “[he] lifted up the head...of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of prison” (J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951], 566).

<sup>33</sup> BDB 759a, §IV 2d.

	References	Comments	Summary
33.	2 Kgs 25:28//Jer 52:32	Jehoiachin's seat is put "above the seat of the kings who were with (תא) him in Babylon." For "with" תא is less common than עם in general, <sup>34</sup> in particular in the sense of accompaniment. Note however that there is a strong preference for תא in Kings and especially Jeremiah (combined: 199–107).	Kgs=Jer
34. 35.	2 Kgs 25:29//Jer 52:33 (x2)	(a) The verb וישנא ("and he changed") seems to be an example of a non-iterative past use of the <i>weqatal</i> . <sup>35</sup> (b) Although the two texts agree on the verb form, they disagree in that Kings interchanges final <i>'aleph</i> for final <i>he</i> : וישנה.	Kgs=Jer Kgs≠Jer
36.	2 Kgs 25:29//Jer 52:33	For "his life" Jeremiah has the potentially archaic form of the suffix <i>-w</i> rather than <i>-yw</i> , <sup>36</sup> thus ויִיָּו, whereas Kings has the standard form ויִיָּו.	Jer≠Kgs
37.	2 Kgs 25:30//Jer 52:34	In the next verse, the two texts have the reverse of the situation discussed above, with Kings having the unusual spelling of "his life" and Jeremiah having the standard form.	Kgs≠Jer

<sup>34</sup> LDBT 2:112.

<sup>35</sup> See LDBT 2:150–55. The form ויאכל later in the verse seems to be iterative: "and he would eat bread continually before him."

<sup>36</sup> See the discussion in Qumran Samuel (3.2.2).

TABLE 2.2. RARE FEATURES WITHOUT LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	2 Kgs 25:8//Jer 52:12	Jeremiah: בא...בירושלם ("came [in]to Jerusalem"); Kings: בא...ירושלם ("came to Jerusalem"). Kings reflects the normal practice in the MT of leaving "Jerusalem" unmarked in the phrase "came to Jerusalem." Jeremiah's use of the preposition <i>beth</i> is rare; cf. Jer 36:9; Ezek 21:25 (?). However, the two uses do not seem to be in linguistic opposition if we understand Jeremiah to have the specific nuance of "come into."	Jer≠Kgs
2.	2 Kgs 25:11//Jer 52:15	Jeremiah's האמון ("the artisan[s]") is found elsewhere only in Prov 8:30. Kings has ההמון ("the throng") while Jer 39:9 has העם ("the people [who remained]").	Jer≠Kgs
3.	2 Kgs 25:12//Jer 52:16	Kings: <i>Kethiv</i> ולגבים (root גוב ["to dig"]). See the following.	Kgs≠Jer
4.	2 Kgs 25:12//Jer 52:16	Jeremiah (= Kings <i>Qere</i> ): וליגבים (root יג ["to till, be husbandman"]). Both this and the previous example are unique forms; no other verbs are formed from these two roots. However, they are not necessarily in opposition to each other, since the vocabulary items may be interpreted to mean slightly different things. Note further that the parallel in Jer 39:10 is ויגבים and is pointed in the MT as a noun "fields."	Jer≠Kgs
5.	2 Kgs 25:17//Jer 52:21	"Line" (רוט) is found elsewhere only in 1 Kgs 7:15. This is a plus in Jeremiah.	Jer≠Kgs
6.	2 Kgs 25:17//Jer 52:21	"Hollowed out" (גוב, passive participle) is found elsewhere only in Exod 27:8; 38:7; Job 11:12. This is a plus in Jeremiah.	Jer≠Kgs

	References	Comments	Summary
7.	2 Kgs 25:19//Jer 52:25	The <i>Hiphil</i> of the root <b>צבא</b> (המַצְבֵּא) “who mustered”) is found only here in the MT.	Kgs=Jer
8.	2 Kgs 25:30//Jer 52:34 (x2)	“Meal, allowance of food” (אֲרָחַת/וֹאֲרָחַתוּ) is found elsewhere only in Jer 40:5; Prov 15:17.	Kgs=Jer Kgs=Jer

TABLE 2.3. MT JEREMIAH 39:1–2, 4–10//MT 2 KINGS 25:1–7, 9–12//MT JEREMIAH 52:4–11, 13–16

There is a further partial parallel to the two texts we are considering, in Jer 39, which contains further linguistic peculiarities not paralleled by the other two texts.

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	Jer 39:1//2 Kgs 25:1//Jer 52:4	Jeremiah 39 has no וַיְהִי in a temporal clause: “(And it was) in the ninth year.” This is the more common form and thus disagrees with a case where Kings=Jer 52 on a less common linguistic feature.	Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52
2.	Jer 39:1//2 Kgs 25:1//Jer 52:4	In “Nebuchadnezzar...came against Jerusalem” we expect <b>על</b> as in Kings//Jer 52, whereas Jer 39 has <b>אל</b> .	Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52
3.	Jer 39:2//2 Kgs 25:4//Jer 52:6	In Jer 39 <b>הַבְּקָעָה</b> represents the only <i>Hophal</i> of this root; Kings//Jer 52 use the <i>Niphal</i> which is common.	Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52
4.	Jer 39:5//2 Kgs 25:6//Jer 52:9	While both Kings and Jer 52 have “and they captured (וַיִּתְפְּסוּ) the king,” Jer 39 has “and they took him” (וַיִּקְחוּ אֹתוֹ) with an unforced use of <b>את</b> plus suffix.	Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52

	References	Comments	Summary
5.	Jer 39:5//2 Kgs 25:6//Jer 52:9	Carrying on from the previous point, Kings and Jer 52 agree on “and they captured the king and they brought him up (ויעלו אתו) to the king of Babylon,” with an unforced use of את plus suffix. In contrast, for “and they brought him up” Jer 39 uses the more common verbal suffix: ויעלהו. The Jer 39 form is not rare, but it disagrees with one of the cases where the other two texts have an agreement on a less common linguistic feature (see 2.1, point 10).	Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52
6. 7.	Jer 39:7//2 Kgs 25:7//Jer 52:11 (x2)	Kings and Jer 52 agree on the use of a verbal suffix in the phrase “and he bound him with fetters and he (Jer 52: the king of Babylon) brought him (ויבאהו) to Babylon.” In contrast Jer 39:7 reads: “and he bound him with fetters to bring him (לביא אתו) to Babylon.” This uses two rare forms not paralleled in Kings//Jer 52: (a) the use of the <i>Hiphil</i> infinitive construct with the syncope of the <i>he</i> (לביא for להביא); <sup>37</sup> (b) the use of את plus suffix instead of the more common verbal suffix.	Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52 Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52
8.	Jer 39:9//2 Kgs 25:11//Jer 52:15	While Kings and Jer 52 both agree on “[the preceding groups] Nebuzaradan the chief of the bodyguards exiled,” Jer 39 adds “to Babylon” (בבל). The use of “exile ( <i>Hiphil</i> of גלה) to Babylon” without a directive (or preposition) is unusual. <sup>38</sup>	Jer 39≠Kgs, Jer 52

<sup>37</sup> See Qumran Samuel (4.9).

<sup>38</sup> For the locative see 2 Kgs 24:15; Jer 20:4; 29:1, 4. For a preposition see Ezra 2:1; 2 Chr 36:20. For another form without locative see Jer 43:3.

3. MT 2 KINGS 18–20//MT ISAIAH 36–39

See our introduction and general comments on these parallel passages in chapter 5 (5.4.4).<sup>39</sup>

TABLE 3.1. FEATURES WITH LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS<sup>40</sup>

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	2 Kgs 18:13//Isa 36:1	In the temporal clause “in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah,” Kings has the temporal clause without ויהי, while Isaiah has it. Although some temporal clauses, notably those with infinitive construct plus <i>beth</i> or <i>kaph</i> , usually begin with ויהי, this sort of temporal clause usually lacks it in Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, thus the Isaiah text here has the less common form.	Isa≠Kgs
2.	2 Kgs 18:13//Isa 36:1	Kings has the name Hezekiah with <i>-yah</i> instead of <i>-yahu</i> for its theophoric ending (חזקיה).	Kgs≠Isa
3.	2 Kgs 18:13//Isa 36:1	Both texts say of Sennacherib, “and he captured them,” “them” referring to the feminine plural “cities.” Both texts use a masculine plural suffix instead of the feminine plural (ויהפשמ).	Kgs=Isa
4.	2 Kgs 18:17//Isa 36:2	Kings has an unassimilated מן before an anarthrous noun ( מן לכיש; “from Lachish”), but Isaiah has the regular form מלכיש.	Kgs≠Isa

<sup>39</sup> For layouts of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendavid, *Parallels*, 144–53; Kegler and Augustin, *Synopse*, 198–211. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 299–321; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 217–41.

<sup>40</sup> In the summary the book with the rare form is listed first.

	References	Comments	Summary
5.	2 Kgs 18:17//Isa 36:2	When Sennacherib sends his officer(s) to Jerusalem, Isaiah has “Jerusalem” with the directive <i>he</i> (ירושלמה), which is very rare, occurring only five times in the MT.	Isa≠Kgs
6.	2 Kgs 18:18//Isa 36:3	The name Shebna is commonly considered a hypocoristic of שבניה (“Shebaniahu”). <sup>41</sup> While Kings spells the name with a <i>he</i> , שבנה here and in v. 26 (//Isa 36:11), Isaiah in both those verses spells it with an <i>’aleph</i> , שבנא, which is the more common way of forming a hypocoristic of that sort. <sup>42</sup> Both Kings and Isaiah agree on the spelling with <i>’aleph</i> in 2 Kgs 18:37//Isa 36:22 and 2 Kgs 19:2//Isa 37:2.	Kgs≠Isa
7.	2 Kgs 18:22//Isa 36:7	Kings has a <i>yiqtol</i> second person masculine plural with paragogic <i>nun</i> in “you will say” (תאמרן), whereas Isaiah has a singular verb and hence does not have the paragogic <i>nun</i> (תאמר).	Kgs≠Isa
8.	2 Kgs 18:22//Isa 36:7	Both texts use אמר (“to say”) plus ל instead of אל.	Kgs=Isa
9.	2 Kgs 18:23//Isa 36:8	Isaiah uses the definite article in the construct chain “the king of Assyria” (המלך אשור); cf. 2 Kgs 18:31//Isa 36:16.	Isa≠Kgs

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 508.

<sup>42</sup> See the many examples in the Hebrew epigraphic corpus, conveniently presented in *ibid.*, 583–622 (“Appendix A: Personal Names”).

	References	Comments	Summary
10.	2 Kgs 18:25//Isa 36:10	Both texts have “Now, is it without YHWH I have come up against (על) this place (Isaiah: this land) to destroy it.” They continue: “YHWH said to me, Go up אל/על this land and destroy it.” While Kings carries on the adversative sense “against” with its על, Isaiah could be understood as “go up to” with its אל. However, generally the text is understood as “against,” <sup>43</sup> and hence Isaiah seems to have a case of אל for על.	Isa≠Kgs
11.	2 Kgs 18:26//Isa 36:11	Kings: שבנה; Isaiah: שבנא (“Shebna”); see on 2 Kgs 18:18//Isa 36:3.	Kgs≠Isa
12.	2 Kgs 18:26//Isa 36:11	In Kings, Hezekiah’s officials request: “Do not speak with us (עמנו) in Judahite.” The use of עם in “speak with” is less common than את. Isaiah, instead, reads the very common אלינו (“to us”).	Kgs≠Isa
13.	2 Kgs 18:27//Isa 36:12	The Rabshaqeh asks: “Is it to your lord and to you my master has sent me to speak these words?” For “to your lord” Kings has “send” (שלח) with the preposition על, whereas Isaiah has אל. While Kings could be understood as “against,” the fact that the immediately following “to you” is אלֶיךָ has led most scholars to consider that Kings has a case of על for אל. <sup>44</sup>	Kgs≠Isa

<sup>43</sup> See translations like the NRSV, and, for example, Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 370. In contrast Wildberger reads “into this land” for both cases in the verse, so that apparently, for him, the אל/על interchange involves the earlier case (על for אל) (Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 370).

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 374.

	References	Comments	Summary
14.	2 Kgs 18:27//Isa 36:12	Following on from the previous point, Rabshaqeh says: “Indeed it was to the men who are sitting on the wall.” Although opinions are divided, it seems to many scholars that both texts’ use of “send” (שלח) plus על is a case of על for אל. <sup>45</sup>	Kgs=Isa
15.	2 Kgs 18:27//Isa 36:12	The word for “dung” is found elsewhere only in 2 Kgs 6:25. Isaiah spells the word חר־איהם, while Kings has חר־יהם, which represents the loss of an etymological ’aleph according to HALOT. <sup>46</sup>	Kgs≠Isa
16.	2 Kgs 18:28//Isa 36:13	In the common expression “hear the word(s) of YHWH,” “word(s)” is usually not marked by the object marker את, 32–2. <sup>47</sup> However, when the object is other than the divine word, את is more common, 9–6; see 2 Kgs 19:16//Isa 37:17. Thus, in this verse Isaiah’s use of את with the object “the words of the great king” is the more common expression, and Kings’ non-use of את is less common.	Kgs≠Isa
17.	2 Kgs 18:29//Isa 36:14	Both texts use the verb נשא (“to deceive”) with the preposition ל, which is less common than the use of the direct object, 7–4.	Kgs=Isa
18.	2 Kgs 18:30//Isa 36:15	In the phrase “this city will not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria,” Kings puts the object marker את in front of “the city” which is the subject of the passive verb. <sup>48</sup>	Kgs≠Isa

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, 502; for contrary opinions see Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 374.

<sup>46</sup> HALOT 1:348–49; so too 2 Kgs 6:25.

<sup>47</sup> The exceptions noted are Josh 3:9 and Ezek 34:7.

<sup>48</sup> GKC §121b, p. 388 discusses other rare examples of the use of the passive with את, but (n. 1) they comment that in this case the text of Isaiah, without the object marker,

	References	Comments	Summary
19.	2 Kgs 18:31//Isa 36:16	As in 2 Kgs 18:23//Isa 36:8, Isaiah uses the definite article in the construct chain “the king of Assyria” (המלך אשור).	Isa≠Kgs
20.	2 Kgs 18:31//Isa 36:16	The king of Assyria says: “Make (עשו) with me a peace treaty (?; ברכה usually = “blessing”).” These texts are the only ones that have this idiom, but a case may be made that the use of את for “with” is a less common use of the preposition. First, we note that one makes peace (שלום) with the preposition ל. <sup>49</sup> Second, את is less common than עם in general for “with” (albeit not in all idioms). <sup>50</sup> Third, את is much less common than עם with the verb עשה. <sup>51</sup>	Kgs=Isa
21.	2 Kgs 18:36//Isa 36:21	Kings seems to have an example of a non-iterative past use of the <i>weqatal</i> verb (והחרישו), “and they were silent.” Isaiah parallels this with a <i>wayyiqtol</i> (ויחרישו).	Kgs≠Isa

is to be preferred, or Kings emended in some other way. JM §128b, pp. 431–32 notes that normally the construction is considered impersonal as evidenced by the fact that it is usually third person masculine singular no matter what the gender and number of the logical object; it is also noted that the third feminine singular in this verse is exceptional.

<sup>49</sup> Josh 9:15; Isa 27:5 (x2).

<sup>50</sup> *LDBT* 2:112.

<sup>51</sup> By a rough count, c. 24–66.

	References	Comments	Summary
22.	2 Kgs 18:36//Isa 36:21	Kings reads “and the people were silent.” When the collective עַם (“people”) precedes the verb, the singular verb predominates over the plural. <sup>52</sup> Kings’ plural is therefore the less common form. Isaiah in contrast does not have the subject הָעַם, thus not paralleling the less common linguistic form of Kings.	Kgs≠Isa
23.	2 Kgs 18:36//Isa 36:21	“(The people) were silent and they did not answer him a word.” For “him” both texts have an unforced use of אֵת plus suffix (אֵתוֹ), which is less common than the use of suffixes directly on the verb.	Kgs=Isa
24.	2 Kgs 18:37//Isa 36:22	Kings has the name Hilkiyah with <i>-yah</i> instead of <i>-yahu</i> for its theophoric ending (חִלְקִיָּה).	Kgs≠Isa
25.	2 Kgs 18:37//Isa 36:22	Kings has no אֵת to mark the direct object in “and they told to him (Isaiah: אֵת) the words of Rabshaqeh,” which would be expected in such a sentence.	Kgs≠Isa
26.	2 Kgs 19:2//Isa 37:2	In the phrase “and he sent Eliakim who was over the house and Shebna the scribe and the elders of the priests...,” Kings has אֵת to mark the direct object on “Eliakim” and “the elders,” but not on Shebna, whereas Isaiah also marks Shebna, which is the more common situation. <sup>53</sup>	Kgs≠Isa
27.	2 Kgs 19:3//Isa 37:3	Both texts use תּוֹכַחַת for “rebuke,” which is less common than תּוֹכַחַת. <sup>54</sup>	Kgs=Isa

<sup>52</sup> Young, “*Am*,” 53–54. The totals (not given there) are 142 and 114. The use of the plural for the second verb as in “and they did not answer” later in the verse is the regular form.

<sup>53</sup> See “In a series of definite direct objects, if the particle is used on one member of the series it is ordinarily used on each” (WO §10.3.1, p. 179).

<sup>54</sup> This case is not so straightforward as it appears at first glance, since the difference between suffixed and plural forms of the two nouns is solely dependent on the

	References	Comments	Summary
28.	2 Kgs 19:3//Isa 37:3	Both texts use a form of the infinitive construct of ילד (“to give birth”), לדה, which occurs only four times, whereas לדת occurs eleven times, and another seven times with suffixes.	Kgs=Isa
29.	2 Kgs 19:4//Isa 37:4	Hezekiah hopes that God “will rebuke (והוכיח) the words” of the Assyrian king. “Rebuke” normally collocates with the direct object, these texts being the only ones where “rebuke” is used with ב.	Kgs=Isa
30.	2 Kgs 19:6//Isa 37:6	Kings uses אמר (“to say”) plus ל, whereas Isaiah has the more common אל: “And Isaiah said to them.”	Kgs≠Isa
31.	2 Kgs 19:6//Isa 37:6	In “thus you will say,” both texts have a verb with paragogic nun (תאמרן).	Kgs=Isa
32.	2 Kgs 19:6//Isa 37:6	In “the servants of the king of Assyria have reviled me,” “me” in both texts is represented by אתי. Since the word order is literally “they have reviled–the servants of the king of Assyria–me” there is a case for seeing this use of את plus suffix as forced, but we treat it as a shared linguistic feature rarer than the direct use of the suffix on the verb.	Kgs=Isa
33.	2 Kgs 19:7//Isa 37:7	In “he will return to his land” Kings has the verb שוב with the preposition ל whereas Isaiah has אל which seems to be the more common form. <sup>55</sup>	Kgs≠Isa

vocalization. It is in fact only Proverbs, with ten cases, that clearly has the absolute form תוכחה, while the absolute form תוכחה is found in Hos 5:9 as well as in these parallel texts.

<sup>55</sup> BDB 997–98.

	References	Comments	Summary
34.	2 Kgs 19:9//Isa 37:9	In “then he heard concerning,” for “concerning” Kings has אל whereas Isaiah has the more expected על.	Kgs≠Isa
35.	2 Kgs 19:9//Isa 37:9	“Fight with” is most commonly found with the preposition ב, and of the less common collocations, עם is more common than את which both texts have here.	Kgs=Isa
36.	2 Kgs 19:10//Isa 37:10	In “thus you will say to Hezekiah” both texts have a verb with the paragogic nun (תאמרן).	Kgs=Isa
37.	2 Kgs 19:11//Isa 37:11	In “behold you have heard what the kings of Assyria did,” for “what” Kings has את אשר but Isaiah has just אשר. The use of את when אשר is the direct object is expected; see, for example, 2 Kgs 18:14. <sup>56</sup>	Isa≠Kgs
38. 39.	2 Kgs 19:18//Isa 37:19 (x2)	In “and they consigned (put) their gods into the fire,” Isaiah has an infinitive absolute in place of a finite verb (וַתִּתְּנוּ), which is a less common form. Kings has a finite verb (וַתִּתְּנוּ), but this itself seems to be a rare form, the preceding qatal verb indicating that this is likely a non-iterative use of weqatal to refer to the past.	Isa≠Kgs Kgs≠Isa
40.	2 Kgs 19:20//Isa 37:21	More commonly “pray concerning” is coordinated with the preposition על. However, here both texts have אל.	Kgs=Isa
41.	2 Kgs 19:22//Isa 37:23	God through Isaiah says to the king of Assyria: “And against (על) whom have you lifted up your voice and lifted up on high your eyes? Against the Holy One of Israel.” For the second “against” Kings has the expected על, while Isaiah instead has אל.	Isa≠Kgs

<sup>56</sup> WO §10.3.1b, p. 180.

	References	Comments	Summary
42.	2 Kgs 19:23//Isa 37:24	Both texts have the rare substitute ארני for the Tetragrammaton, found in Kings only six times, against 534 of the Tetragrammaton, although forty-four times in Isaiah, which is still a minority against 450 uses of the Tetragrammaton.	Kgs=Isa
43.	2 Kgs 19:23//Isa 37:24	The king of Assyria cuts down “the choicest of its cypresses.” For “choicest” Kgs has מְבוּחָר, which is the rare equivalent of Isaiah’s מְבַחָר.	Kgs≠Isa
44.	2 Kgs 19:23//Isa 37:24	In the expression “its furthest lodging place” (מְלוֹן קְצוּהָ) Kings evidences a case of the very rare spelling of the third person masculine singular possessive suffix with <i>he</i> rather than <i>waw</i> . The parallel in Isaiah, “its furthest height” (מְרוֹם קְצוּ), has the standard form.	Kgs≠Isa
45.	2 Kgs 19:25//Isa 37:26	Kings’ לְמִימֵי (“from the days of”) is found elsewhere only in Mal 3:7. Isaiah’s מִימֵי is more common, occurring nineteen times in the MT. For an exact parallel to מִימֵי קִדְּם see Mic 7:20.	Kgs≠Isa
46.	2 Kgs 19:25//Isa 37:26	Kings drops the root letter <i>’aleph</i> in the form “to make crash” (לְהִשּׁוֹת) from the root שָׂאָה, while Isaiah retains it (לְהִשְׂאוֹת).	Kgs≠Isa
47.	2 Kgs 19:27//Isa 37:28	Although the verb form used in “in your raging against me” is unique to these verses, it seems that both texts’ use of אֶל for “against” instead of עַל is unusual.	Kgs=Isa
48.	2 Kgs 19:28//Isa 37:29	The second use of “enraged against” also seems to have אֶל for “against” instead of עַל.	Kgs=Isa

	References	Comments	Summary
49.	2 Kgs 19:29//Isa 37:30	Both texts (first occurrence) use an infinitive absolute as a command for “eat!” (אָכּוּל) which is much rarer than the use of the imperative itself.	Kgs=Isa
50.	2 Kgs 19:29//Isa 37:30	For the second occurrence of “eat!” the <i>Kethiv</i> in Isaiah has ואָכּוּל, that is, another infinitive absolute, but here the <i>Qere</i> and the parallel in Kings have the imperative וּאֲכַלּוּ.	Isa≠Kgs
51.	2 Kgs 19:32//Isa 37:33	Probably the verse begins “Therefore thus YHWH has said <i>concerning</i> the king of Assyria,” and therefore both texts have אַל for “concerning” rather than the more common עַל.	Kgs=Isa
52.	2 Kgs 19:34//Isa 37:35	Kings has גָּנַן (“to defend”) with the preposition אַל which is attested only here. The preposition that accompanies this verb is usually עַל which is what Isaiah has.	Kgs≠Isa
53.	2 Kgs 19:35//Isa 37:36	Isaiah has the long III- <i>He wayyiqtol</i> for “and he smote” (וַיִּכֶּה), whereas Kings has the more common form וַיִּךְ.	Isa≠Kgs
54.	2 Kgs 19:37//Isa 37:38	Both texts have no directive in the phrase “they escaped (נִמְלְטוּ) to the land (אֶרֶץ) of Ararat.” Elsewhere in the MT “escape to (location)” marks the location with the directive <i>he</i> five times, and uses the preposition אַל twice. <sup>57</sup> The absence of either in these texts is unparalleled.	Kgs=Isa
55.	2 Kgs 20:2//Isa 38:2	Isaiah has no object marker אֵת in “and Hezekiah turned (Kings: אָחַז) his face to the wall.”	Isa≠Kgs

<sup>57</sup> Locative: Gen 19:17b (ההרה), 19 (ההרה), 20 (שמה), 22 (שמה); Judg 3:26 (השעירתה). Preposition: 1 Sam 22:1 (אל מערת עדלם); 27:1 (אל ארץ פלשתים).

	References	Comments	Summary
56.	2 Kgs 20:3//Isa 38:3	The two texts have different forms of the word for “heart”: Kings: לבב; Isaiah: לב. לבב is less common overall: 601–252. <sup>58</sup> Note, however, that Kings prefers the longer form 31–20, while Isaiah prefers the shorter form 31–18. This is therefore a good illustration of how scribal preferences shape the current texts rather than the choices of “original” authors.	Kgs≠Isa
57.	2 Kgs 20:5//Isa 38:5	Isaiah uses an infinitive absolute for a command (הִלֹּךְ), whereas Kings uses the much more common imperative, albeit of a different root (שׁוּב). <sup>59</sup>	Isa≠Kgs
58.	2 Kgs 20:5//Isa 38:5	In Kings God says to Hezekiah: “I am about to heal you.” For “heal you” the text has רפא plus preposition ל, which is less common than the use of the direct object, 19–9. Isaiah lacks this phrase.	Kgs≠Isa
59.	2 Kgs 20:8//Isa 38:22 <sup>60</sup>	In Kings, Hezekiah asks “What is the sign that YHWH will heal me?” using רפא plus preposition ל; see on 2 Kgs 20:5//Isa 38:5. Isaiah again is lacking the phrase.	Kgs≠Isa
60.	2 Kgs 20:9//Isa 38:7	Isaiah has אשר for Kings’ כי in a complement clause. <sup>61</sup>	Isa≠Kgs

<sup>58</sup> LDBT 2:110.

<sup>59</sup> Although, as often, the distinction between the forms is based on the current vocalization.

<sup>60</sup> In terms of parallel material, 2 Kgs 20, vv. 6, 7, 8, 9, are paralleled by Isa 38, vv. 6, 21, 22, 7.

<sup>61</sup> See R. D. Holmstedt, “The Story of Ancient Hebrew *’āšer*,” *ANES* 43 (2006): 7–26 (10).

	References	Comments	Summary
61. 62.	2 Kgs 20:13//Isa 39:2 (x2)	Both texts have the rare use of <i>he</i> for the third person masculine singular suffix on נִתְּנָה (“his treasure”). The word נִתְּנָה is found only in these texts, and seems to be the equivalent of the more common אוֹצֵר, used earlier in the verse; cf. also בֵּית הָאוֹצֵר (Mal 3:10; Dan 1:2; Neh 10:39).	Kgs=Isa Kgs=Isa
63.	2 Kgs 20:17//Isa 39:6	Isaiah does not have a directive <i>he</i> in “everything which is in your house will be carried off...to Babylon.” Kings has בְּבַלְא, which is paralleled in this phrase in 2 Kgs 25:13//Jer 52:17. <sup>62</sup>	Isa≠Kgs

TABLE 3.2. RARE FEATURES WITHOUT LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	2 Kgs 18:19//Isa 36:4	The word בְּטָחוֹן (“trust, confidence”) occurs elsewhere only in Qoh 9:4. <sup>63</sup>	Kgs=Isa
2.	2 Kgs 18:23//Isa 36:8	The specific sense of the <i>Hithpael</i> הִתְעַרְב (“make a bargain”) is found only in these texts	Kgs=Isa
3.	2 Kgs 18:27//Isa 36:12	The noun שִׁינִיָּהִם (“urine”) occurs only here.	Kgs=Isa
4.	2 Kgs 19:3//Isa 37:3	The noun נִאֲצָה (“humiliation”) is found only in these two texts.	Kgs=Isa
5.	2 Kgs 19:3//Isa 37:3	Only in these texts and in Hos 13:13 do we find מִשְׁבֵּר (“cervical opening”).	Kgs=Isa
6.	2 Kgs 19:24//Isa 37:25	The verb קוֹר (“dig”) occurs only here.	Kgs=Isa
7.	2 Kgs 19:26//Isa 37:27	Kings has the <i>hapax legomenon</i> וְשִׂדְפָה (“and a blighted thing” [?]). Isaiah has וְשִׂדְמָה (“and a field”) which is itself not a common word.	Kgs≠Isa
8.	2 Kgs 19:27–28//Isa 37:28–29	The <i>Hithpael</i> of רָגַע occurs only in these verses.	Kgs=Isa

<sup>62</sup> 4QIsa<sup>b</sup> has the locative, like Kings, but against MT Isaiah.

<sup>63</sup> HALOT 1:121 lists all three together as “confidence,” while BDB 105b distinguishes “trust” in these texts from “hope” in Qoheleth.

	References	Comments	Summary
9.	2 Kgs 19:29//Isa 37:30	The noun ספיה ("what grows of itself") occurs in both of these texts and in Lev 25:5, 11.	Kgs=Isa
10. 11.	2 Kgs 19:29//Isa 37:30 (x2)	Both texts have different <i>hapax legomena</i> in parallel. Kings has שחיש; Isaiah has שחיס ("self-seeded plants" [?]).	Kgs≠Isa Isa≠Kgs
12.	2 Kgs 20:7//Isa 38:21 <sup>64</sup>	In the healing of Hezekiah, Isaiah says they need to "spread on" (?; מרח) a cake of figs on his boil, the verbal root being a <i>hapax legomenon</i> . The parallel in Kings has simply "and they put" (וישימו).	Isa≠Kgs

TABLE 3.3. ADDITIONAL FEATURES WITH LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS IN UNPARALLELED PASSAGES: MT 2 KINGS 18:14–16 AND MT ISAIAH 38:9–20<sup>65</sup>

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	2 Kgs 18:14	Name with <i>-yah</i> instead of <i>-yahu</i> (חזקיה), first example.	Kgs≠Isa
2.	2 Kgs 18:14	Name with <i>-yah</i> instead of <i>-yahu</i> (חזקיה), second example.	Kgs≠Isa
3.	2 Kgs 18:15	Name with <i>-yah</i> instead of <i>-yahu</i> (חזקיה).	Kgs≠Isa
4.	2 Kgs 18:16	Name with <i>-yah</i> instead of <i>-yahu</i> (חזקיה), first example.	Kgs≠Isa
5.	2 Kgs 18:16	Name with <i>-yah</i> instead of <i>-yahu</i> (חזקיה), second example.	Kgs≠Isa
6.	2 Kgs 18:16	Feminine plural suffix for masculine plural (ויתנם ["and he gave them"]). The previously mentioned subjects are feminine plural: "doors" (דלתות) and "pillars" (האמנות).	Kgs≠Isa

<sup>64</sup> In terms of parallel material 2 Kgs 20 vv. 6, 7, 8, 9 is paralleled by Isa 38 vv. 6, 21, 22, 7.

<sup>65</sup> In the summary the book with the rare form is listed first.

	References	Comments	Summary
7.	Isa 38:14	Rare substitute for the Tetragrammaton (אֲדֹנָי); see on 2 Kgs 19:23//Isa 37:24. <sup>66</sup>	Isa≠Kgs
8.	Isa 38:15	“Say” (אָמַר) plus ל rather than אֶל.	Isa≠Kgs
9.	Isa 38:16	Rare substitute for the Tetragrammaton (אֲדֹנָי); see on 2 Kgs 19:23//Isa 37:24.	Isa≠Kgs
10.	Isa 38:19	“Make known concerning” with אֶל rather than עַל. <sup>67</sup>	Isa≠Kgs

## 4. MT 1 KINGS 22//MT 2 CHRONICLES 18

See our introduction and general comments on these parallel passages in chapter 5 (5.4.5).<sup>68</sup>

TABLE 4.1. FEATURES WITH LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS<sup>69</sup>

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	1 Kgs 22:4//2 Chr 18:3	In the phrase “will you go with me (Kings plus: to battle) to Ramoth Gilead?” Kings has אִתִּי for “with me,” while Chronicles has עִמִּי. Overall, עִם is more common than אִת, especially in the sense of accompaniment. <sup>70</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
2.	1 Kgs 22:4//2 Chr 18:3	Chronicles has the less common אָמַר plus ל in the phrase “and [Jehoshaphat] said to him.” Kings uses אֶל in its parallel “and Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel.”	Chr≠Kgs

<sup>66</sup> In contrast, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> has the Tetragrammaton.

<sup>67</sup> See Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 442.

<sup>68</sup> For layouts of the parallel texts in Hebrew see Bendavid, *Parallels*, 111–12; Kegler and Augustin, *Synopse*, 175–77. For layouts in English see Endres, Millar, and Burns, *Chronicles*, 233–36; Newsome, *Synoptic*, 162–67.

<sup>69</sup> In the summary the book with the rare form is listed first.

<sup>70</sup> In other idioms, אִת is the more common, for example in the idiom “speak with” (see 1 Kgs 22:24//2 Chr 18:23), or in the compound מֵאִת (“from with”) designating “origination or authorship” (BDB 87a; see 1 Kgs 22:7//2 Chr 18:6; 1 Kgs 22:8//2 Chr 18:7; 1 Kgs 22:24//2 Chr 18:23).

	References	Comments	Summary
3.	1 Kgs 22:6//2 Chr 18:5	In Chronicles the prophets tell the king of Israel: “Go up that God might give [Ramoth Gilead] into the hand of the king.” In Kings, instead of Chronicles’ “God” (האלהים), we find אדני (“the Lord”), which is generally considered a much less common equivalent of/substitute for the Tetragrammaton.	Kgs≠Chr
4.	1 Kgs 22:8//2 Chr 18:7	The king of Israel says of Micaiah, “I hate him.” For this form Chronicles has the less common <sup>71</sup> form of the third person masculine singular suffix on a first person singular <i>qatal</i> verb: שנאתיהו. Kings has the more common form: שנאתיו.	Chr≠Kgs
5.	1 Kgs 22:8//2 Chr 18:7	For the expression “he does not prophesy,” Chronicles uses the supposedly late אץ plus predicative participle, whereas Kings uses the more common לא plus <i>yiqtol</i> . <sup>72</sup>	Chr≠Kgs
6.	1 Kgs 22:8//2 Chr 18:7	In Kings, the king of Israel says of Micaiah: “he does not prophesy concerning me good but rather evil.” Chronicles says something similar: “he does not prophesy concerning me for good, but all his days for evil.” When “good” and “evil” are closely related in a BH expression, they are usually found in the masculine form like Kings (טוב, רע), rather than the feminine form as in Chronicles (טובה, רעה); see 1 Kgs 22:18//2 Chr 18:17.	Chr≠Kgs

<sup>71</sup> JM §62g, p. 163.

<sup>72</sup> LDBT 1:355.

	References	Comments	Summary
7.	1 Kgs 22:8//2 Chr 18:7	Micaiah's father's name Imlah is spelled ימלא in Chronicles, but ימלה in Kings. The name is usually derived from מלא ("be full"), so Kings has a case of <i>he</i> in place of a root consonant 'aleph.	Kgs≠Chr
8. 9.	1 Kgs 22:9//2 Chr 18:8 (x2)	Both texts have an imperative of מהרה which is commonly understood as a rare transitive "to bring quickly" as opposed to the usual sense "to make haste." <sup>73</sup> The form of the imperative is different in each text, with Kings using the lengthened imperative מהרה which is less common than the regular imperative which Chronicles uses. <sup>74</sup>	Kgs=Chr Kgs≠Chr
10.	1 Kgs 22:9//2 Chr 18:8	Again Kings spells Micaiah's father's name as ימלה; see on 1 Kgs 22:8//2 Chr 18:7.	Kgs≠Chr
11.	1 Kgs 22:11//2 Chr 18:10	In the name "Zedekiah" Kings has the name with the short theophoric ending <i>-yah</i> while Chronicles has the more common long form <i>-yahu</i> .	Kgs≠Chr
12.	1 Kgs 22:13//2 Chr 18:12	In the phrase "and the messenger who had gone to summon Micaiah," Chronicles has the more common <sup>75</sup> use of קרא with the preposition ל, while Kings has קרא without even the less common object marker את.	Kgs≠Chr
13.	1 Kgs 22:16//2 Chr 18:15	In the phrase "how many times must I make you swear <i>that</i> you will speak to me only the truth," both texts have the rare use of אשר for כי ("that"), considered by many to be a feature of "late" Hebrew. <sup>76</sup>	Kgs=Chr

<sup>73</sup> So NRSV: "Bring quickly"; cf. BDB 555a; HALOT 2:553. For more on this variant see LDBT 1:355–56.

<sup>74</sup> See Qumran Samuel (4.7.2).

<sup>75</sup> See Qumran Samuel (6.5).

<sup>76</sup> LDBT 1:134, 354.

	References	Comments	Summary
14.	1 Kgs 22:17//2 Chr 18:16	In the phrase “I saw all Israel scattered <i>upon</i> (Chronicles: על) the mountains,” Kings has אל for על, the confusion between them considered a feature of “late” Hebrew. <sup>77</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
15.	1 Kgs 22:17//2 Chr 18:16	In reference to the collective צאן (“sheep”) which is regularly construed as a feminine plural in BH, Kings has the masculine plural suffix להם (“to them”) for Chronicles’ feminine plural להן. This is sometimes considered a “late” feature of BH. <sup>78</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
16.	1 Kgs 22:19//2 Chr 18:18	In the phrase “all the host of heaven were standing” in Kings the collective noun “host” is construed with a masculine singular participle, while Chronicles has a masculine plural participle. “Army” (צבא) is seldom the subject of a verb on its own, but the scant evidence seems to indicate that Kings’ singular is the more common form. <sup>79</sup>	Chr≠Kgs
17.	1 Kgs 22:19//2 Chr 18:18	Micaiah sees YHWH and “all the host of the heavens were standing upon his right and his left.” For the idiom “on his right and his left” Kings has מימינו ומשמאלו, which is the most common way of saying this. <sup>80</sup> Other ways involve mixtures of מן with על, <sup>81</sup> but Chronicles’ על ימינו ושמאלו with על and nothing on the second member seems unique. <sup>82</sup>	Chr≠Kgs

<sup>77</sup> LDBT 1:134, 356–57; Qumran Samuel (6.1.25).

<sup>78</sup> LDBT 1:134, 357.

<sup>79</sup> We found five as the subject of singular verbs: 1 Kgs 22:19; Isa 34:4b; Jer 33:22; Dan 8:12; 2 Chr 25:7; and three with plural verbs: Isa 34:4a; Neh 9:6; 2 Chr 18:18.

<sup>80</sup> Exod 14:22, 29; 2 Sam 16:6; 1 Kgs 22:19; 2 Chr 4:6, 7.

<sup>81</sup> Ezek 16:46; Zech 4:3, 11.

	References	Comments	Summary
18.	1 Kgs 22:24//2 Chr 18:23	For “and he struck” Kings has the less common form with the retention of the <i>he</i> in a III- <i>He wayyiqtol</i> (ויכה), whereas Chronicles has the regular form (יך). The long form is sometimes considered a feature of “late” Hebrew. <sup>83</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
19.	1 Kgs 22:24//2 Chr 18:23	Zedekiah hits Micaiah and asks, “Which way did the spirit of YHWH pass from me to speak with you?” Both texts are formulated somewhat differently. Kings begins אי זה עבר, followed directly by a verb being very rare. <sup>84</sup> Chronicles has the expression with הדרך (“the way”), “which is the way that...,” which is attested a number of times. <sup>85</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
20.	1 Kgs 22:25//2 Chr 18:24	Kings possibly has the less common root חבה (“to hide”), but more likely, especially in view of Chronicles’ להחבא, we have a case of a <i>he</i> replacing a root consonant <i>’aleph</i> . <sup>86</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
21. 22.	1 Kgs 22:30//2 Chr 18:29 (x2)	Both texts have two infinitives absolute in the place of finite verbs: התחפש ובוא “[I will] disguise myself and enter (the battle).”	Kgs=Chr Kgs=Chr

<sup>82</sup> Chronicles’ על, furthermore combines with Kings use of על in the idiom עמד עליו (‘‘they were standing beside him’’).

<sup>83</sup> *LDBT* 1:134, 357.

<sup>84</sup> BDB 32a implies this is the only example, but Rendsburg mentions also Qoh 11:6 (Rendsburg, *Israelian*, 75–76).

<sup>85</sup> See 1 Kgs 13:12; 2 Kgs 3:8; Job 38:19, 24; 2 Chr 18:23. GKC §155d, p. 486 lists the three cases from Kings and Chronicles as examples of the rare omission of אשר after a determinate noun. However, since no example of this phrase occurs with אשר we hesitate to list this here as another less common linguistic feature.

<sup>86</sup> GKC §75pp, p. 216; *HALOT* 1:284; *JM* §78g, pp. 186–87.

	References	Comments	Summary
23.	1 Kgs 22:31//2 Chr 18:30	In both texts the king of Aram gives orders to the commanders of his chariotry; however, in a plus in Kings it is specified: “his chariot commanders, <i>thirty two</i> .” Kings thus has the rarer word order substantive before numeral, which is considered by some scholars to be a feature of “late” Hebrew. <sup>87</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
24. 25. 26.	1 Kgs 22:31//2 Chr 18:30 (x3)	Three times in this verse in the king of Aram’s orders appears the expression “fight with” using את א for “with.” In this expression עם is more common than את א, but both are less common than בּ. <sup>88</sup>	Kgs=Chr Kgs=Chr Kgs=Chr
27.	1 Kgs 22:31//2 Chr 18:30	While both texts follow the usual word order, Kings’ indefinite “small and great” is more common in the expression than Chronicles’ “the small and the great.”	Chr≠Kgs
28.	1 Kgs 22:32//2 Chr 18:31	In Chronicles the Aramean commanders “turn upon” Jehoshaphat with the verb סבב plus the preposition על, which is an expression paralleled elsewhere. However, the equivalent in Kings using the verb סור plus על is unique. <sup>89</sup>	Kgs≠Chr
29.	1 Kgs 22:34//2 Chr 18:33	Once again, as in 1 Kgs 22:24//2 Chr 18:23, for “and he struck” Kings has the less common form with the retention of the <i>he</i> in a III- <i>He wayyiqtol</i> (ויכה), whereas Chronicles has the regular form (יך).	Kgs≠Chr

<sup>87</sup> LDBT 1:134, 357.

<sup>88</sup> BDB 535b.

<sup>89</sup> See LDBT 1:356–57.

	References	Comments	Summary
30.	1 Kgs 22:34//2 Chr 18:33	Both texts have the less common $\text{אמר}$ plus $\text{ל}$ in “and he <i>said to</i> the (Kings: his) charioteer.”	Kgs=Chr
31.	1 Kgs 22:35//2 Chr 18:34	For “and (the battle) escalated” Kings has the less common form with the retention of the <i>he</i> in a III- <i>He wayyiqtol</i> (וּתַעֲלֶה), whereas Chronicles has the regular form (וּתַעֲלֵ); cf. 1 Kgs 22:24//2 Chr 18:23 and 1 Kgs 22:34//2 Chr 18:33.	Kgs≠Chr
32.	1 Kgs 22:35//2 Chr 18:34	Both texts have a case of $\text{היה}$ plus participle, a less common way in BH to express continuous or habitual action, sometimes considered a feature of “late” Hebrew, <sup>90</sup> although each text uses different participles of the root עמד: Kings: <i>Hophal</i> ; Chronicles: <i>Hiphil</i> .	Kgs=Chr

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<sup>90</sup> LDBT 1:355.

TABLE 4.2. RARE FEATURES WITHOUT LINGUISTIC OPPOSITIONS

	References	Comments	Summary
1.	1 Kgs 22:6//2 Chr 18:5	The chapter repeatedly has “Go (הֲלֹךְ)/go up (עֲלֵה) to/against Ramoth Gilead.” Ramoth Gilead never appears with a directive in the MT. Without any preposition the phrase occurs with “go up” in 1 Kgs 22:12//2 Chr 18:11; cf. with “go” elsewhere in 2 Kgs 9:1, 4. It also occurs with “go up” without preposition in 1 Kgs 22:29, but the parallel in 2 Chr 18:28 uses the preposition אֶל. Apart from this case, we find the use of the preposition אֶל in non-synoptic 2 Chr 18:2 with “go up,” and with “go” in 1 Kgs 22:15//2 Chr 18:14. In addition we find “go” plus אֶל in 2 Chr 18:5, but the parallel in 1 Kgs 22:6 has עַל. Undoubtedly we have a number of potential cases of linguistic fluidity here, but with five cases of no preposition, five cases of אֶל, and one of עַל (which could be argued to have a different nuance to its parallel: “against” rather than “to”) it is difficult to decide what counts as more common, and whether the sole example of עַל in Kings should be considered in linguistic opposition.	Kgs≠Chr?
2.	1 Kgs 22:10//2 Chr 18:9	The <i>Piel</i> participle of לָבַשׁ (מִלְבָּשִׁים; “arrayed”) is found elsewhere only in Ezra 3:10; 2 Chr 5:12.	Kgs=Chr
3.	1 Kgs 22:20//2 Chr 18:19	In the phrase “One said thus and another said thus,” for “thus” Kings has the unique כִּכְהָ whereas Chronicles has the more common כִּכְהָה.	Kgs≠Chr

	<b>References</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Summary</b>
4.	1 Kgs 22:34//2 Chr 18:33	“Unknowingly” (לְחִמּוֹ) is found only here and in 2 Sam 15:11.	Kgs=Chr
5.	1 Kgs 22:34//2 Chr 18:33	“Scale armor” (?; הַדְּבָקִים) is found only here, probably due to the rarity of the subject matter.	Kgs=Chr

## Appendix 2

### Commentary on Linguistic Variants in MT and Qumran Samuel

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- 7.7. פלגשים (“Concubines”)
- 7.8. רדד (“Subjugate”)
- 7.9. “Vengeance” or “Obstacle”?
- 7.10. מאודה/מאד (“Greatly”)
- 7.11. עלם (“Lad”)
- 7.12. Other Vocabulary Substitutions
  - 7.12.1. 4QA
  - 7.12.2. 4QB
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## 8. Other Issues of Syntax

- 8.1. Gender and Number Incongruence
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- 8.8. Conditional Sentence without Apodosis
- 8.9. *Qatal* or *Wayyiqtol* in a Temporal Clause

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In this commentary we use the abbreviated forms 1Q = 1QSam, 4QA = 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, 4QB = 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, and 4QC = 4QSam<sup>c</sup>.

Some relevant introductory comments to this appendix are given in chapter 6 (6.2, 6.3.1.1). Also in chapter 6 (6.3.1.1, 6.3.1.2, 6.4) we give a synthesis of linguistic variants in MT and Qumran Samuel, including comments on the types, statistics, and patterns of variation.

Some of the linguistic items discussed below are treated in more detail elsewhere in this book, including:

- third person masculine plural suffix on feminine plural nouns (*-otam/-otehem*), 3.2.5, below, and chapter 9 (9.3);
- iterative *weqatal*, 4.4, below, and chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.2);
- directive *he*, 5.2, below, chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.1), and chapter 9 (9.4);
- nouns formed with *-ût*, 5.10, below, and chapter 9 (9.2);
- “kingdom” (מַלְכוּת), 7.3, below, and chapter 9 (9.2);
- temporal clause introduced by (+/-) וַיְהִי plus *beth* plus infinitive construct, 8.5, below, and chapter 5 (5.3).

## 2. ORTHOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1. DAVID

4QA דוֹיד; MT דוֹד (“David”; 1 Sam 25:4, 5, 40; 27:1; 28:1; 2 Sam 2:15, 30; 3:1 [x2], 5, 26 [x2], 35; 5:6, 7, 8, 9 [x2], 10, 11, 13 [x2]; 6:9, 14, 17 [x2]; 8:4, 6, 7, 8; 11:5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 17; 12:15; 15:31; 20:1; 21:1; 23:1; 24:17).

1Q דוֹיד; MT דוֹד (“David”; 2 Sam 21:17; 23:9).

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<sup>1</sup> The orthography of the 4QABC manuscripts is discussed in Cross et al., *Samuel*, 5–8, 220–21, 250–51, with tables of orthographic variants, 9–15, 221. The most common orthographic variants between the MT and the largest scroll, 4QA, include (MT first): דוֹד/דוֹיד, בּוֹל/בֵּל, אֱלֹהִים/אֱלֹהִים, לְאֹמֶר/לְאֹמֶר, and לֹא/לֹא.

From our knowledge of the development of Hebrew spelling the form דויד with the internal *mater lectionis yod* would seem clearly to be the later one. Scholars have used this fact, and the distribution of the name in the MT to conclude: “The books of the Bible, broadly speaking with respect to their compilation and publication (in the form in which they have been preserved), can be dated according to the spelling of the name David which is preserved in the Masoretic Text.”<sup>2</sup>

The basis for these claims is the fact that “early” (MT) Samuel consistently spells the name דויד (x575) and “late” (MT) Chronicles consistently spells it דוידד (x261). On the basis of the spelling practices of the preexilic inscriptions, the *plene* spelling דוידד would reflect the typologically later form. The contrast between Samuel, on the one hand, and Chronicles, on the other, is bolstered by the fact that “early” (MT) Kings mostly has דויד (93 of 96 times) and “late” (MT) Ezra (x3) and (MT) Nehemiah (x8) consistently have דוידד.

Even within the MT, however, consideration of the wider evidence leads to skepticism that the variations in spelling can be necessarily traced to the “original” authors of these works.<sup>3</sup> Barr remarks that “the name ‘David’ is one of the rather rare phenomena in which the books disagree with one another but come near to total inner consistency within themselves...This degree of consistency, coupled with the complete and drastic contrast between the two groups of books, is surely unparalleled in the entire field of biblical spelling.”<sup>4</sup> While proponents of the traditional diachronic approach to BH have been quick to seize on the example of David as an example where orthography fits in with the usual classification of the books as early or late, they have not pursued this beyond this example, with good reason. It is accepted by all scholars of Hebrew orthography that “[t]he spelling in the *textus receptus* still reflects a stage in the transmission of the text that is later than pre-exilic times.”<sup>5</sup> If one were to take other spelling patterns in the MT seriously as evidence for the dates of composition of the writings, as is done sometimes in the case of “David,” we

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<sup>2</sup> D. N. Freedman, “The Spelling of the Name ‘David’ in the Hebrew Bible,” *HAR* 7 (1983): 89–104 (102); cf. F. I. Andersen and R. S. Hess, *Names in the Study of Biblical History: David, YHWH Names, and the Role of Personal Names* (BurH 2; Melbourne: Australian Institute of Archaeology, 2007), 8, 13; Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 88–91; Rooker, *Biblical*, 68–71.

<sup>3</sup> See Rezetko, “Dating,” 223.

<sup>4</sup> J. Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 161.

<sup>5</sup> Andersen and Forbes, *Spelling*, 312. Andersen and Forbes argued that spelling patterns in the MT could reflect a relative chronology of *canonization*. For example, the Torah is more defective than other works, and hence this might be evidence that it was canonized earlier (*ibid.*, 313–16). However one assesses this claim, we should be clear that Andersen and Forbes’s work is not claiming that the biblical orthography in general is anything but “late.”

would have a clear demonstration that all the biblical texts were written in the postexilic period.<sup>6</sup> However, it is usually considered that the spelling of the biblical books has undergone widespread revision, rather than follow the dating implications to their logical conclusion. To claim that “David” should be an exception to this, simply because it happens to superficially fit with preconceived notions of dating, is methodologically indefensible.

This point becomes clearer when we notice other cases of consistent spelling of a linguistic form in individual books. A striking counter-example to “David” is הֲלֵא (“is not?” or “indeed”).<sup>7</sup> From a typological point of view, the *plene* spelling הֲלוֹא must be the later form. Regular spelling of medial vowel letters is not the rule even in the latest preexilic texts.<sup>8</sup> Thus, in preexilic inscriptions neither הֲלֵא nor לֵא (“not”) are attested in *plene* form.<sup>9</sup> Thus, all our evidence would strongly indicate that the spelling הֲלוֹא is a postexilic orthography, never mind its widespread or consistent usage. Yet, we find the form הֲלוֹא used consistently in the “early” book of Samuel (x34 vs. x0 of הֲלֵא).<sup>10</sup> Even more significant in light of the discussion of David is the fact that “late” Chronicles also exhibits consistent spelling, but it has the “early” form הֲלֵא (x18 vs. x0 of הֲלוֹא).<sup>11</sup> Using the same logic as has been used to argue from the case of “David,” this consistent pattern should indicate that Chronicles was composed in the preexilic period and Samuel in the postexilic. More likely, however, is the view that all of the MT biblical texts have undergone radical spelling revision.

As Barr pointed out, the spelling of David (and הֲלֵא) is an unusual case in that there is a tendency for individual books in the MT (almost) exclusively to follow one option or the other, the most salient being the many examples in Samuel and Chronicles. As we saw with הֲלֵא, consistency of spelling, in fact, seems to be a better explanation of the MT evidence than chronology. In the case of “David,” this is because other books achieve consistency in defiance of conventional chronological assumptions. Thus, there is a consistent preference for *plene* דוּיָד in the Twelve Prophets, irrespective of whether the form is found in “early” Amos or “late” Zechariah.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, Isaiah consistently (x11) uses the defective דוּד even in the “late” part of the book (Isa 55:3). So too Psalms consistently<sup>13</sup> uses the “early” form דוּד even in those psalms considered “late,”

<sup>6</sup> Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 308–11.

<sup>7</sup> D. Sivan and W. Schniedewind, “Letting Your ‘Yes’ Be ‘No’ in Ancient Israel: A Study of the Asseverative הֲלֵא and הֲלֵאִי,” *JSS* 38 (1993): 209–26.

<sup>8</sup> *LDBT* 1:151–52.

<sup>9</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al. list eleven totally non-reconstructed forms of הֲלֵא and one case of הֲלוֹא (Lachish 6:8) (Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 679, 705).

<sup>10</sup> Barr, *Variable*, 155.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>12</sup> On Hos 3:5 see Freedman, “Spelling,” 92–93 n. 9.

<sup>13</sup> With the exception of Ps 122:5, which makes the proportion 87–1.

including a number of times in the titles of the psalms, which are commonly considered even later than the psalms themselves (see, for example, Pss 103:1; 124:1; 133:1; 145:1).<sup>14</sup> Thus, a much more likely explanation for the spelling patterns of “David” in the MT is scribal consistency, not date of authorship.

Into this debate come the Samuel manuscripts from Qumran. “4QSam<sup>b</sup> is written in a surprisingly archaic orthography”<sup>15</sup> and spells דוד defectively, like MT Samuel. 4QA and 1Q, however, consistently spell the name plene, דודי.<sup>16</sup> This clearly demonstrates what would be suspected on the basis of MT spellings such as “David” or דודי, that spelling patterns, including the tendency to spell certain forms consistently throughout a whole book are features of scribal transmission that give us no reliable window into the spelling practices of the “original” author of the book in question.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> On these psalms as late see Hurvitz, *Transition*.

<sup>15</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 220.

<sup>16</sup> By chance, 4QC does not preserve any cases of “David.”

<sup>17</sup> Note too that whereas MT Isaiah spells David consistently as דוד, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> spells it consistently as דודי (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 5, 99). In light of these consistent changes of spelling in different manuscripts, the suggestion of Forbes that on the basis of a statistical analysis of the spelling in MT Samuel “one might have considerable confidence in the assertion that ‘the composer(s) of Samuel likely never spelled “David” plene,’” sounds strange. Presumably a statistical analysis of the consistent spelling of 4Q/1Q or 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> should lead to an equal confidence that the composers *always* spelled “David” plene. Equally strange is Forbes’s assumption that orthographic change is due to “copying errors” (see, for example, Forbes and Andersen, “Dwelling,” 129–32). Total replacement of one spelling by another, as seems to be evidenced in the case of “David,” which he discusses, is hardly a case of error, but rather of systematic spelling change (cf. the systematically different spellings of “Philistines” in Samuel discussed in 2.2). Rather than construct a theoretical model of how orthography could have changed, as he does, it would have been better to discuss the actual data. A final strange feature of the article is the impression it conveys that orthography is relevant to the main discussion of the volume in which it appears, *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, about whether one can use linguistic criteria to tell the difference between an early preexilic Hebrew and a late postexilic Hebrew. Nowhere in the article is there mention of the fact, clearly stated in Andersen and Forbes, *Spelling*, and quoted above with n. 5, that *all* MT orthography is postexilic.

## 2.2. PHILISTINES

4QA פִּלְשְׁתִּים; MT פְּלִשְׁתִּים (“Philistines”; 1 Sam 4:9; 9:16; 14:47; 28:1; 2 Sam 5:18).<sup>18</sup>

1Q = MT (“Philistines”; 2 Sam 23:10, 11b).<sup>19</sup>

The singular gentilic “Philistine” is פִּלְשְׁתִּי, and hence the plural gentilic should be פְּלִשְׁתִּיִּם. However, this latter form is only found in the MT in Amos 9:7 and as the *Kethiv* in 1 Chr 14:10. The rest of the time (some 250 occasions) it is treated as a common plural, פְּלִשְׁתִּים. 4QA, however, consistently preserves the presumably typologically earlier grammatical form of the gentilic plural, indicated in its orthography by the use of two *yods*.<sup>20</sup> As Cross et al. note, this systematic variant is on the boundary between orthography and morphology.<sup>21</sup> Presumably behind the *yod* of the MT common plural is the defective spelling of the gentilic plural. However, the orthographic tradition behind the MT does not reflect the gentilic, and hence the linguistic development of “Philistines” from gentilic plural to common plural in that tradition must have occurred early enough so that when other forms like הֶעֱבְרִיִּם (“Hebrews”; Exod 3:18) were marked as gentilic plurals by the use of double *yod*, the word “Philistines” did not undergo this orthographic change. In contrast 4QA fits in with a range of evidence from Qumran and elsewhere that indicates the survival of the gentilic in the plural of this word in other traditions of Hebrew.<sup>22</sup> The MT, despite its more archaic orthography, thus provides evidence of a systematic linguistic development from an earlier form evidenced in 4QA. As it currently stands, therefore, the more archaic orthography of the MT has remained archaic due to the fact that it now expresses the later linguistic development from the treatment of “Philistines” as a gentilic to a common plural. Thus neither the MT nor 4QA reflects the suggested most ancient form in both morphology and orthography. This is unlikely to have any bearing on the language used by the “original” author of Samuel. The orthographic practices of all extant biblical texts reflect

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<sup>18</sup> Although “Philistines” is also attested in 4QA at 1 Sam 6:2, 17, 18; 14:30; 29:1; 2 Sam 5:19; 21:12, the part of the word that is at issue in this variant is not preserved in a state that would allow us to clearly identify the form used.

<sup>19</sup> “Philistines” is attested in the text without clear evidence of the relevant ending in 1Q at 2 Sam 21:18; 23:11a, 12.

<sup>20</sup> The discussion of similar forms in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> by Kutscher is rendered rather obscure by his assumption that the MT must be earlier than other evidence (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 38, 511–15).

<sup>21</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 8.

<sup>22</sup> See the evidence cited in Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 511–15.

postexilic developments,<sup>23</sup> and thus all contrast with the spelling of the preexilic inscriptions.<sup>24</sup> Given that all manuscripts exhibit postexilic orthography, it seems extremely unlikely that any argument from the current orthography of any manuscript back to an original, putative preexilic author is plausible. We would add that the widely accepted orthographic revision of the biblical manuscripts is related to similar thorough reworkings of the linguistic details of the text.

The following case is also relevant:

4QA מ[של הקד]מניים (“the proverb of the ancient ones”); MT משל הקדמני (“the proverb of the ancient one”; 1 Sam 24:14).

Scholars had long suspected that the MT form should be plural, and that the *mem* had been lost before the initial *mem* of the following word.<sup>25</sup> The relevant point here, however, is that the plural form in 4QA is spelled with two *yods*. Contrast MT קְדַמְנִים (Job 18:20; cf. Ezek 38:17).<sup>26</sup>

### 2.3. OMISSION OR ADDITION OF <sup>ʾ</sup>ALEPH

#### 2.3.1. 4QA עזא; MT עזה (“Uzza”; 2 Sam 6:6, 8 [x2]).

The name Uzzah, driver of the ark, is spelled with <sup>ʾ</sup>*aleph* in many MT manuscripts such as L in v. 3 of 2 Sam 6, whereas most MT manuscripts have the form with *he* in 2 Sam 6:6, 7, 8 (x2).<sup>27</sup> 4QA is preserved for three of these occurrences, and in each case has the form with <sup>ʾ</sup>*aleph*. The parallel text in 1 Chr 13:7, 9, 10, 11 (x2) has <sup>ʾ</sup>*aleph* in each case.

#### 2.3.2. 4QA ברה; MT ברא (“he consumed [food]”; 2 Sam 12:17).

The form with *he*, read also by some MT manuscripts, is the correct one. See 2 Sam 3:35; 13:5.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Thus Cross et al. describe the contraction of the gentilic in this word as a postexilic development (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 8).

<sup>24</sup> Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 308–9.

<sup>25</sup> For older scholars see, for example, Smith, *Samuel*, 219; for comments on the Qumran form see Cross et al., *Samuel*, 85; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 382. Alternatively, Tsumura suggests that the MT form could be taken as a collective (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 569 n. 31; cf. his discussion of other possibilities).

<sup>26</sup> See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Note that L has <sup>ʾ</sup>*aleph* also in v. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144; Driver, *Notes*, 292; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 297.

2.3.3. 4QA ולהשמאל; 4QC ולהשמאל [ל]; MT ולהשמאל (“or to turn left”; 2 Sam 14:19).

“[T]he lack of the *’alep* in **מ** reflects the late quiescence of *’alep*.”<sup>29</sup>

2.3.4. 4QA לו = MT *Qere*; MT *Kethiv* לא (“if”; 2 Sam 19:7).

Cross et al. comment that the MT *Kethiv* “arose probably through a scribal error, substituting לא for לו.”<sup>30</sup>

2.3.5. 4QA תאמרו; MT תמרו (“you will say”; 2 Sam 19:14).

The MT does not have the root consonant *’aleph*. Driver notes: “The omission of א is somewhat more frequent (though rare even then) in *Qal*.”<sup>31</sup> Andersen and Forbes comment on the omission of *’aleph* in various cases in the MT: “Being otiose in many cases, [*’aleph*] was vulnerable to omission. Quite early it was possible to leave out an etymological א to obtain a purely consonantal spelling.”<sup>32</sup> It is noteworthy and commendable that they demonstrate the earliness of this by reference to inscriptions, not through circular argument based on the MT.

2.3.6. 4QA ותאזרני [ו] = Ps 18:40; MT ותזרני (“and you girded me”; 2 Sam 22:40).

Cross et al. comment: “The reading of **מ** is merely an orthographic variation, probably reflecting a spoken form.”<sup>33</sup>

2.3.7. 4QA ארנא; MT ארונה, הארונה (“Araunah”; 2 Sam 24:16, 20).

In addition to these variants, Chronicles in the parallel in 1 Chr 21 gives the form ארנן, and the Greek biblical tradition gives *Ορνα*, and Josephus, *Antiquities* 7:329–333 has *Ορσνας*.<sup>34</sup> The name is often considered to be an old non-Semitic element of the tradition.<sup>35</sup> Its unfamiliarity evidently led to the variety of ways it was treated in the textual transmission.

<sup>29</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 153.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 168. McCarter translates the MT *Kethiv* as “Abishalom is *not* alive today” (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 404).

<sup>31</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 122. Driver lists the forms in MT Samuel there. See also GKC §68h, pp. 185–86.

<sup>32</sup> Andersen and Forbes, *Spelling*, 85.

<sup>33</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 184.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>35</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 512.

2.3.8. 4QA [ה]נטוא; MT minus; 1 Chr 21:16 נטויה (“stretched out”; 2 Sam 24:16).

4QA shares a long plus with Chronicles, lost in MT Samuel according to Cross et al. and McCarter.<sup>36</sup> One notable linguistic variant from Chronicles in the extra material in 4QA is the form of the passive participle formed with an *'aleph*. This may be related to forms like גואים for גוים in QH and other texts where the *'aleph* seems to be used as an orthographic device to designate two consecutive vowels.<sup>37</sup> In other words, the MT form is pronounced *nētūyāh*, whereas 4QA's form would be indicating a pronunciation *nētū-āh*.

2.3.9. 1Q ותאחז; MT ותחז (“he grasped”; 2 Sam 20:9).

The MT does not have the root consonant *'aleph*. See 2.3.5.

#### 2.4. JERUSALEM

4QA ירושלימה; MT ירושלם (“[to] Jerusalem”; 2 Sam 15:29).

4QC מירושלים; MT מירושלם (“from Jerusalem”; 2 Sam 15:11).

In addition to these two examples, 4QA may evidence two more cases of the spelling finishing *yod-mem*, in 2 Sam 8:7 and 20:22, although the *yod* is not actually present in either case.<sup>38</sup> In contrast, the two other examples in 4QC are both of the short spelling without the extra *yod*, in 2 Sam 14:28; 15:10. (Note that the latter is the adjacent verse to the example quoted above.) No relevant forms are preserved from 4QB or 1Q.

Although the text indicates a continual *Qere-ayim*, the MT only attests the *plene* spelling on five occasions (Jer 26:18; Esth 2:6; 1 Chr 3:5; 2 Chr 25:1; 32:9). Bergey provides a thorough discussion of the distribution of the form in ancient Hebrew sources.<sup>39</sup> However, it is noteworthy that Bergey's discussion<sup>40</sup> is based on the extraordinary assumption that the details of the spelling of the

<sup>36</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 193; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 506–7.

<sup>37</sup> Qimron, *Hebrew*, 32.

<sup>38</sup> On 2 Sam 8:7 [ירוש]ל[י]ם Cross et al. comment: “There is room between the *lamed* and *mem* for the *yod*” (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 193). On 2 Sam 20:22 [ל]ם [י]ם א[ל] their comment does not specifically relate to the presence or absence of the *yod*: “Only the final *mem* and the following *'alep* are well preserved, but the reading is not in doubt” (ibid., 175).

<sup>39</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 43–45; cf. Hurvitz, *Lexicon*, 127–29; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 5.

<sup>40</sup> As is typical of many Hebraists' discussion of this form up until the present day. See, for example, Rendsburg, “*Hazon Gabriel*,” 66 n. 23.

MT reflect the exact forms that left the pen of the “original” authors of the books in question. Bergey does not seem aware that the greater part of the evidence he cites indicates this assumption to be extremely unlikely. The very fact that biblical manuscripts of “early” books like 4QA, 4QC, or 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> use the “late” form should indicate the role of later scribes in introducing this form. Only the assumption that the MT is “the Bible” can explain this oversight. Furthermore, Bergey describes how in the first half of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> the defective spelling dominates, whereas in the second half it is the *plene* spelling that is dominant,<sup>41</sup> and how the Kaufmann manuscript of the Mishnah uses the defective form with only one exception, whereas the printed editions spell the form *plene*.<sup>42</sup> Despite the fact that 4 of 5 occurrences in the MT are in the definitely postexilic books of Esther and Chronicles (but otherwise the defective form is dominant in these books, and never occurs in Daniel, Ezra, or Nehemiah), it seems safer to assume that the appearance of these forms in the MT is due to later scribal changes rather than reflecting the spelling of “original” authors (although neither could we definitively rule this out, depending on when we thought the longer pronunciation came about). The preexilic inscriptions only attest the form without the extra *yod*.<sup>43</sup>

## 2.5. DEFECTIVE ORTHOGRAPHY IN 4QB

4QB בּבּאָם; MT בּבוּאָם (“when they came”; 1 Sam 16:6).

This is quoted as an example of a number of cases where the orthography of 4QB is more defective than the MT.<sup>44</sup> This more defective orthography is thus closer to the earlier, preexilic Hebrew orthography evidenced in the inscriptions. However, even this more archaic type of spelling is definitely typologically later than that of the preexilic inscriptions. Few scholars would draw the conclusion that the spelling of all biblical texts demonstrates that they were all written after the exile. Therefore, the simplest solution is that the spelling of all biblical texts has been systematically updated in scribal transmission.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Bergey, “Book of Esther,” 44 n. 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 44 with n. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Khirbet Beit Lei 5:2; Lachish 6:10.

<sup>44</sup> For details, see Cross et al., *Samuel*, 220–21.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 308–9; *LDBT* 1:150–52, 171.

## 3. PRONOUNS

## 3.1. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

## 3.1.1. FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

3.1.1.1. 4QA אָנִי; MT אֲנִי (“I”; 1 Sam 2:23).

4QA אָנִי (“I”); MT minus (1 Sam 2:24).

The context of these variants is Eli’s speech confronting his sons for their evil deeds (1 Sam 2:23–25). In this speech the MT has two uses of the 1cs pronoun: “I (אֲנִי) hear of your evil deeds” (v. 23) and “it is not a good report that I (אֲנִי) hear the people of YHWH spreading abroad” (v. 24). We note two uses of אֲנִי. 4QA preserves the pronoun in both these cases, but reads אָנִי in the first instance and אֲנִי in the second. However, 4QA, along with LXX<sup>B</sup>, also witnesses a longer text following the parallel to the MT with an extra use of the 1cs pronoun: “they are not good reports that I (אָנִי) have heard.” According to Cross et al. and McCarter, the 4QA text is a conflation of two variant readings, but the MT is not shorter because it is a better text, but because it has accidentally left one of the parallel lines out.<sup>46</sup> McCarter decides that the line shared by the MT and 4QA, where both exhibit the “early” אֲנִי, reflects the later textual development, whereas the extra line in 4QA with the “later” אָנִי is the more “original” reading.<sup>47</sup> Given the fluidity of language that we are documenting here, there is no guarantee, of course, that the current distribution of these pronouns reflects that of earlier texts.

It has been claimed that the increasing preference for אָנִי over אֲנִי for “I” is a feature of late Hebrew.<sup>48</sup> Thus, we might suggest that 4QA exhibits a later linguistic form in 1 Sam 2:23, while the MT has the earlier one. However, both forms of the pronoun are used in SCH texts like Samuel. It has been suggested that the distribution in Samuel is explicable by the fact that אָנִי is commonly a marker of a speaker of higher status, whereas אֲנִי reflects lower status, intimate speech, and so on.<sup>49</sup> This is a good example where sociolinguistics and textual criticism must inform statements about diachrony in BH. Chronology is not the

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<sup>46</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 43; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 81–82.

<sup>47</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 82.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, Rooker, *Biblical*, 72–74.

<sup>49</sup> E. J. Revell, *The Designation of the Individual: Expressive Usage in Biblical Narrative* (CBET 14; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 341–49; idem, “The Two Forms of First Person Singular Pronoun in Biblical Hebrew: Redundancy or Expressive Contrast?,” *JSS* 40 (1995): 199–207.

only possible factor to consider in the distribution of the first person singular pronoun.

If Revell's theory of the status-marking function of the two pronouns in SCH prose is correct, the textual variant here puts a different nuance on the verse. If McCarter's reconstruction of the textual history is correct, and Revell's theory on the uses of the pronouns in Samuel is also correct, then we might have the situation where Eli is presented as talking to his sons throughout with the status-marked אֲנִי to mark his authority. In contrast, the MT uses the more intimate pronoun אֲנֹכִי throughout. Finally, 4QA could be read as indicating Eli's vacillation between discipline and indulgence of his sons with his pronoun switches from authoritative to intimate back to authoritative. But this is all conjecture based on the assumption that the pronouns have not changed since the "original" composition, which is indemonstrable. All we can talk about with certainty are the variant linguistic forms of the current texts and the literary effect they convey. There is no certainty that they reflect the intention of an "original" author.

### 3.1.1.2. 4QB וְאֲנִי ("and I"); MT וְהוּא ("and he"; 1 Sam 20:29).

Scholars have long noted problems with the MT here, which reads "and he, my brother, has commanded me." Tsumura makes sense of this as: "It is he, my brother, who commanded me."<sup>50</sup> Driver, however, considers that "it does not read naturally," and finds other readings more likely.<sup>51</sup> The LXX reading καὶ ἐνετείλαντο πρὸς με οἱ ἀδελφοί μου ("and my brothers<sup>52</sup> have commanded me"), while it seems to indicate the absence of "and he" at the beginning, does not provide evidence for the specific reading of 4QA with the first person pronoun. Cross et al. and McCarter consider 4QB's reading earlier than the MT, and provide an explanation of how the MT reading could have arisen out of it due to graphic confusion.<sup>53</sup>

### 3.1.1.3. General Comments on the First Person Singular Pronoun.

There are nine places where either the MT or 4QA or 4QB evidences a first person independent pronoun. Of these 4QA and the MT share the pronoun אֲנֹכִי

<sup>50</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 517.

<sup>51</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 170–71; cf. Smith, *Samuel*, 194.

<sup>52</sup> Note the strange, but revealing, comment of Tsumura: "McCarter too quickly emends the text to the plural 'my brothers' following LXX and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>" (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 518). This makes it sound as if for Tsumura, the MT is "the text of the Bible" and other texts (like our oldest witness to Samuel, 4QB) are merely corruptions of it.

<sup>53</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 232; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 338–39.

five times,<sup>54</sup> and אָנִי once.<sup>55</sup> We have discussed three variants, one case where 4QA and the MT have different forms of the first person singular pronoun (3.1.1.1), and two cases where the pronoun is found in a plus in 4QA (3.1.1.1) and 4QB (3.1.1.2). Thus 3 of 9, or 33%, or one third of the first person singular independent pronouns evidence textual variation. Indeed 3 of 4 cases of אָנִי are involved in variation! It is a pity we do not have more evidence to see whether or not this degree of variation was sustained across larger sections of text.

### 3.1.2. THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR

4QC הוּאָה; MT הוּאָ (“he”; 2 Sam 14:19).

The appearance of the long form of the third person masculine singular pronoun in 4QC fits in with the tendency of this manuscript to follow forms better known at Qumran than elsewhere. See the feminine form below (3.1.3), and also אֲוֹדָה [מ] (“greatly”; 2 Sam 14:25; 7.10) and אֵלָיו for אֵלָיו (“to him”; 2 Sam 14:30; 3.2.2.1). There is evidence that the long forms of the third person singular pronouns can be traced back to early dialects of Hebrew,<sup>56</sup> so the question is whether its presence in QH and in biblical texts from Qumran is purely a late development or evidence of a much older usage? The other Qumran Samuel manuscripts use the short forms of “he” (x16) and “she” (x5), and hence it is generally thought that the evidence is better explained as a feature of the scribal style of 4QC and related manuscripts. At the very least the “Qumran” style of such a manuscript as 4QC is further evidence that the language of biblical compositions was subject to major changes in scribal transmission. The two forms of the third person singular pronoun in this and the following section are all the preserved forms from 4QC, and both are long, so it is reasonable to suggest that 4QC had quite a different linguistic profile in regard to this feature than the other witnesses.

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<sup>54</sup> 1 Sam 2:24a; 2 Sam 3:28 (even though only אֲנִי [נכ] is preserved, space considerations would presumably rule out the shorter pronoun, although there is no note in Cross et al., *Samuel*, 113), 39; 11:5; 24:17.

<sup>55</sup> 1 Sam 24:18. The readings in 1 Sam 25:25 and 2 Sam 15:20 could be either.

<sup>56</sup> S. Morag, “Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations,” *VT* 38 (1988): 148–64 (157); *LDBT* 1:265–66.

## 3.1.3. THIRD PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR

4QC וְהִיא (‘‘and she’’); MT היא (‘‘she’’; 2 Sam 14:27).

Apart from the issue of the conjunction (see 8.2.6) is the matter of the long form of the third person feminine pronoun in 4QC, parallel to the masculine form in 3.1.2 (see there for discussion).

## 3.1.4. THIRD PERSON MASCULINE PLURAL

1Q הֵמָּה; MT הם (‘‘they’’; 2 Sam 20:8).

Although it has been suggested that ‘‘there seems to be a trend towards a greater use of the long form in the later books,’’<sup>57</sup> it is difficult to give any convincing chronological interpretation of the data. According to Smith’s figures, the MT books with a majority of uses of the longer form are Samuel (27–8), Isaiah (12–7), Jeremiah (33–21), Ezekiel (45–6), the Twelve (21–10), Psalms (26–3), Job (3–1), Song of Songs (1–0), Ruth (1–0), Lamentations (1–0), Qoheleth (4–1), and Chronicles (20–17).<sup>58</sup> In actual fact we find the figures for Samuel to be 23–11 (or discounting cases with definite article or preposition attached which are all short, 23–5),<sup>59</sup> but by any count it is evident that preference for the long form הֵמָּה is therefore a particular characteristic of MT Samuel.

1Q’s use of the long form in this verse, one of the rare cases where MT Samuel has the short form, can be interpreted in a number of ways. It could be a case where 1Q is bringing minority linguistic forms into line with the majority forms of the book. Or it could be an indication that the MT introduced the short forms into a text with an even higher (consistent?) use of the long forms. Without more evidence we cannot say whether this was a one-off change or an indication that 1Q had a systematically different linguistic profile in this feature. Elsewhere in Qumran Samuel, we have a case where 4QA and the MT agree on the long form, in 1 Sam 9:11. In addition, in 1 Sam 8:18, 4QA (cf. LXX) reads הַיּוֹם הַהוּא (‘‘in those days’’) where the MT reads בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (‘‘in that day’’). Cross et al. consider the 4QA/LXX reading superior.<sup>60</sup> It is noteworthy that both

<sup>57</sup> Smith, ‘‘Iron Pen,’’ 51.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>59</sup> Short: 1 Sam 3:1; 4:8; 26:19; 28:1; 29:4; 2 Sam 16:23; 17:17; 20:8; 21:9 *Kethiv*; 24:3 (x2). Long: 1 Sam 8:8; 9:5, 11 (x2), 14, 22, 27; 10:5; 12:21; 14:15, 21, 22; 17:19; 19:20, 21 (x2); 23:1; 25:11; 2 Sam 2:24; 13:30; 17:8 (x2); 21:2; cf. 21:9 *Qere*. It is to be noted that only the short form is used with a prefixed definite article or prepositions. Taking these forms out of consideration (1 Sam 3:1; 28:1; 29:4; 2 Sam 16:23; 24:3 [x2]) leaves the proportion 23–5 in favor of the long form.

<sup>60</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 59.

these examples fit the pattern of MT Samuel where only the short form is used with the definite article (and prepositions), while the long form is overwhelmingly preferred in other circumstances.

## 3.2. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

### 3.2.1. THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR SUFFIX –הו vs. –ו

The issue in each of these variants is the form of the third person masculine singular suffix following a vowel, on first person singular *qatal/weqatal* verbs (3.2.1.1–3.2.1.3), the participle of a III-*He* root (3.2.1.4), and on the noun “brother” (3.2.1.5).

#### 3.2.1.1. 4QA ונתתיהו; MT ונתתיו (“then I will give him”; 1 Sam 1:11).

Although the verse reads differently in the LXX and, from space considerations and comparison with v. 22, 4QA,<sup>61</sup> this word is shared in common between all versions of the text. See the general discussion of these first person singular *qatal/weqatal* verbs with the third person masculine singular suffix below (3.2.1.3).

#### 3.2.1.2. 4QA ונתתיהו (“then I will give him”); MT minus (1 Sam 1:22).

This form appears as part of a long plus in 4QA. Within the plus, Cross et al. and McCarter judge parts of it to be secondary, but consider the phrase in which this word is found, “and I will give him as a Nazirite forever,” also reflected in Josephus, *Antiquities* 5:347, to be the earlier text, which has dropped out due to the scribe’s eye skipping from one עַד עוֹלָם to another.<sup>62</sup> In contrast, Tsumura rejects changing the MT on the basis that “expansion is typical of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.”<sup>63</sup> See the general discussion of these first person singular *qatal/weqatal* verbs with the third person masculine singular suffix below (3.2.1.3).

#### 3.2.1.3. 4QB מאסתיו; MT מאסתיהו (“I have rejected him”; 1 Sam 16:7).

Note the form מאסתיו in the MT of v. 1 of this chapter.

*Qatal* or *weqatal* first person common singular verbs in MT Samuel usually have the third person masculine singular suffix in the short form with

<sup>61</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 30; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 53–54.

<sup>62</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 33; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 56; cf. Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 165–66.

<sup>63</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 125 n. 115.

intervocalic *he* elided וְ-. There are eleven cases with וְ-, against just two cases with the longer form וְהוּ-.<sup>64</sup> Apart from the variants mentioned here, none other of these forms is preserved in a Qumran Samuel manuscript, meaning that in this feature Qumran Samuel never agrees with the MT, there being two cases where a different suffix is used, and one where the whole Qumran form is unparalleled in the MT. Thus this is yet another occurrence where we potentially have quite a different linguistic profile in our Hebrew witnesses, but do not have enough evidence to confirm this.

#### 3.2.1.4. 4QA וְשׂוּ[ש]; MT וְשׂוּהוּ (“those who plundered him”; 1 Sam 14:48).

Cross et al. describe the 4QA form as one “in which intervocalic *he* has been elided,” comparing other examples from the Nash Papyrus<sup>65</sup> and the Siloam Tunnel inscription,<sup>66</sup> the latter, although problematic, usually taken as occurring on a singular noun.<sup>67</sup> We might infer that they consider the 4QA form to be just an alternative form of the suffix on a singular noun, as the MT form would seem to indicate. However, already in the preQumran era, scholars had suggested that the MT form should be read as plural “his plunderers.” In line with this, Driver points to other cases, “very rare,” where the וְהוּ- suffix seems to be used on a plural noun.<sup>68</sup> McCarter sees the 4QA form as confirming the interpretation of the form as plural,<sup>69</sup> also reflected in the LXX.<sup>70</sup> Thus, this may simply be a different grammatical construction of the form, rather than alternative versions of the same suffix. If it were a suffix on a singular III-*He* participle it would be very unusual, at least in terms of the MT, where the suffix *-hw* is overwhelmingly preferred (see elsewhere in Samuel עֲהוּ in 1 Sam 14:39, not preserved in Qumran Samuel). Given that the interpretation of the form as singular or plural is open to dispute, it is best not to base too many conclusions on any one interpretation.

#### 3.2.1.5. 4QA וְאָחִיו; MT וְאָחִי (“his brother”; 2 Sam 3:27).

Even though the long form of the suffix is attested rarely with “brother” in the MT (Jer 34:9; Mic 7:2; Job 41:9; 2 Chr 31:12) the short form of the suffix is by far the most common form in the MT Bible generally, and in fact is the only

<sup>64</sup> With the short form: 1 Sam 1:11, 20, 22a; 16:1; 17:9, 35 (x3); 2 Sam 7:10, 14; 15:4. With the long form: 1 Sam 1:28; 16:7.

<sup>65</sup> An object suffix on a *wayyiqtol* verb: Nash: וְיִקְדְּשׁוּ; MT: וְיִקְדְּשׁוּהוּ.

<sup>66</sup> Siloam: וְרַעַי; usual MT form: וְרַעֲיוֹ.

<sup>67</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 75. For more on the much discussed Siloam Tunnel form, see *LDBT* 1:153.

<sup>68</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 120.

<sup>69</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 254.

<sup>70</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 163.

form attested in MT Samuel.<sup>71</sup> The related forms אביו (“his father”; x19) and פיו (“his mouth”; x6) are also the only ones found in MT Samuel, with no cases of פיהו or אביהו.<sup>72</sup> The fragmentary nature of the Qumran evidence is again attested by the fact that of these, there is only evidence in regard to three of the cases of “his father.” 4QB at 1 Sam 20:32 agrees with the MT reading אביו. Cross et al. read אביו] at 2 Sam 2:32, but since only the isolated tip of the one remaining letter is visible it cannot be considered a certain reading. Finally, in 2 Sam 3:29, 4QA has “Joab” where the MT has אביו, which Cross et al. and McCarter consider a secondary anticipation of the same expression (“the house of Joab”) later in the verse.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.2.1.6. General Comments on הו- vs. ו-.

Historically, it is generally accepted that the third person masculine singular object suffix contracted from *-hû* to *-w*. However, the contracted form is more common in MT biblical texts, as we have seen in MT Samuel, representing, therefore a fairly advanced linguistic development. Texts attested at Qumran strongly favor the typologically older, uncontracted forms,<sup>74</sup> another case where QH attests a typologically older feature of Hebrew.<sup>75</sup> One question therefore is whether the form in 4QA (3.2.1.1, 3.2.1.5) is older than the developed MT form, or whether it represents a revision towards a dialect which retained this archaic feature. The same question arises with the reverse situation in 4QB (3.2.1.3). However, a prior question to this is how sure we are that the distribution of the form in our current texts is providing us secure evidence to discuss “early” and “late” in Hebrew? Scholars usually seem to ignore the typological relationship between the forms and declare the MT forms “early” based on a belief that the MT is giving us a reliable picture of early Hebrew. How do we know? We are in fact unable to state what linguistic form the “author” of Samuel preferred, and draw inferences from that.

<sup>71</sup> 1 Sam 17:28; 2 Sam 2:27; 3:27, 30; 4:6, 9; 10:10; 14:7 (x2); 20:10.

<sup>72</sup> “His father”: 1 Sam 14:1, 27; 17:15, 25, 34; 18:2; 19:4; 20:32, 33, 34; 22:1, 11; 2 Sam 2:32; 3:29; 10:2 (x2); 16:22; 17:23; 21:14. “His mouth”: 1 Sam 14:26, 27; 17:35; 2 Sam 17:5; 18:25; 22:9.

<sup>73</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 115; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 110. Ulrich considers grounds for arguing that the 4QA reading is earlier (Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 126–27).

<sup>74</sup> Qimron, *Hebrew*, 60.

<sup>75</sup> Morag, “Qumran Hebrew,” 157–58.

## 3.2.2. SUFFIX –ו FOR –י

## 3.2.2.1. 4QC אלו (“to him”); MT minus (2 Sam 14:30).

In the context of a long plus in 4QC, shared with the LXX, which is often considered to represent a more “original” text,<sup>76</sup> we find a form of the third person masculine singular suffix without the regular *yod* of the MT (אליו). The problem of analyzing this orthography is that it is not only the archaic, preexilic spelling of this suffix,<sup>77</sup> but is also known as a “Qumran” form and hence quite possibly also “late.”<sup>78</sup> Given the many links between 4QC and “Qumran” scribal features (see 3.1.2), it seems better to include this case in that category. However, unlike the other “Qumran” features of 4QC we discuss, this one is not the exclusive form used in preserved sections of 4QC. In fact, the form אליו is found three times in 4QC,<sup>79</sup> making the “Qumran” form here the minority.

3.2.2.2. 1Q minus; MT *Kethiv* עליו (“over it”; 2 Sam 20:8).

In the context of a long minus, 1Q is missing the possibly archaic spelling of the pronominal suffix (see the previous point).

## 3.2.3. THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR SUFFIX ו-/-ה-

## 4QB עלמה (“his lad”); MT הנער (“the boy”; 1 Sam 20:38).

In addition to the vocabulary interchange (see 7.11), this form is interesting for the archaic orthography of the third person masculine singular suffix. The form with *he* is standard in preexilic inscriptions.<sup>80</sup> The MT contains some fifty-five examples<sup>81</sup> which are usually considered to be the remains of a widespread use of the suffix with *he* in the theorized preexilic editions of writings like Samuel. A scattering of other examples of the suffix *he* are found in Qumran biblical manuscripts,<sup>82</sup> but no biblical manuscript in our possession has more

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<sup>76</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 497; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 343; Smith, *Samuel*, 339.

<sup>77</sup> *LDBT* 1:151.

<sup>78</sup> Qimron, *Hebrew*, 59.

<sup>79</sup> 2 Sam 14:29 (4QC plus), 31; 15:3.

<sup>80</sup> Young, “Observations,” 226; *LDBT* 1:151.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 232–38 documents some of these cases, but is far from exhaustive, not mentioning, for example, this case in 4QB.

than an occasional form. It is therefore widely accepted that the spelling of all biblical texts has been systematically updated in scribal transmission.<sup>83</sup>

### 3.2.4. תחתני (“BENEATH ME”)

4QA minus; MT תחתני (“beneath me”; 2 Sam 22:37).

The form תחתני is found in the MT Bible only in 2 Sam 22:37, 40, 48. As seen in appendix 1 (1.1), the parallel text in Psalms in each of these cases has תחת, the standard form. 4QA lacks the form altogether in this verse. Cross et al. comment: “This could be the result of *homoioteleuton* in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> after צעדי, though תחתני in the other witnesses could just as well reflect a secondary insertion of the word owing to similar imagery elsewhere in the poem (cf. 22:39, 40, 48).”<sup>84</sup> In 2 Sam 22:40, 4QA has [ ]תח while in v. 48 Cross et al. read [י]תח marking the *nun* as damaged, although the photograph would seem to indicate that this is a likely reading of the traces.<sup>85</sup> All other witnesses to v. 37 read a form “beneath me.” In addition, later in v. 37 the Lucianic Greek text seems to have read, apparently as a corrupt duplicate of צעדי תחתני of the MT, צערים חתני (“insignificant men dismayed me”).<sup>86</sup> These observations indicate, at least, that we need to be cautious in our assertions about how often and where rare linguistic forms may have appeared in older forms of the biblical writings.

### 3.2.5. THIRD PERSON MASCULINE PLURAL SUFFIX ON FEMININE PLURAL:

ותם-/ותיהם.

4QA ממסרותם (“from their bonds”); MT Samuel ממסגרותם; MT Psalms ממסגרותיהם (“from their strongholds”; 2 Sam 22:46).

Ancient Hebrew has two different third masculine plural pronominal suffixes for feminine plural nouns ending in ות- and masculine plural nouns which take the feminine plural ending ותם: ותם- and ותיהם-. While 4QA and MT Samuel read different words here,<sup>87</sup> they agree on the more common form of the suffix (ותם-). In contrast, Ps 18:46 has the suffix ותיהם- which is often considered characteristic of “late” Hebrew.<sup>88</sup> In actual fact, the “late” form is in

<sup>83</sup> Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 308–9; *LDBT* 1:150–52, 171. See the discussion of orthography above in section 2.

<sup>84</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 183.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 181, with Plate XX.

<sup>86</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 460.

<sup>87</sup> For the various versions of this colon in the textual witnesses see Cross et al., *Samuel*, 185.

<sup>88</sup> See *LDBT* 2:173 (#63); and the analysis in chapter 9 (9.3).

the majority in “early” MT Samuel.<sup>89</sup> No other examples are preserved in Qumran Samuel, but this variant shows that the linguistic form has been either added or removed during scribal transmission of the parallel texts, indicating the gap between the linguistic forms of our current texts and a supposed original text, and that we cannot assume that the distribution of linguistic forms in our current texts is indicative of earlier stages of the textual transmission.

#### 4. VERBS

##### 4.1. ACTIVE VS. PASSIVE

###### 4.1.1. 4QA יחה; MT יחתו (1 Sam 2:10).

The MT reads a plural passive (*Niphal* 3mp) with “YHWH” in *casus pendens*, “YHWH! His adversaries shall be shattered,” whereas 4QA and the LXX read a singular active (*Hiphil* 3ms יחה)<sup>90</sup> with “YHWH” as subject, “YHWH shall shatter his adversaries.” This is an example of a case where only a minor variation in the consonantal text has dramatic consequences for the understanding of the syntax of the sentence. In addition there is the issue of verb morphology, the variant adding another example of the relatively rare use of the root חתח in the *Hiphil*. McCarter and Smith prefer the reading of the LXX (and 4QA in McCarter’s case).<sup>91</sup> Driver sees no necessity to replace the MT reading, finding the use of *casus pendens* “forcible and very idiomatic,” and Tsumura does not even mention the alternative reading.<sup>92</sup> Lewis argues: “It is more difficult, however, to explain why a scribe (MT) would choose to take a perfectly good active construction and change it into a rarer *casus pendens* clause.”<sup>93</sup> Auld translates both the LXX and MT texts in parallel columns.<sup>94</sup> Cross et al., however, omit the line altogether from their reconstruction of the Song of Hannah based on all the witnesses.<sup>95</sup> This raises the issue again that perhaps none of the variants present in our current texts reflects the language of an early or indeed the “original” text of Samuel.

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<sup>89</sup> Short (–*otam*): 2 Sam 22:46; 23:17. Long (–*otahem*): 1 Sam 18:27; 30:3; 31:13; 2 Sam 10:4.

<sup>90</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 27.

<sup>91</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 70; Smith, *Samuel*, 17.

<sup>92</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 27; Tsumura, *Samuel*, 140 n. 34.

<sup>93</sup> T. J. Lewis, “The Textual History of the Song of Hannah: 1 Samuel II 1–10,” *VT* 44 (1994): 18–46 (41). This presumes, of course, that the change was made very deliberately.

<sup>94</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 36.

<sup>95</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 38.

4.1.2. 4QA [ה]תת[ה] (“and you will give”); MT ונתנה (“and let it be given”; 1 Sam 25:27).

The MT reading of this verse is “And now this present that your maidservant has brought [masculine verb!] to my lord, and<sup>96</sup> let it be given to the young men who follow my lord.” The LXX in contrast has “take the gift...and give it,”<sup>97</sup> which seems to be reflected in this one remaining trace of the verse in 4QA.

4.1.3. 4QA [ב]חר[ב] כי נכו (“for they were smitten by the sword”); MT כי נפלו בחרב (“for they had fallen by the sword”; 2 Sam 1:12).

4QA seems to evidence a very rare passive of the root נכה (“to smite”). The *Niphal* is attested only once in the MT, in 2 Sam 11:15, וְנִכָּה (“and he shall be smitten”), whereas a *Pual* is attested twice, in Exod 9:31 (נִכְתָּה: “the flax and the barley were smitten down”) and 9:32 (נִכְבוּ: “the wheat and the spelt were not smitten down”). The LXX also seems to reflect the 4QA reading with its ἐπλήγησαν.<sup>98</sup>

The tendency to replace rare linguistic forms by more common ones is a widely accepted phenomenon in the textual transmission of the Hebrew Bible. A number of likely examples can be found in the linguistically more homogenous Samaritan Pentateuch when compared to the MT Pentateuch.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, a preference for active over passive verbs is mentioned as a feature of late Hebrew.<sup>100</sup> On the basis of these phenomena, the MT might be suggested to represent a late text. We do not know how systematic the processes have been in the transmission of the text since its “original” composition, but it is further evidence that we should not take the distribution of linguistic forms in our current texts as evidence for the language of the “original” authors. Rarity of a form in the MT does not necessarily equate to rarity in ancient Hebrew.

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<sup>96</sup> Driver says: “the *waw* conv. with the pf. introduces the direct predicate...with a precative force, ‘And now this present,..., *let it be given*’” (Driver, *Notes*, 201; italics original).

<sup>97</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 394.

<sup>98</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 354; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 103.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, B. K. Waltke, “Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1965), 285–94; idem, “The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the Old Testament,” in *New Perspectives on the Old Testament* (ed. J. B. Payne; Waco: Word, 1970), 212–39 (213–17).

<sup>100</sup> *LDBT* 2:166 (#22).

4.1.4. 4QA [לדויד] יגד [ו] (“and it was told to David”); MT ויגדו לדוד (“and they told David”; 2 Sam 11:10).

4QA has a passive verb, whereas MT has the plural indefinite as the equivalent of the passive. One could relate the MT reading to the suggestion that in Chronicles (as an example of PCH), “[a]ctive constructions are preferred to passive ones.”<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to consider that 4QA is the only surviving text to attest to this reading.<sup>102</sup> If the passive verb was the earlier reading,<sup>103</sup> without 4QA no witness would survive for this reading, and since the active reading makes perfect sense, we would have no reason to suspect that the earlier reading existed.

4.1.5. 4QA מות יומת (“he will indeed be put to death”); MT מות ימות (“he will indeed die”; 2 Sam 12:14).

Cross et al. consider that the LXX reading θανάτω ἀποθανείται may reflect the passive of 4QA “inasmuch as ἀποθνησκω is regularly used to render the passive of ἀποκτείνω (e.g., Deut 17:6).”<sup>104</sup> The MT might be considered to replace the *Hophal* passive of 4QA with an active verb. Alternatively, McCarter points out that 4QA’s *Hophal* is “the standard formula in the Priestly legislation of the Pentateuch (Exod 21:12; Lev 20:2; etc.); cf. also Judg 21:5,” and thus he favors the MT as being the earlier reading,<sup>105</sup> since 4QA could have brought the text here in line with this common formula.

4.1.6. 4QA [ו] לדוי[ד] הוגד (“and it was told to David”); MT ודוד הגיד (“and *one* told David” [AV], or “and David had told”;<sup>106</sup> 2 Sam 15:31).

Although the verb is not preserved in 4QA, the preposition “to” on “David” indicates the likelihood of a passive reading. However, Cross et al. admit that a reading like that attested in LXX<sup>L</sup> (ולדויד הגידו) is also possible.<sup>107</sup> Scholars have long considered the MT reading to be problematic, as for example Driver does: “הגיד is never construed with an accus. of the person *to* whom a thing is told.”<sup>108</sup> Driver’s “never,” however, is of course assuming that our current manuscripts accurately reflect ancient Hebrew in detail in this feature. Cross et al. mention five different readings in the ancient versions for this expression in this verse.

<sup>101</sup> Kutscher, *History*, 82.

<sup>102</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 140.

<sup>103</sup> As thought by, for example, McCarter, *II Samuel*, 281.

<sup>104</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144; cf. Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 464.

<sup>105</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 296.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.

<sup>107</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 157.

<sup>108</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 316 (italics original).

The exact reading that they suggest here is also found in a MT manuscript, LXX<sup>A</sup>, and the Targum, and with just the word order reversed in LXX<sup>B</sup> and the Vulgate.<sup>109</sup>

4.1.7. 4QA ונתתם (“and you [pl.] will give”; *Qal weqatal*); MT *Kethiv* ינתן (“let him be given”; *Niphal*); MT *Qere* ינתן (“let him be given”; *Qal* passive jussive; 2 Sam 21:6).

Cross et al. rightly comment: “Our texts exhibit a dizzying array of forms of the verb נתן.”<sup>110</sup> The versions add further options for this verb, such as plural passive, singular active, or plural imperative.<sup>111</sup> It is sobering to realize that despite the many readings previously attested, the 4QA reading represents one that was not previously attested in any witness. Among these many options we note that the replacement of the *Qal* passive (so the MT *Qere*) by the *Niphal* (so the MT *Kethiv*) is considered by some scholars a characteristic of “late” Hebrew.<sup>112</sup> However, complicated data such as in this case indicate that neat schemes where “early” forms were replaced by “late” forms are unlikely to be realistic. In any case, in the absence of an adequate corpus of dated and localized extra-biblical sources for Hebrew, such ideas of chronology are based on circular argumentation from the current texts. Furthermore, in this case evidence from Hebrew inscriptions seems to contradict the theorized chronology.<sup>113</sup>

#### 4.1.8. General Comments on Active vs. Passive Verbs.

It is not possible to make meaningful generalizations about active and passive verbs in Qumran Samuel as opposed to the MT due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. For example, while there are quite a number of examples where MT Samuel has the impersonal “and it was told to X” using the *wayyiqtol* with both the singular *Hophal* and the plural *Hiphil* (literally “they told to X”) the examples discussed above in 4.1.4 and 4.1.6 are in fact the only relevant forms that have been preserved in any Qumran Samuel manuscript, and only 2 Sam 11:10, discussed in 4.1.4, clearly represents one form and not the other. MT Samuel has a fairly even mix of *Hophal* singular and *Hiphil* plural in this expression.<sup>114</sup> It would be interesting to know if the one attested case from

<sup>109</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 157.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>111</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 177; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 438.

<sup>112</sup> *LDBT* 1:167 (#28).

<sup>113</sup> See Arad 111:4, discussed in *LDBT* 1:167.

<sup>114</sup> For the *Hophal* see: 1 Sam 15:12; 19:19; 23:7; 27:4; 2 Sam 6:12; 10:17; 19:2; 21:11. For the *Hiphil* plural see: 1 Sam 14:33; 17:31 (לפני); 18:20; 19:21; 23:1, 25; 24:2; 2 Sam 2:4; 3:23; 10:5; 11:10. In this latter category, some cases like 2 Sam 2:4 are open

2 Sam 11:10, where 4QA has a *Hophal* and the MT has a *Hiphil*, is just a random variation, or a symptom of a quite different pattern in the distribution of this linguistic form, as we have been able to observe in other cases, suggesting for example that the MT has been subject to widespread revision to replace passive constructions with third person plural active constructions. However, we are not fortunate in this case to know with certainty what has transpired based on what has been preserved in the Qumran manuscripts.

#### 4.2. NITPAEL CONJUGATION

4QA וַנִּכְפַּר (“when [you] have been ransomed”); MT: וְנוֹדַע (“and it will be known”; 1 Sam 6:3).

The form in 4QA is paralleled in the MT Deut 21:8 וַנִּכְפַּר which is explained as a rare example in BH of the *Nitpael* stem,<sup>115</sup> and which is very common in MH, functioning as a reflexive or passive to the *Piel*.<sup>116</sup> The form here in 4QA and Deuteronomy may thus be labelled a “Mishnaism,” in other words, a linguistic form more characteristic of Rabbinic Hebrew than BH. There has been a general tendency in scholarship to assume that since the sources in which MH is best attested are late, postbiblical, that the form of language in them is necessarily late. The problem of such a “late” form appearing in such an early text as Deuteronomy was probably a strong factor in GKC declaring the *Nitpael* in Deut 21:8 “probably an error for הִתְכַּפֵּר.”<sup>117</sup> However, in more recent scholarship, MH is widely considered to be descended from a dialect or dialects which date back to the preexilic period, and it is acknowledged that characteristic MH forms occur not only in “early” biblical writings, but also in preexilic Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>118</sup>

Before the discovery of 4QA, scholars had suspected, with comparison to Deut 21:8, that the Hebrew word now attested by 4QA was what was reflected by the Greek translation ἐξίλασθήσεται, which Auld describes as “an exact rendering of *wnkpr* (4QSam<sup>a</sup>).”<sup>119</sup> The 4QA/LXX reading is adopted by Auld, Cross et al., and McCarter.<sup>120</sup> McCarter considers the MT reading to be “corrupt...[and] difficult to construe with the following expression,” and that the

to interpretation as to whether there is in fact a subject for the verb, rather than reflecting an impersonal construction.

<sup>115</sup> See, for example, HALOT 2:494. The only other generally accepted *Nitpael* in the MT is וְנוֹסְרוּ (“that they may be taught”) in Ezek 23:48 (GKC §55k, p. 153).

<sup>116</sup> Segal, *Grammar*, 64–67; Pérez Fernández, *Introductory*, 100–101.

<sup>117</sup> GKC §55k, p. 153.

<sup>118</sup> See *LDBT* 1:242–48.

<sup>119</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 75.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 75; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 52; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 129.

rarity of the form contributed to its corruption.<sup>121</sup> In contrast, Auld considers that the MT “makes good but quite different sense.”<sup>122</sup> Tsumura argues how the MT reading may be understood, but has no discussion of why it is preferable, except for an apparently assumed preference for the MT.<sup>123</sup>

The reconstruction of the textual history of this verse by Auld, Cross et al., and McCarter leads to the conclusion that, rather than the “late” and unusual Mishnaism נכפר being a later development in the textual transmission than the MT which lacks it, it is the Mishnaizing form that represents the earlier text, and was subsequently lost. If Auld, Cross et al., and McCarter are right in their judgment, nevertheless, this still does not demonstrate that נכפר was in the putative “original” text of Samuel. We are still very far from having any access to the linguistic forms of any “original” biblical author. In any case, an example such as this demonstrates how careful we must be in making statements such as “the *Nitpaal* only occurs twice in the Bible.”<sup>124</sup> We must be clear that what we mean is “in the MT Bible.” Even given fortuitous discoveries like 4QA, we are in no position to make definitive statements on the basis of our current evidence as to the relative frequency of rare forms in ancient Hebrew, nor indeed are we even in a position to be certain that forms that are rare in our current texts were actually rare in ancient literary Hebrew, never mind other varieties of ancient Hebrew.

#### 4.3. VERBS WITH OBJECT SUFFIXES

4.3.1. 4QA ותעל אותו שילה (“and she took him up to Shiloh”); MT ותעלהו עמה (“and she took him up with her”; 1 Sam 1:24).

The LXX reading “and she went up with him to Selom [Shiloh],” preferred by McCarter, seems to be closely related to the 4QA text, however reading the second word as אָתּוֹ (“with him”), with a corresponding vocalization of the verbal form as *Qal* rather than *Hiphil*.<sup>125</sup> This means that even if the consonantal text of 4QA were earlier than the MT, this still does not mean that it evidences a case of אָתּ plus suffix.

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<sup>121</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 129.

<sup>122</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 75.

<sup>123</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 212 n. 4.

<sup>124</sup> “[T]he only other example [besides Deut 21:8] in the OT. is Ez. 23<sup>48</sup>” (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 244).

<sup>125</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 56; cf. Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 26; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 33. In fact, as we discuss in 6.7, the orthography אָתּוֹ can stand for “with him.”

4.3.2. 4QA ויהי אחרי סבו גתה (“But after its moving to Gath”); MT ויהי אחרי אתו (“But after they moved it”; 1 Sam 5:9).

Among the variants in this verse is the one between גתה (“to Gath”) in 4QA and אתו (“him/it”) in the MT. We will deal with the directive *he* in this verse further in 5.2.1. In regard to our current discussion of את plus suffix, Cross et al. and McCarter both consider אתו a corruption of גתה.<sup>126</sup> Cross et al., in addition, consider that “to Gath” is probably an explicating plus, and refers to the reading of LXX<sup>A,B</sup> μετὰ τὸ μετελθεῖν αὐτήν (“after it went round”). In this interpretation, a secondary reading was itself corrupted to give the case of את plus suffix in the MT.

We note how the verbal syntax of each phrase was adjusted in the scribal transmission in accordance with each variant reading. 4QA reads a *Qal* infinitive construct with suffix “after its coming,” however this verb form would not make any sense with the object suffix אתו (“it”), so the verb in the MT is a *Hiphil qatal* (“they brought”). Driver notes that ויהי אחרי with a *qatal* without אשר is only found elsewhere in the MT in Lev 25:48.<sup>127</sup> The syntax of either or both variants does not represent that used by the “original” author. Although they both cannot be the “original” text of this passage, it is interesting that each variant exhibits characteristic features of “early” Hebrew. For את plus suffix see the discussion below (4.3.7). The 4QA reading, meanwhile, “to Gath,” exhibits the directive *he*, the use of which is said to break down in late Hebrew,<sup>128</sup> and hence its presence is usually taken as a marker of early Hebrew. If Cross et al.’s reconstruction of the textual history were correct, then both of the characteristic “early” linguistic features are later additions to the text. This is a good lesson on the fragmentary nature of the textual evidence, showing that even though we might have multiple variant readings, with a clear relationship to each other, so that one might argue the case as to which seems the more “original,” none of the extant readings is necessarily what left the pen of an “original” author.

4.3.3. 4QA וישכב אתה [ו] (“and he lay with her”); MT וישכב אתה (“and he lay [with] her”; 2 Sam 13:14).

The MT’s pointing of את in contexts of illicit intercourse as the object marker, rather than “with,” has been suspected of being “arbitrary” by a number of scholars.<sup>129</sup> The synonym עם (“with”) is often used in the same sense,

<sup>126</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 50; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 120. It is easier to understand how גתה and אתו could have been interchanged if we presume that the latter was written with the older orthography for the 3ms pronominal suffix אתה.

<sup>127</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 52.

<sup>128</sup> See *LDBT* 1:78–80, 350–51; 2:175 (#72).

<sup>129</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 298; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 317; Smith, *Samuel*, 330.

indicating that these examples in the MT are not actually cases of the verb followed by the object marker and suffix. In this verse and others, the interpretation of אִתָּהּ as “with her” is indicated by ancient translations like the LXX (μετ’ αὐτῆς). Given the *plene* orthography of 4QA, it is almost certain that it reflects “with her” in this case, since otherwise we would have expected אִתָּהּ, thus removing this example of אִתָּהּ plus suffix from Samuel.

#### 4.3.4. 4QA בּו[אִה] (“he loved him”); MT minus (2 Sam 13:21).

This word is found as part of a plus also present in the LXX, the Old Latin, and Josephus, *Antiquities* 7:173, which Auld renders: “And he did not grieve the spirit of Amnon his son because he loved him, because he was his firstborn.”<sup>130</sup> Scholars commonly consider that this sentence was lost from the MT through haplography.<sup>131</sup>

#### 4.3.5. 4QA minus; MT וִיתַנֵּם (“and he put them”) and וַיִּכְלֹלֵם (“and he provided for them”); 2 Sam 20:3).

The suspicion of some scholars that this verse in the MT was a late addition receives further support from its absence from 4QA.<sup>132</sup> The two verbal forms with suffixes in this verse, וִיתַנֵּם (“and he put them”) and וַיִּכְלֹלֵם (“and he provided for them”), thus give an example of the opposite situation to the one in 4.3.4, since this is a potentially late verse including extra examples of verbal suffixes, whereas the previous example was a case of a potentially earlier reading with verbal suffixes which was lost by the MT.

#### 4.3.6. 4QC [א]וְתִכַּח [א]שְׁלַחְתָּ; MT וְאֶשְׁלַח אִתְּךָ (“that I may send you”); 2 Sam 14:32).

Cross et al. comment:

The scribe has included both variant forms...of the object, marking the former as doubtful [by placing dots above and below the *kaph*]. In 1QS [written by the same scribe<sup>133</sup>], the scribe usually erases when such dots appear; when he does not erase, twice it is to mark genuine variants (cols. VII 8; X 24) and once it is to mark a preserved troublesome text (col. XI 21). Thus, this scribe probably had both variants

<sup>130</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 476.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 477; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 149; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 319–20; Smith, *Samuel*, 330–31; cf. Driver, *Notes*, 301. Note that we have not systematically documented every instance of verb plus suffix in pluses in either the MT or Qumran Samuel.

<sup>132</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 172–73; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 423.

<sup>133</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 247.

before him, possibly already side by side in his *Vorlage*. Though the use of the verbal suffix is statistically more frequent than תא with suffix in the Absalom narrative and indeed in all periods of biblical Hebrew (GKC §57; Polzin, p. 30), תא with suffix is rather to be expected in various situations (cf. 14:6, 16, 18, 29), including the cohortative.<sup>134</sup>

In other words, Cross et al. are suggesting that 4QC evidences two variants, one where the cohortative verb form forced the use of תא plus suffix, and the other with a verbal suffix.

#### 4.3.7. General Comments on Verbs with Object Suffixes.

The preference for verbal suffixes over the object marker תא plus suffix is characteristic of most varieties of BH.<sup>135</sup> The *near total* preference for verbal suffixes over the object marker תא plus suffix is, however, argued by some scholars to be a marker of PCH.<sup>136</sup> However, a near total preference for verbal suffixes is characteristic of many SCH works.<sup>137</sup> Therefore, it is better to focus on the relatively frequent use of תא plus suffix as the noteworthy stylistic choice of a minority of BH texts, Samuel included. We must define what “relatively frequent” means for Samuel, however. Polzin discusses a sample from Samuel as a major component (along with 1 Kgs 1) of his “Court History” source.<sup>138</sup> For this source, he states: “The Court History uses the verbal suffix 50 times<sup>139</sup> and *’et* plus suffix only 25 times,” in other words 33.33% of the time. However, in this count he includes cases involving second person masculine plural *qatal* verbs, and second person masculine plural suffixes, which he notes generally force the use of תא plus suffix,<sup>140</sup> as well as other situations where the use of a verbal suffix would not be expected. Once these cases are removed, and the examples from Kings are removed, we have non-forced use of תא plus suffix in his Samuel sample 12/57 times or 21.05%. A search of *wayyiqtol* verbs with what we judged to be certainly unforced use of תא plus suffix revealed twenty-five examples in the book of Samuel as a whole, compared to 128 examples of *wayyiqtol* verbs with suffixes attached directly to the verb, or 16.34%, which would seem to indicate that Polzin’s figures for his “Court History” source are fairly representative of the situation of the book of Samuel as a whole. Thus,

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<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

<sup>135</sup> Polzin notes the unusual preference of his Pentateuchal P-source sample for תא plus suffix (Polzin, *Late*, 100).

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 28–31; see *LDBT* 1:41–42; 2:174 (#64).

<sup>137</sup> Young, “Peshet Habakkuk,” 15–16; *LDBT* 1:76.

<sup>138</sup> He includes in this various verses from 2 Sam 13–20 (Polzin, *Late*, 117 n. 11).

<sup>139</sup> In fact his footnote lists 51 examples, which presumably by typographical error he summarizes as “41” (*ibid.*, 118 n. 22).

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 118 n. 23.

even in a book like Samuel, the unforced use of **תא** plus suffix is very much a minority linguistic form.

Above we discussed four cases where there is a textual variant<sup>141</sup> relating to the use of **תא** plus suffix (4.3.1–4.3.3, 4.3.6). There are five cases where MT Samuel's unforced **תא** plus suffix seems clearly attested by a Qumran Samuel manuscript.<sup>142</sup> In other words, in 4 of 9 cases where at least one of the texts attests **תא** plus suffix (44.44%) there is evidence of a variant reading. In strong contrast to this there are at least forty cases where a verb with attached verbal suffix is clearly attested in both the MT and Qumran Samuel.<sup>143</sup> This emphasizes an important point about the *stability* of the linguistic forms in the ancient manuscripts. Because we have focused in this chapter so much on the many variants, it is important to stress that in regard to the basic and common structures of ancient Hebrew, the texts are very stable. It is only when we move to slightly unusual, or less common forms, that the high linguistic fluidity of the manuscripts becomes evident. The use of object suffixes attached directly to the verb is by far the most common form in BH, and hence is stable in our manuscripts. (We saw an example in 4.3.5 where a possible later addition to Samuel also used this common form.) Even though a significant minority form in Samuel, the use of **תא** plus suffix seems much more susceptible to textual variation. The lesson seems to be that our ancient manuscripts, as far as our present evidence goes, can be relied on as evidence of the basic and common structures of ancient literary Hebrew, but do not provide secure evidence of the distribution of less common forms in the biblical compositions. We can write a grammar of BH, therefore, but have very little reliable information about the linguistic *peculiarities* of individual authors and compositions.

#### 4.4. *WEQATAL*, PARTICULARLY ITERATIVE *WEQATAL*

In this section we also discuss several *weqatal* verb forms that are not or may not be iterative in their function, as well as one form that is not *weqatal* but is iterative in its function.

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<sup>141</sup> The example cited in 4.3.6 is a complex case.

<sup>142</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 1:23; 6:21; 25:20. 4QB: 1 Sam 19:15 (even though **תא** plus suffix is not attested, the verb is at the end of the line, and thus had no suffix attached). 4QC: 2 Sam 14:18.

<sup>143</sup> This is a conservative figure, as a number of other cases could convincingly be argued from space and other considerations. 4QA: 1 Sam 2:29; 5:10; 6:2; 9:17; 10:11, 27; 15:20; 24:16, 18, 19, 20; 2 Sam 2:32; 3:25, 27; 4:4, 10; 6:7; 11:4; 13:1, 5, 15, 32, 36; 20:10; 21:17; 22:34, 36, 38, 40, 43, 44, 49, 50. 4QB: 1 Sam 16:7; 19:11; 21:3. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:30; 15:4. 1Q: 2 Sam 20:10; 21:17.

4.4.1. 4QA וא[מ]ר האיש (“and the man would answer and would say”); MT ויאמר אליו האיש (“and the man said to him”; 1 Sam 2:16).

In a description of the way the sons of Eli would treat worshippers at Shiloh (1 Sam 2:12–16), told up to this point using iterative *yiqtol* and *weqatal* verbs, the MT includes a *wayyiqtol* verb at the beginning of v. 16: “and the man said to him [the servant of the priests].” In contrast, 4QA has two *weqatal* verbs, continuing the iterative nature of the description. The LXX might reflect this reading of the verb “say” by its use of an imperfect form: ἔλεγεν.<sup>144</sup> In the preQumran era, Driver commented on the MT that, in accordance with the other verbs in the context, we should have ויאמר, and that “Hebrew is sometimes negligent in such cases to maintain the frequentative tense throughout.”<sup>145</sup> Alternatively, he suggested that the MT has a scribal error.<sup>146</sup> If such scribal “errors” are relatively frequent, perhaps Driver should have said instead of “Hebrew,” “the MT” in his earlier quote, since we cannot in that case equate the details of the language of the MT, in particular linguistic peculiarities, with the Hebrew of authors. In the postQumran era, both Cross et al. and McCarter consider 4QA’s *weqatal* verb to be part of the earliest recoverable text ( ויאמר האיש ).<sup>147</sup> This seems a more economical solution than Tsumura’s suggestion that the text is poetic and thus departs from the rules of normal narrative prose.<sup>148</sup>

Variations involving iterative *weqatal* are in fact attested a number of other times in 4Q/MT variants in this chapter.

4.4.2. 4QA וילך...לאמר...וברך (“and he would bless...saying...and he went”); MT וברך...ואמר...והלכו (“and he would bless...and he would say...and they would go”; 1 Sam 2:20).

In 1 Sam 2:20 the MT evidences a sequence of three iterative *weqatal* verbs whereas after the initial *weqatal* verb 4QA introduces the speech with לאמר (cf. LXX λέγειν) and for the final verb form reads the *wayyiqtol* form. The third verb is part of a wider textual issue, since as Driver points out the MT’s והלכו למקומו (“and they would go to his place”) “is not in accordance with Hebrew style.”<sup>149</sup> In contrast, 4QA (cf. the LXX) reads וילך האיש למקומו (“and the man went to his place”). Cross et al. and McCarter consider that the reading וילך למקומו (“and he

<sup>144</sup> However, some consider that this reflects ויאמר (e.g., Cross et al., *Samuel*, 41; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 79).

<sup>145</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 31.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>147</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 41; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 79.

<sup>148</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 153 n. 93.

<sup>149</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 33.

went to his place”) is probably the original reading, and that the MT is a combination of this reading with another, witnessed in the Targum and Syriac: והלכו למקומם. 4QA’s “the man” is, according to them, an expansion to make the subject more explicit.<sup>150</sup> If this solution to the textual problem is correct, none of the extant texts witnesses to the “original” text, and the MT’s *weqatal* verb represents a secondary reading.

#### 4.4.3. 4QA וישמע (“and he heard”); MT ושמע (“he [kept] hearing”; 1 Sam 2:22).

In 1 Sam 2:22, 4QA reads “And Eli was very old...and he heard (וישמע; *wayyiqtol*) all that his sons were doing to all Israel.” In contrast, the MT has ושמע. This could be interpreted, in parallel to the 4QA reading, as an example of *weqatal* for a single action in the past,<sup>151</sup> which is suggested by some scholars to be more common in some PCH books, and is considered a “late” development in the history of Hebrew.<sup>152</sup> More usually, the form is understood in line with the frequent syntax of the book of Samuel as an iterative *weqatal*: “he kept hearing” or “he heard from time to time.”<sup>153</sup>

#### 4.4.4. 4QA ויהי; MT ויהי (“and it shall be”; 1 Sam 10:5).

The MT uses a jussive form of the verb in the phrase “and it shall be, when you come there,” in place of the expected non-iterative *weqatal* form which appears in 4QA. GKC cites the example from the MT in their list of examples where “the jussive is used, without any collateral sense, for the ordinary imperfect form,” which they suggest is to be “explained on rhythmical grounds.”<sup>154</sup> In contrast, Driver and Smith in the preQumran age, and Cross et al. in reference to the 4QA variant, consider the MT to be a mistake for ויהי.<sup>155</sup>

#### 4.4.5. 4QA ונקר (“and he would gouge out”); ונתן (“and he would [not] give”); MT minus (1 Sam 10:27+).

4QA preserves a long plus at the end of MT 1 Sam 10:27, which is also reflected in Josephus, *Antiquities* 6:68–70. The plus is considered original, and lost by the MT and other witnesses, by Cross et al., McCarter, and Ulrich.<sup>156</sup> It is

<sup>150</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 42; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 80.

<sup>151</sup> See, for example, Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 45.

<sup>152</sup> For references which dispute the accuracy of this claim see *LDBT* 2:153–54.

<sup>153</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 33; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 81; Tsumura, *Samuel*, 160 n. 118.

<sup>154</sup> GKC §109k, p. 323. The MT is retained also by Tsumura, *Samuel*, 283 n. 6.

<sup>155</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 64; Driver, *Notes*, 80–81; Smith, *Samuel*, 69. Driver considers that GKC’s explanation is “artificial, and not probable.”

<sup>156</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 66; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 199; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 166–70.

considered a later addition by Auld and Tsumura.<sup>157</sup> The two verbs are usually translated iteratively as in the NRSV's rendering of that section of the plus: "He would gouge out the right eye of each of them and would not grant Israel a deliverer."<sup>158</sup>

4.4.6. 4QA וְהָיָה ("whenever [the ark bearers advanced six paces {David} would sacrifice]"); MT וַיְהִי ("when [the ark bearers] had [advanced six paces, {David} sacrificed]; 2 Sam 6:13).

Driver notes that the MT "states only that a sacrifice was offered, when those bearing the ark had advanced six steps...In order to express that a sacrifice was offered at *every* six steps, the Hebrew would have read" וְהָיָה...וּזְבַח.<sup>159</sup> McCarter argues that repeated sacrifices are more probable, favoring thus the 4QA reading for the first verb, and inferring the second from the LXX since it is not preserved in 4QA.<sup>160</sup> Whichever reading is more original, 4QA may have an iterative *weqatal* here.

4.4.7. 4QA וַיְהִי; MT וְהָיָה ("and it was"; 2 Sam 6:16).

The reading of 4QA is what we might expect in the phrase "and when the ark of YHWH entered the city of David."<sup>161</sup> It is shared with the parallel in 1 Chr 15:29 and reflected in the LXX (καὶ ἐγένετο), and thus scholars commonly consider the MT of Samuel, apparently a non-iterative use of *weqatal*, to be in error.<sup>162</sup>

4.4.8. 4QA וַיִּמְדַּד; MT וַיִּמְדַּד ("and he measured"; 2 Sam 8:2).

The remains of 4QA agree with the MT in having the verb "to measure" a second time in this verse in the expression, "and he measured two lines to be put to death." However, McCarter follows the LXX (καὶ ἐγένετο) and reads the verb וַיְהִי here, translating "two lines were to be put to death."<sup>163</sup> In regard to the two Hebrew texts that have the second occurrence of "to measure," the main question relates to the interpretation of the form in 4QA: Is 4QA's וַיִּמְדַּד the *weqatal* וַיִּמְדַּד or the infinitive absolute וַיִּמְדַּד? Probably given the tendency to

<sup>157</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 118; Tsumura, *Samuel*, 302–3.

<sup>158</sup> See also, for example, McCarter, *I Samuel*, 198; Tsumura, *Samuel*, 302.

<sup>159</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 269.

<sup>160</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 166, 171. Against this, and on the verse in general, see Rezetko, *Source*, 189–200.

<sup>161</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 270; Smith, *Samuel*, 296.

<sup>162</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 270; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 166; Rezetko, *Source*, 237–38; Smith, *Samuel*, 296.

<sup>163</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 242–43.

*plene* spelling in 4QA,<sup>164</sup> the former would be what is presented by the manuscript (which of course could be an interpretation of an earlier infinitive). If that is a correct inference for 4QA, it could be an example of non-iterative *weqatal* (see 4.4.7; for an infinitive see 4.4.9), although an iterative interpretation is also possible: “he would measure two lines to be put to death.”

4.4.9. 4QA ויבא ולן ושכב (“and he came and lay down”); MT וּבָא וּלָן וּשְׁכַב (“and he was coming and spending the night and lying down”; 2 Sam 12:16).

While the MT has three verbs, all *weqatals*, 4QA has just two, both *wayyiqtol*s. LXX<sup>L</sup> reflects the same two verbs as 4QA, but LXX<sup>B</sup> has “entered and spent the night.” McCarter tentatively adopts these two verbs as his earlier text, and prefers the *weqatal* iterative forms of the MT, rather than the *wayyiqtol* forms of 4QA.<sup>165</sup> In contrast, Cross et al. suggest that those texts that reflect only two verbs have lost one of the three present in the MT, which in this case is the earlier text. They comment further: “We suspect that the original text used the construction of a finite verb followed by a series of infinitives absolute (cf. *GK* §113y-z), a usage frequent in early Hebrew epigraphy, but often revised out by later scribes. Thus, here the text would have read the infinitives absolute *ûbô’ wêlôn wêšākôb*.”<sup>166</sup> In other words, according to Cross et al., all of the current texts have had their language revised, and early language features known from inscriptions have been obliterated.

4.4.10. 4QAC “And Absalom rose early (4QA: [וּבַשְׁכֹּחַ לְזוּמָה]; 4QC = MT וּבַשְׁכֹּחַ אֲבִישׁוּם) and would stand (4QAC: verb not preserved) by the way, and whenever there was (4QA: [וְהָיָה]; 4QC: verb not preserved) anyone who had (4QA: verb not preserved; 4QC: probably verb minus) a suit to come to the king for judgment, Absalom would call (4QA: וּקְרָא; 4QC: verb not preserved) to him and said/would say (4QA: verb not preserved; 4QC: [וּמָר] [form?]), ‘What city are you from?’ And the man would answer (4QA: verb not preserved; 4QC: וַעֲנָה) and would say (4QA: וַיֹּאמֶר; 4QC: verb not preserved), ‘Your servant is from one of the tribes of Israel’”;<sup>167</sup> MT “And Absalom would rise early (וּבַשְׁכֹּחַ) and would stand (וַעֲמַד) beside the way of the gate, and when there was (וְהָיָה) anyone who had (וְהָיָה) a suit to come to the king for judgment, Absalom called (וּקְרָא) to him and said (וַיֹּאמֶר), ‘What city are you from?’ And he said (וַיֹּאמֶר), ‘Your servant is from one of the tribes of Israel’” (2 Sam 15:2).

<sup>164</sup> For *plene Qal* infinitives absolute in 4QA see, for example, 1 Sam 2:25, 30; 14:29; 28:1, but contrast defective forms in 2 Sam 4:11 and possibly 2 Sam 5:10.

<sup>165</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 293, 297.

<sup>166</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144.

<sup>167</sup> We have not marked lacunae in 4QAC for words other than verbs. For the translation, see McCarter, *II Samuel*, 353.

Observe that the Lucianic Greek text at this point “generally uses Greek imperfects reflecting the verbal forms of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.”<sup>168</sup>

In this verse, the MT begins with two *weqatal* verbs, then presents four *wayyiqtol* verbs. Although mostly not preserved in Qumran Samuel (but see the following sections), the whole passage in 2 Sam 15:1–6 is involved. Driver remarks on the first two verbs of v. 2: “Notice the pff. with *waw* conv., indicating what Absalom *used* to do. From 2<sup>b</sup> to 4, however, the narrator lapses into the tense of simple description, only again bringing the *custom* into prominence in v. 5, and 6<sup>a</sup> (יבאו).”<sup>169</sup> In the light of Qumran Samuel, we can see that Driver’s statement that the variation in verbal usage is due to the (“original”) *narrator* is disputable. 4QAC parallel the four *wayyiqtol* verbs that MT has in this verse with three or four (4QC: ו[א]מר [form?]) *weqatal* verbs. Cross et al. label the three attested 4QA forms as “correct,”<sup>170</sup> while they consider the 4QC addition of “and he would answer” as an expansion.<sup>171</sup> Whichever way the textual change proceeded, this is evidence of large-scale, systematic change of the language of the text. In the judgment of Cross et al. and McCarter, it was the MT that was removing a sequence of iterative *weqatal* verbs from an earlier text.

The first verb in this verse presents a different picture. Here the MT and 4QC have an iterative *weqatal* verb (והשבים), while 4QA has [ו]אבש[ל]ום ה[שכם]. This could either be a *qatal* verb or, as Cross et al. suggest, an infinitive absolute or, given that the first letter of the following word could be a *yod*, an iterative *yiqtol*.<sup>172</sup> In any case, it seems likely that 4QA did not read a *weqatal* for this verb.

4.4.11. 4QA ו[גנ]ב (“and he kept stealing”); MT ויגנב (“and he stole”; 2 Sam 15:6).

This would be a further example of the correspondence of *weqatal* verbs in Qumran Samuel in this passage to *wayyiqtol* verbs in the MT. However, even though considerations of space make it likely, the fact that 4QA’s form is definitely not a *wayyiqtol* is not clear from the remains on the manuscript. This is the only other relevant verb preserved in Qumran Samuel for this section of 2 Sam 15:1–6. However, also relevant to the subject of iterative vs. non-iterative verbs in this context is the following example.

<sup>168</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 154; cf. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 354.

<sup>169</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 310.

<sup>170</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 154; cf. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 354. Presumably Driver might have agreed, given his use of “lapses” in the quote above.

<sup>171</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 263.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 154–55.

4.4.12. 4QC יע[שה]י (“[Absalom] began to make use of”<sup>173</sup>); MT = 4QA ייעש (“and Absalom made”; 2 Sam 15:1).

Although not involving a *weqatal* verb, this is another example of variation between iterative and non-iterative verbs in this passage. Both Cross et al. and McCarter consider the use of an iterative verb here to be correct.<sup>174</sup> It is noteworthy that even 4QA does not read the iterative verb here, reminding us that the evidence of textual variation preserved in Qumran Samuel is likely only a small fraction of the variation that existed in ancient times.

#### 4.4.13. General Comments on *Weqatal* Verbs, Particularly Iterative *Weqatal*.

While common, standard verb forms like *weqatal* are customary in both the MT and Qumran Samuel, the less common sub-category of iterative *weqatal* presents an interesting picture of textual fluidity. The MT and Qumran Samuel agree on reading an iterative *weqatal* verb on only 4.5<sup>175</sup> occasions: 1 Sam 2:16 (4QA; second occurrence of וואמר); 1 Sam 2:19 (4QA; ויהע[לטה]);<sup>176</sup> 1 Sam 2:20 (4QA; וברך); 2 Sam 15:2 (4QC; והשכים); and 2 Sam 15:5 (4QA; וינשק).<sup>177</sup> In addition there are 4 occasions where Qumran Samuel evidences an iterative *weqatal* form, which is paralleled by another verb form in the MT,<sup>178</sup> and 5.5<sup>179</sup> cases of the reverse.<sup>180</sup> Thus of the fourteen cases where one text has an iterative *weqatal* and the other text has a parallel verb form, only 4.5 are shared, or just 32%! In other words, around 2 of every 3 examples of iterative *weqatal* differ between these manuscripts. If we add non-parallel examples, the percentage of agreement drops further to 4/18, or 25%, or only 1 of every 4. These manuscripts therefore exhibit a high degree of fluidity in regard to this linguistic feature.

Joosten has argued that the relative absence of iterative *weqatal* forms is a mark of late BH writings and conversely that iterative *weqatal* is a mark of early

<sup>173</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 353.

<sup>174</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262–63; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 354.

<sup>175</sup> Since in 2 Sam 15:2 4QA and 4QC have *qatal* and *weqatal*, respectively, we count the *agreement* between the MT and Qumran Samuel as 0.5. See also chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.2).

<sup>176</sup> Although the beginning of this word is not preserved, what is preserved makes it fairly certain that this is a *weqatal* form.

<sup>177</sup> The *wayyiqtol* form of the root נשק would not retain the *nun*.

<sup>178</sup> 1 Sam 2:16 (4QA); 2 Sam 15:2 (x3; 4QA). Here we exclude the cases in 2 Sam 6:13 (4.4.6); 8:2 (4.4.8); 15:6 (4.4.11) as uncertain.

<sup>179</sup> Since in 2 Sam 15:2 4QA and 4QC have *qatal* and *weqatal*, respectively, we count the *disagreement* between the MT and Qumran Samuel as 0.5. See also chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.2).

<sup>180</sup> 1 Sam 2:20 (x2; 4QA), 22 (4QA); 2 Sam 12:16 (x2; 4QA); 15:2 (4QA).

compositions.<sup>181</sup> If this conclusion were right, and if Cross et al.'s and McCarter's opinions on the text of Samuel cited above were correct, we would therefore have examples where the MT has preserved the "older" linguistic form, where 4QA has preserved the "older" form, where the MT has the "early" form due to a later change in the text, and examples where it is 4QA which evidences a change which introduced the "early" form. However, before we started such talk of "early" and "late," the text-critical evidence would suggest that we ask the question of whether the distribution of *weqatal* forms which led Joosten to his conclusion is a feature of the language of the "original" authors at particular dates "early" and "late," or whether the distribution of forms in our current texts is due to developments over a long history of scribal transmission. Without a single example of iterative *weqatal* in preexilic Hebrew inscriptions<sup>182</sup> we have no way of verifying if this form ever existed in an "early" period. Certainly this study should make us hesitate before identifying the linguistic usage of one text with the state of the language at the time of the initial composition of the texts.<sup>183</sup>

#### 4.5. INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE

##### 4.5.1. PARONOMASTIC INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE

4.5.1.1. 4QA יקטר הכוהן ("let the priest burn"); MT קטר יקטירון ("let them surely burn"; 1 Sam 2:16).

The LXX seems to reflect the use of the singular verb, without the infinitive absolute, as in 4QA, but does not include the subject "the priest" (θυμιαθήτω). Cross et al. and McCarter argue that the "original" text was קטר יקטר ("let one burn"). They suggest that the infinitive fell out of 4QA and the LXX through haplography, that 4QA expanded by adding an explicit subject, and that the plural of the MT came about under the influence of יקטרון in v. 15.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Joosten, *Verbal*, 402–4; cf. idem, "Clues," 352–53; idem, "Disappearance"; idem, "Gesenius," 104.

<sup>182</sup> Joosten, "Disappearance," 146.

<sup>183</sup> For some clarification and detailed discussion of other points and or related issues in this section on iterative *weqatal* see chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.2).

<sup>184</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 41; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 79. Auld notes two more peculiarities of the MT, that this is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where a finite form of קטר is strengthened by an infinitive absolute, and that it is anomalous to have a *Piel* infinitive absolute with a *Hiphil* finite verb, although he does not make clear if these unusual features lead him to doubt the originality of the infinitive in this verse (Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 44).

4.5.1.2. 4QA [יחטא] חטוא (“[if a man] indeed sins”); MT יחטא (“[if a man] sins”; 1 Sam 2:25).

The LXX seems to have read the infinitive in its *Vorlage*, in agreement with 4QA (ἐὰν ἀμαρτάνωσιν ἀμαρτή). Cross et al. suggest that “חטוא has been lost by haplography in **𐤇** and its congeners.”<sup>185</sup>

4.5.1.3. 4QA אמרתי (“I said”); MT אמור אמרתי (“I indeed said”; 1 Sam 2:30).

The LXX reflects only one verb here (εἶπα). Cross et al. and McCarter suggest that the infinitive has been lost in 4QA and the LXX’s *Vorlage* through haplography.<sup>186</sup>

4.5.1.4. 4QA {°°°} עכור (“indeed troubled”); MT עכר (“he has troubled”; 1 Sam 14:29).

According to Cross et al. there is some doubt as to what followed עכור in 4QA, since the manuscript’s surface has been destroyed and it is not certain whether “the scribe has erased a reading or worm damage has removed the surface on which letters were written.”<sup>187</sup> Whether corrected or just damaged, they suggest that it is likely that “behind the damaged text was a variant עכור עכר, with the infinitive absolute used to intensify the finite verb.”<sup>188</sup> In either case, these considerations plus the orthography of the form seem to indicate that we have evidence of a text that read an infinitive absolute here, different to the MT.

4.5.1.5. 4QA [ואנכי הרעה הרעתי] (“and I myself indeed [?] did evil”); MT ואנכי הרעתי (“and I have done wickedly”; 2 Sam 24:17).

The parallel in 1 Chr 21:17 matches 4QA more closely than it does MT Samuel: וְהִרְעָה הִרְעוּתִי (“I indeed did evil”), the vowel pointing indicating the use of the infinitive absolute followed by a *qatal* verb. It is possible that an infinitive is what 4QA has here too; however, elsewhere, at least in the MT, we do not find the *Hiphil* infinitive absolute (or construct) of רעע with a final *He* (cf. Chronicles).<sup>189</sup> Thus McCarter, for example, follows various witnesses like LXX<sup>L</sup> and Josephus, *Antiquities* 7:328 in reading 4QA as הִרְעָה (“the

<sup>185</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 43.

<sup>186</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 44; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 88.

<sup>187</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 73.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>189</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 612.

shepherd”), that is, “I, the shepherd, did wrong.”<sup>190</sup> Thus, while an infinitive absolute appears in parts of the tradition of this verse, it does not seem to be in 4QA.

4.5.1.6. 4QB [כִּי אֶמַר אֵלַי עָרוֹם יְעָרָם]; MT כִּי אֶמַר אֵלַי עָרוֹם יְעָרָם (“for it is told me<sup>191</sup> that he is [very] cunning”; 1 Sam 23:22).

LXX<sup>B,O</sup> reflect only one verbal form here (*πανουργεύσῃται*), like 4QB. Cross et al. again suggest that 4QB and the Greek witnesses have lost the infinitive absolute by haplography.<sup>192</sup>

#### 4.5.1.7. General Comments on the Paronomastic Infinitive Absolute.

Leaving out 2 Sam 24:17 for the reasons mentioned above, we therefore see that twice 4QA (1 Sam 2:25; 14:29) and three times the MT (1 Sam 2:16, 30; 23:22) has a plus of the paronomastic infinitive absolute, so neither of these texts can be characterized as all “early” or all “late” in this regard. There are also five cases in Qumran Samuel where paronomastic infinitives absolute found in the MT are also attested in a Qumran Samuel manuscript.<sup>193</sup> This means that there are a total of ten cases where either a Qumran Samuel manuscript or the MT attests a paronomastic infinitive absolute, and only half the time do both manuscripts agree on the presence of the infinitive (5/10 = 50%). Once again, the evidence suggests a high degree of fluidity in the textual evidence for this linguistic feature. Furthermore, seeing that MT Samuel has about sixty-five tokens of the paronomastic infinitive absolute,<sup>194</sup> of which we have evidence in Qumran Samuel for only the handful of texts cited above, we have to admit that we can have very little idea of where else Qumran Samuel may have lacked the construction or, conversely, where it may have had it in contrast to the MT.

The comments we have registered above, particularly from Cross et al., about these variants are a good illustration of how prior linguistic judgments inform evaluations of linguistic variants. In each case where a comment is made, Cross et al. assume that the paronomastic infinitive absolute was in the earlier text, and has been lost through scribal error. While it is reasonable to suggest

<sup>190</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 507; cf. Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 611; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 193. Further: “In MT *hr’h* has fallen out, and *hr’ty* has become *h’wty* by confusion of *reš* and *waw* and metathesis” (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 507; cf. Cross et al., *Samuel*, 193–94).

<sup>191</sup> Or: “for he thought.” See, for example, McCarter, *I Samuel*, 376.

<sup>192</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 244.

<sup>193</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 28:1; 2 Sam 5:10; 12:14 (x2). 4QB: 1 Sam 23:10. Note that 2 Sam 5:10 is not a case of repetition of the same root (הָלַךְ וְגָדַל) [“and David became greater and greater”], and the defective spelling is unusual (cf. MT וְגָדַל and see n. 164).

<sup>194</sup> *LDBT* 2:136.

that cases of repeated roots are especially prone to scribal oversight, this seems to be a rather too mechanical view of the way the biblical text changed in scribal transmission. It is likely that such variations would not have been seen as seriously affecting the meaning of the text, and thus there seems no reason to exclude that scribes could add paronomastic infinitives absolute when reformulating the text, or could leave out such forms for reasons other than scribal oversight.<sup>195</sup> Even given Cross et al.'s rather mechanical explanation for these variants, we could argue that loss of these linguistic forms during scribal transmission has likely and seriously affected the linguistic profile of all of our currently attested biblical texts.

It is commonly suggested that the use of the paronomastic infinitive absolute decreased markedly in late Hebrew.<sup>196</sup> As part of the evidence for this, a rather small number of variants between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles are cited.<sup>197</sup> The discussion in this section has highlighted a high proportion of variation in regard to the paronomastic infinitive absolute. If the standard view of the chronology of the change is correct, this shows both the MT and Qumran Samuel each at times exhibiting this “late” change. Furthermore, since the change occurred in the scribal transmission of the text, rather than reflecting the language of the “original” author(s), this puts a different light on the interpretation of the minuses in Chronicles as representing the late language stage in which Chronicles was originally written. The omissions in Samuel clearly are not related to the composition of the book, according to this theory, but the scribal transmission of the text. We have no way of knowing whether the variants between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles are due to the author of Chronicles changing a MT-like text, later scribes altering the language of Chronicles, or Chronicles faithfully reflecting a non-MT text of Samuel–Kings, or any combination of these factors. In any case, the major evidence for the chronological development of this form in Hebrew is the current distribution in the MT, which we have seen here has dubious reliability as a reflection of the earlier Hebrew of authors of biblical literature.

#### 4.5.2. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE

##### 4.5.2.1. 4QA וְהָיָה לְעִלְלָהּ [וְהָיָה]; MT וְהָיָה לְעִלְלָהּ (“and make sport”; 1 Sam 31:4).

Cross et al. comment: “The infinitive absolute is used here in place of the finite verb following the finite verb וְהָיָה. This is a popular usage in pre-Exilic

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<sup>195</sup> See the discussion of works by Carr and Person in chapter 3 (3.5.4).

<sup>196</sup> For documentation and discussion of problems with this view see *LDBT* 2:128, 132–41.

<sup>197</sup> *LDBT* 2:139.



4.5.2.4.1. 4QA ונקר (“and he would gouge out”); נתתן (“and he would [not] give”); MT minus (1 Sam 10:27+).

Although we noted in 4.4.5 that these verbs are often read as iterative *weqatal* forms, Cross has proposed reading them as predicative infinitives absolute.<sup>204</sup>

4.5.2.4.2. 4QA ומדד; MT וימדד (“and he measured”; 2 Sam 8:2).

See 4.4.8. Cross et al. do not make any specific suggestion in regard to this verb form, but a predicative infinitive absolute is one possibility.

4.5.2.4.3. 4QA ויב[ן]א וישכב (“and he came and lay down”); MT וּבָא וּלָן וישכב (“and he was coming and spending the night and lying down”; 2 Sam 12:16).

See 4.4.9. Cross et al. comment: “We suspect that the original text used the construction of a finite verb followed by a series of infinitives absolute (cf. *GK* §113y-z), a usage frequent in early Hebrew epigraphy, but often revised out by later scribes. Thus, here the text would have read the infinitives absolute *ûbô’ wēlôn wēšākōb*.”<sup>205</sup>

4.5.2.4.4. 4QA [השכם] ליום [ואבש] (“And Absalom rose early”); MT והשכים (“And Absalom would rise early”; 2 Sam 15:2).

See 4.4.10. Cross et al. comment: We have read [השכם] as an infinitive absolute, a frequent idiom with this verb.”<sup>206</sup>

4.5.2.5. General Comments on the Predicative Infinitive Absolute.

According to the interpretation of Cross et al., 4QA preserves quite a number of predicative infinitives absolute, which are unparalleled in the MT. As we have discussed, even if we do not follow all of their interpretations, there are still at least three forms where the context seems to favor reading a predicative infinitive absolute (4.5.2.1–4.5.2.3). Even though MT Samuel attests the use of the predicative infinitive absolute (see 1 Sam 2:28; 22:13; 25:26, 33), none of

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<sup>204</sup> F. M. Cross, “The Ammonite Oppression of the Tribes of Gad and Reuben: Missing Verses From 1 Samuel 11 Found in 4QSamuel<sup>a</sup>,” in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 148–58 (150–51). This issue is not commented on in Cross et al., *Samuel*.

<sup>205</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

these verbs is preserved in Qumran Samuel, so that we have no cases (0%) where the MT and Qumran Samuel agree on the use of the predicative infinitive absolute.

As we have seen above, Cross et al. interpret the predicative infinitive absolute as “a usage frequent in early Hebrew epigraphy, but often revised out by later scribes.”<sup>207</sup> In contrast, it has often been suggested that contrary to the suggested general decline in the use of the infinitive absolute in late Hebrew, the use of predicative infinitive absolute actually increased.<sup>208</sup> In light of the data discussed here, it can be seen that judgments about relative frequencies in the MT are suspect. Cross et al. are on firmer ground by referring to the evidence of the preexilic inscriptions (although the evidence does not turn out to be very strong).<sup>209</sup> A large corpus of dated and localized texts is essential before such judgments about the chronological development of the language can be put on a firm footing. On the basis of the current manuscripts, the actual distribution of such forms in the earliest compositional layer of Samuel remains unknown.

#### 4.5.3. הרבה (“GREAT”)

4QA [ד] נחשת רבה מאד; MT נחשת הרבה מאד (“a very great amount of bronze”; 2 Sam 8:8).

4QA expresses the sense “great” with a form of the adjective רב. MT exhibits the adjectival use of the *Hiphil* infinitive absolute of רבה. Cross et al. comment: “Both **𐤒** and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> have grammatically acceptable forms.”<sup>210</sup> It is

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>208</sup> See, for example, S. E. Fassberg, “The Infinitive Absolute as Finite Verb and Standard Literary Hebrew of the Second Temple Period,” in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey; STDJ 73; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 47–60; cf. *LDBT* 1:240; 2:128, 151–52, 165 (#16).

<sup>209</sup> The only form from the inscriptions we have found cited by Cross is וּאִסַּם (“and stored”) in Mešad Hashavyahu 1:5, 6–7 (F. M. Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: The Murabba’at Papyrus and the Letter Found Near Yabneh-Yam,” *BASOR* 165 [1962]: 34–46 [44–45 n. 43]; reprinted in idem, *Leaves from an Epigrapher’s Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 116–24 [123 n. 44 {sic}]; idem, “Ammonite,” 150–51). However, the form’s interpretation is disputed. See, for example, Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 294–95. In both of these cited references, in fact, Cross emphasizes how common the form is in biblical literature of the seventh to sixth centuries B.C.E., by which he means the distribution in the current MT of the biblical books.

<sup>210</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 133.

interesting that the parallel in 1 Chr 18:8, רָבָה, is in agreement with 4QA against MT Samuel, demonstrating once again that the linguistic “changes” of “late” Chronicles are on a number of occasions not changes at all but, rather, simply evidence that Chronicles had access to a non-MT form of the Samuel tradition. 4QA and the MT share the form הרבה in 1 Sam 26:21.

#### 4.6. PARAGOGIC *NUN*

4.6.1. 4QA יקטר הכוהן (“let the priest burn”); MT קטר יקטירון (“let them surely burn”; 1 Sam 2:16).

See 4.5.1.1 for discussion of this variant. Apart from the issue of the paronomastic infinitive absolute discussed there, we notice the presence of the paragogic *nun* on the second verb, considered a feature of “early” Hebrew by some scholars.<sup>211</sup> As we mentioned in the earlier section, Cross et al. and McCarter argue that the “original” text was קטר יקטר (“let one burn”). They suggest that the infinitive fell out of 4QA and the LXX through haplography, that 4QA expanded by adding an explicit subject, and that the plural of the MT came about under the influence of יקטרון in v. 15. In their opinion, the paragogic *nun* in this case does not represent the earliest recoverable text.

4.6.2. 4QA ים[עש]; MT יעשן (“doing”; 1 Sam 2:22).

In the phrase, “[Eli] heard all that his sons were doing to all Israel,” the MT reads an iterative *yiqtol* with paragogic *nun*, whereas 4QA has a participle indicating ongoing activity. Ulrich notes that “ע(ו)שים occurs frequently...including Gen 39:22, Ex 5:8, 1 S 8:8, Ezek 8:6.”<sup>212</sup>

#### 4.6.3. General Comments on the Paragogic *Nun*.

None of the other (eight) examples of paragogic *nun* in MT Samuel are paralleled by a preserved section of a Qumran Samuel manuscript. Note, however, that after the section quoted above from 1 Sam 2:22, the MT finishes with: “and how they were lying with the women who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting.” This is missing from LXX<sup>B</sup>, and there does not seem enough room for it in the 4QA scroll, and it is widely considered to be a later interpolation,<sup>213</sup> which would indicate that 4QA was missing another example of the paragogic *nun*. Although only based on a few forms, the evidence once again

<sup>211</sup> For this, and dissenting opinions, with full statistics see *LDBT* 1:109; 2:123–26.

<sup>212</sup> Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 73.

<sup>213</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 146; Driver, *Notes*, 33; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 81; Smith, *Samuel*, 20.

suggests high fluidity in unusual linguistic features in the textual history of the book of Samuel, since none of the examples of this form are shared by both texts. In fact, in two of the three cases mentioned here, the form with the supposed early paragogic *nun* is considered by many scholars to be a later addition to the text.

#### 4.7. INTERCHANGES OF VERBAL FORMS

##### 4.7.1. IMPERATIVE/JUSSIVE INTERCHANGES

4.7.1.1. 4QB [ת]ק (“take”; imperative); MT תקת (“you should take”; jussive; 1 Sam 16:2).

Cross et al. and McCarter see the imperative of 4QB reflected in the LXX (λαβέ) and Syriac, and McCarter prefers this reading.<sup>214</sup>

4.7.1.2. 4QB יר (“[whenever the king wishes to come down,] let him come down”); MT דר (“[whenever you wish, O king, to come down,] come down!”; 1 Sam 23:20).

Here the contrast between the use of the jussive in 4QB and the imperative in the MT is part of a larger variation in the verse, which is reflected in the different translations above.<sup>215</sup> If the reconstruction is correct, 4QB’s third person jussive fits with the indirect reference to “the king,” whereas the MT’s imperative is second person in line with the second person pronoun in “you wish.” Cross et al. and McCarter consider the MT a secondary text produced by conflation.<sup>216</sup>

##### 4.7.1.3. General Comments on Imperative/Jussive Interchanges.

Many basic and common elements of BH like the imperative do not show the high degree of variability that other linguistic features display. These two variants involve *Qal* masculine singular imperatives. Elsewhere in Qumran Samuel we find nine cases of *Qal* masculine singular imperatives shared by the MT and Qumran Samuel (although one of these is actually a case of vocabulary interchange, even if the verbal form remains the same).<sup>217</sup> Two variants out of

<sup>214</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 227; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 274.

<sup>215</sup> The first is based on the LXX; 4QB only preserves from “king.” For the details see Cross et al., *Samuel*, 245; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 377.

<sup>216</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 245; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 377.

<sup>217</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:16; 9:19; 15:30; 31:4; 2 Sam 16:21; 24:18. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:36 (x2; 2nd instance: 4QB תק ["take"]; MT מצא ["find"]); 4QC: 2 Sam 14:21.

eleven forms give a 18.18% variation, or 1 of every 5, which is less than many linguistic forms studied in this chapter.

#### 4.7.2. IMPERATIVE/LENGTHENED IMPERATIVE INTERCHANGES

##### 4.7.2.1. 4QA שלחה; MT שלח (“send!”; 2 Sam 11:6).

Cross et al. comment: “Both imperative forms are at home in biblical texts.”<sup>218</sup>

##### 4.7.2.2. 4QB הגידה; MT הגד (“tell!”; 1 Sam 23:11).

In the phrase “tell your servant!” 4QB (הגידה לעב[ד]ך) and the MT (הגד נא לעבדך) vary. In McCarter’s opinion “there is no basis for choosing between them.”<sup>219</sup> So too Cross et al. state: “These readings are difficult to choose between...Perhaps 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, the shorter reading, is superior.”<sup>220</sup>

##### 4.7.2.3. General Comments on Imperative/Lengthened Imperative Interchanges.

Fassberg suggests that the “lengthened imperative קטלה is used in biblical Hebrew when the action of the verb is directed toward the speaker.”<sup>221</sup> He notes: “The regular imperative קטל does not as a rule express an action directed towards the speaker” and notes that a number of exceptions to this rule in the MT are found in lengthened form in the SP or Qumran texts, including these two variants from Qumran Samuel.<sup>222</sup> If Fassberg is correct, therefore, the MT quite possibly reflects a grammatical error in each case. He further provides the interesting statistic that there are around 1,700 examples of the simple, non-lengthened imperative in the MT, as against 288 certain examples of קטלה.<sup>223</sup> Of the c. 1,700 regular, non-lengthened imperatives, he judges there to be 130 forms like the MT examples above where the action is directed to the speaker, but the lengthened form קטלה is not used.<sup>224</sup> If we add the 130 examples to the 288 examples preserved in the MT, we arrive at 418 cases where the action of the imperative is directed at the speaker. If we hypothesize that the 130 exceptions are all examples of the loss of the קטלה form in the scribal transmission, this would give us 130 variants of 418 cases or 31.1%. That degree

<sup>218</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 139.

<sup>219</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 370.

<sup>220</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 243.

<sup>221</sup> S. E. Fassberg, “The Lengthened Imperative קטלה in Biblical Hebrew,” *HS* 40 (1999): 7–13 (13).

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, 12–13.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

of variation is far from unusual in the examples we have investigated in the various manuscripts of Samuel. On the other hand, if only 130 of 1,700 examples of the normal imperative were suspect, or 7.65%, that might be an indication that very basic and common features of Hebrew like the standard imperative were quite stable in textual transmission.

The Qumran manuscripts on their own do not provide much evidence for this feature. In addition to the two variants above, there is just one example of a *Qal* or *Hiphil* lengthened imperative shared with the MT, albeit a rare case where we have more than one Qumran manuscript. In this case MT = 4QA = 4QB (1 Sam 20:38: חושה). The numbers are much too small to deem it significant that 2 of the 3 cases are variant. The statistics that Fassberg provides are much more suggestive, but as always we are hampered from knowing any more for certain by the absence of a large corpus of dated and localized non-literary texts to give us a solid position from which to judge the nature of the evidence provided by our late manuscripts of literary compositions.

#### 4.7.3. JUSSIVE/YIQTOL INTERCHANGE

4QC תהי (“let there be [a remnant]”); MT תהיה (“there will be [a remnant]”; 2 Sam 15:14).

Cross et al. and McCarter place the variant uses of a jussive and a *yiqtol* verb in the context of a larger reconstructed variant. They suggest that in 4QC “the jussive complete[s] the series of quick, staccato commands,” “arise, and let us flee, let there be a remnant for us,” rather than the MT “for there will be no remnant” (כי לא תהיה לנו פליטה) which, according to them, has rephrased the verse not only by making the jussive into a *yiqtol*, but by adding בי לא.<sup>225</sup> Elsewhere, *yiqtol* forms of היה are shared by Qumran Samuel and the MT four times.<sup>226</sup> Since the variant discussed here involves the correct use of both forms in differently phrased sentences, according to Cross et al. and McCarter, the evidence can be interpreted in line with the proposition that the more common and standard the linguistic form, the more stable its representation in the textual witnesses.

<sup>225</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 265; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 363; quote from Cross et al.

<sup>226</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 8:19; 2 Sam 18:3. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:42. 4QC: 1 Sam 25:31.

## 4.7.4. QATAL/PARTICIPLE INTERCHANGE

4QA וכל העם שמעו [וּכְלָ] [הַעַם] שְׁמָעִים (“and all the people were listening”); MT וכל העם שמעו (“and all the people heard”; 2 Sam 18:5).

As reflected in the English translations offered above, the use of a *qatal* verb rather than a participle makes a subtle difference in the way this sentence conveys the action. McCarter prefers the participle in this context, although without explanation.<sup>227</sup> A potentially relevant observation is that in a study of sentences with עַם (“people”) in Hebrew biblical texts, Young discovered that the construction subject–plural participle is a noticeable feature of MT Samuel.<sup>228</sup> However, the MT’s *qatal* is not thereby excluded. In any case, this sort of variant shows again that we must be very careful about using the relative proportions of common and uncommon forms in the MT as evidence of what an earlier linguistic stage of the biblical books would have looked like. On the other hand, there is no evidence of a general tendency to interchange *qatal* verbs and participles,<sup>229</sup> illustrating another principle that the more basic and common the linguistic form, the greater tendency to stability in the textual witnesses.

## 4.7.5. IMPERATIVE/PARTICIPLE INTERCHANGE

4QA מושל (“rule!”); MT מושל (“ruling”; 2 Sam 23:3).

It seems likely that 4QA intends the verb form to be read, as in LXX<sup>L</sup>, as an imperative, rather than the participle of the MT, thus “rule in the fear of God!” rather than “ruling in the fear of God.” McCarter prefers the MT, whereas Cross et al. prefer the 4QA/LXX<sup>L</sup> reading.<sup>230</sup>

## 4.7.6. WAYYIQTOL/YIQTOL (PRETERITE) INTERCHANGES IN POETRY

4.7.6.1. 4QA וירעם (“and he thundered”); MT ירעם (“he thunders”; 1 Sam 2:10).

Cross et al. and McCarter suggest that the variant in 4QA is probably part of a larger variant where also the preceding words (not preserved) in 4QA corresponded to the LXX reading, “YHWH has gone up into the heavens and

<sup>227</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 400.

<sup>228</sup> Young, “Am,” 55.

<sup>229</sup> Another possible example of a participle/(we)*qatal* interchange is 4QA ורצי [ורצי] and MT ורצו in 1 Sam 8:11 (see Cross et al., *Samuel*, 59). See also 4QA עומד and MT היה in 2 Sam 24:16 (7.12.1) as well as the participle/*yiqtol* interchange in 4QA [עש]ים and MT יעשן in 1 Sam 2:22 (4.6.2).

<sup>230</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 186; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 477.

thundered,” with the *qatal* verb עלה instead of the MT’s preposition עלו (“against him”).<sup>231</sup> Although the MT’s verb form is usually understood as “he thunders,” the parallel verb in 4QA and the LXX indicates that it could potentially be interpreted as a *yiqtol* preterite. McCarter considers the MT’s “against him” a corruption of an archaic divine name “Eli” and follows the MT’s verb form with his translation: “Eli thunders in heaven!”<sup>232</sup> Cross et al., however, follow the LXX/reconstructed 4QA reading in their “Reconstruction of the Song of Hannah.”<sup>233</sup>

4.7.6.2. 4QA [אמח צם]; MT ואמחצם (“[and] I smashed them”; 2 Sam 22:39).

The conjunction of the MT coordinates with a preceding verb ואכלם (“and I consumed them”), missing from the parallel in MT Ps 18 as well as 4QA. Scholars commonly consider this extra verb to be a variant of כלותם in the previous verse “(until) they were consumed.” The LXX reflects a variant “until I finished them,” and these scholars see the MT’s two verbs as a conflation of the reading of the LXX’s *Vorlage* with a reading like that of 4QA and MT Psalms, where only כלותם appears.<sup>234</sup>

4.7.6.3. 4QA ותכרע; MT תכריע (“[and] you made bow down”; 2 Sam 22:40).

Here it is the 4QA form that has the conjunction. Cross et al. state: “A conjunction...that begins a colon in this hymn is always textually suspect.”<sup>235</sup> Cross et al. note that LXX<sup>L</sup> reads a conjunction here, like 4QA, but they suggest tentatively that its *Vorlage* was actually ותכניע (“and you subdued”).<sup>236</sup>

4.7.6.4. 4QA [אצמיתם] = MT Ps 18:41; MT ואצמיתם (“[and] I destroyed them”; 2 Sam 22:41).

Cross et al. comment: “This is another example of the multiplication of the conjunction *waw*.”<sup>237</sup> Both Cross et al. and McCarter argue that the LXX reading “and you put them to death” (*Vorlage* ותמיתם) is a corruption.<sup>238</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 34, 37; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 71.

<sup>232</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 68; cf. Lewis, “Textual,” 41–42.

<sup>233</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 38.

<sup>234</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 184; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 460; cf. Smith, *Samuel*, 380.

<sup>235</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 182.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>238</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 184; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 461.

4.7.6.5. 4QA = MT Samuel [ותפלטני]; MT Ps 18:44 תפלטני (“[and] you delivered me”; 2 Sam 22:44).

Here 4QA = MT Samuel, but both differ from the parallel text in MT Psalms.

#### 4.7.6.6. General Comments on Preterite Verbs in Poetry.

It has been argued that the use of the prefix verb form as a preterite is a feature of biblical poetry, especially “archaic” poetry.<sup>239</sup> In relation to archaic poetry it has further been argued that the current texts have added a great many conjunctions to obscure a more widespread use of free-standing preterites.<sup>240</sup> This is especially the case with a verb at the beginning of a colon. Cross and Freedman note that while both 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 have forty-seven cola that begin with the conjunction, they differ in sixteen cases as to the location of these forty seven. When the LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta are brought in, only twenty-two cola begin with the conjunction in all witnesses,<sup>241</sup> in other words just 46.81%, less than half. These scholars suspect, further, as for example in the quote from Cross et al. in 4.7.6.3, that possibly all of these forms do not go back to the earliest compositional layers of the poems. They base this opinion at least partly on the evidence of the use of verbs in Ugaritic poetry from c. 1200 B.C.E.<sup>242</sup> It is interesting, therefore, that access to dated non-biblical sources leads these scholars to suggest that there has been a massive changing of the verbal profile of these “archaic” poems during their scribal transmission. In regard to the late textual evidence provided by the MT and Qumran Samuel, there are three cases where both the MT and Qumran Samuel (only 4QA is preserved) agree on what is a *wayyiqtol* in the MT in 2 Sam 22.<sup>243</sup> In this section we discussed three cases where these two manuscripts differ on this feature, giving a 50% rate of (dis)agreement.

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<sup>239</sup> *LDBT* 1:321–26.

<sup>240</sup> For example, Cross et al., *Samuel*, 182; Cross and Freedman, *Studies*, 83–85, 107–13; D. A. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry* (SBLDS 3; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972), 35–36.

<sup>241</sup> Cross and Freedman, *Studies*, 83–84, 107–13.

<sup>242</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, 84; Robertson, *Linguistic*, 36.

<sup>243</sup> 2 Sam 22:24 ([ואשתמרה]), 38 ([ואשמידם]), 44 ([ותפלטני]). 2 Sam 22:38 is not colon-initial.

4.7.7. *QAL/HIPHIL* INTERCHANGES

4.7.7.1. 4QA [ת]השאיל (“you [?] have loaned”); MT שאל (“one has loaned”; 1 Sam 2:20).

Cross et al. reconstruct a second person verb on the basis of the LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate, even though they suggest that “השאילה is perhaps the original reading,” that is, “she loaned.”<sup>244</sup> Scholars have generally found the MT reading to be difficult (McCarter: “impossible”<sup>245</sup>), and long before proposed that the text should read a *Hiphil* verb, with reference to 1 Sam 1:28 and the versions. The MT can only be an impersonal verb, which scholars other than Tsumura find to be unnatural in the context.<sup>246</sup>

4.7.7.2. 4QA נכביד (“make difficult”); MT נִכְבֵּד (“be a burden”; 2 Sam 13:25).

4QA’s orthography indicates a *Hiphil* verb, which Cross et al. and McCarter consider the more “original” grammatical form. The MT’s defective orthography is more archaic, but according to them it has meant that the form has been vocalized as a *Qal*.<sup>247</sup> This and the previous example seem to be isolated cases of *Qal/Hiphil* interchange. Basic and common details like the conjugations of most verbs do not seem to be subject to large-scale variation.

4.7.8. *POLEL/HIPHIL* INTERCHANGE

4QA ומתתם (“then you will finish off”); MT והמתם (“then you will kill”; 2 Sam 13:28).

Cross et al. comment: “4QSam<sup>a</sup> reads as a *Po’lel*, a form that is well attested in Samuel (cf. 1 Sam 14:13; 17:51; 2 Sam 1:9–10, 16).”<sup>248</sup> McCarter prefers the *Hiphil* of the MT, but gives no grounds.<sup>249</sup> The *Hiphil* is the more common form in BH generally. Thus, perhaps 4QA’s form is a change to a common form in Samuel, or the MT’s form a change to the more common form in BH. We do not know which was the “original” form, nor indeed do we know

<sup>244</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 42. McCarter in fact reconstructs the latter reading for 4QA (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 80).

<sup>245</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 80.

<sup>246</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 45; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 42; Driver, *Notes*, 32–33; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 80; Smith, *Samuel*, 19. Tsumura says, strangely, that McCarter “alters the text,” as if the MT is “the Bible” as opposed to other witnesses to the biblical text (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 158–59 n. 113).

<sup>247</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 149; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 330.

<sup>248</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 150.

<sup>249</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 330.

whether the relative proportions of the two forms in our current texts reflect older forms of Hebrew.

#### 4.7.9. NIPHAL/HITHPAEL INTERCHANGE

4QA [מת[נבא]; MT נבא (“prophesying”; 1 Sam 10:11).

A suggested difference between the *Niphal* and *Hithpael* of the root נבא is reflected by the translation of 4QA by Auld: “[Saul was] acting the prophet.”<sup>250</sup> It is to be noted that elsewhere in this chapter in MT Samuel the *Hithpael* is used each time.<sup>251</sup> Cross et al. explain the MT reading as a textual error.<sup>252</sup>

#### 4.8. THE POEL OF ידע

4QB יעדתי (“I have made an appointment”); MT יודעתי (“I have caused to know”;<sup>253</sup> 1 Sam 21:3).

The MT form is the only case of the *Poel* of ידע in the MT Bible. It has long been suggested that the earlier text had a form of יעד (“to make an appointment”).<sup>254</sup> The LXX seems to reflect yet a third reading of the verb.<sup>255</sup> Thus according to widespread scholarly opinion, rather than being evidence of a rare form in ancient Hebrew as argued, for example, by Tsumura,<sup>256</sup> the MT form “is clearly a corruption and may now be safely dropped.”<sup>257</sup> Whichever case is correct, this illustrates again the principle that the more rare a form in BH, the less secure it is textually.

<sup>250</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 109.

<sup>251</sup> 1 Sam 10:5, 6, 10, 13. None of these references are preserved in 4QA.

<sup>252</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 64.

<sup>253</sup> For this translation see Driver, *Notes*, 173, citing Ewald: “to make a person know a thing in order to determine him to act accordingly.” Driver adds: “But this explanation requires more to be supplied than is probable.”

<sup>254</sup> See, for example, Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235; Driver, *Notes*, 173; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 347; Smith, *Samuel*, 199.

<sup>255</sup> The LXX reads διαμεμαρτύρημαι, which Cross et al. suggest is a translation of the *Hiphil* of the root עוד, that is, העידתי. They suggest that the Vulgate reading *condixi* represents יעדתי. See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235.

<sup>256</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 529–30.

<sup>257</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235.

4.9. SYNCOPE OF *HE* IN *NIPHAL* AND *HIPHIL* INFINITIVES CONSTRUCT

4.9.1. 4QA לעלות; MT להעלות (“to offer up”; 1 Sam 10:8).

4QA presents the *Hiphil* infinitive construct with the syncope of the *he*.

4.9.2. 4QA = MT *Qere* לעזר (“to help”); MT *Kethiv* לעזיר (“to cause help to be given” [?]; 2 Sam 18:3).

The *yod* of the MT *Kethiv* makes the form look like a *Hiphil* infinitive with the *he* omitted. However, various scholars have doubted whether a *Hiphil* of עזר exists, and have preferred the reading as *Qal* in line with the *Qere* and 4QA, explaining the addition of the *yod* as a scribal error.<sup>258</sup>

4.9.3. General Comments on the Syncope of *He* in *Niphal* and *Hiphil* Infinitives Construct.

The syncope of the *he* of *Hiphil* (as well as *Niphal*) infinitives construct with *lamed*, *beth*, and *kaph* is attested as a minority form in a range of Classical Hebrew texts. Rendsburg lists thirty-three forms in the MT Bible, with most books represented, and no book having more than four examples.<sup>259</sup> The appearance of this form is therefore rare and sporadic. Rendsburg cites three examples from MT Samuel, including לאדיב in 1 Sam 2:33;<sup>260</sup> 2 Sam 18:3 *Kethiv* as in 4.9.2; and להעביר for לעביר in 2 Sam 19:19.

Rendsburg cites these examples from the MT as evidence that spoken Hebrew in biblical times exhibited the tendency (attested more clearly in MH) to omit the *he* in such forms. In contrast, Cross et al. comment on the example from 1 Sam 10:8: “This is a syncope often found in Qumran texts (reflecting late pronunciation).”<sup>261</sup> This is a good example where without an adequate corpus of dated texts we cannot be sure whether the forms in the MT and other biblical manuscripts without the *he* reflect anything earlier than the last stages of the scribal transmission of the texts. These are the only relevant examples of the omission of the *he* in Qumran Samuel. The regular form preserving the *he* is, in contrast, preserved well enough to evidence the retention of the *he* thirteen

<sup>258</sup> See, for example, Driver, *Notes*, 328; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 400; Smith, *Samuel*, 357.

<sup>259</sup> G. A. Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* (AOS 72; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1990), 97–99.

<sup>260</sup> Driver wonders whether this is an error for להדיב rather than simply the loss of the *he* (Driver, *Notes*, 39).

<sup>261</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 64.

times.<sup>262</sup> Once again, it is the very common, regular forms that are relatively stable in these manuscripts.

#### 4.10. *WA 'EQTLAH*

4QA וּנְבוֹאָה; MT וּנְבוֹאָה (“and we came”; 1 Sam 10:14).

The *wa'eqtlah* form, the “pseudo-cohortative” with the *waw* consecutive, is often considered a feature of late Hebrew.<sup>263</sup> The 4QA form would seem thus to be a clear example of the entry of a PCH form into the text. However, besides the total absence of the feature in “late” Chronicles, it should be noted that MT Samuel actually uses this form quite commonly. Of the twenty-two examples of *waw* consecutive plus first person singular or plural prefix verb in Samuel,<sup>264</sup> seven of them are *wa'eqtlah* forms,<sup>265</sup> that is, 31.82% of the time, or about one in three. This is a significant minority form, therefore, in MT Samuel.

There are three of these cases of *waw* consecutive plus first person singular or plural prefix verb in the MT which are paralleled in Qumran Samuel. Apart from the case under discussion, 4QA also attests the same form as the MT in 1 Sam 2:28 and 2 Sam 4:10, which both happen to be *wa'eqtlah* forms. Thus all three attested forms are long, including this example where the MT has the short form. Once again, it would have been interesting to see whether this is just due to chance or to some more systematic linguistic variation between 4QA and the MT.

Given how prominent this “late” form is in MT Samuel, a book usually taken to be evidence for “early” Hebrew, we have to decide how to interpret this specific variant attested in 4QA. Do we have the entry of a “late” linguistic feature to the text of Samuel in 4QA? Or is the MT removing the form that is less common both in Samuel and more widely in the MT? On what basis was this declared to be a “late” feature of BH? On the basis of the distribution of this form in the MT. However, without an adequate corpus of dated texts with which to anchor historical linguistic study of BH, we have no means of deciding whether the distribution of such forms in our current texts reflects early or late strata of the language of these texts. The total absence of the form in “late”

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<sup>262</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:29; 15:29; 2 Sam 3:35, 37; 6:2; 12:17, 18; 14:19; 21:4. 4QB: 1 Sam 19:11; 20:33. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:19 (x2).

<sup>263</sup> See, for example, Kutscher, *History*, 81, 97; cf. *LDBT* 2:168 (#32), which should however read “increase” rather than “decrease.”

<sup>264</sup> Singular: 1 Sam 1:15; 2:28; 10:18; 12:1; 13:12; 15:20 (x2), 24; 24:11; 25:35; 28:15, 21; 2 Sam 1:7, 10 (x2); 4:10; 7:9; 12:8 (x2); 22:24; cf. the *Qere* in 2 Sam 1:8. Plural: 1 Sam 10:14; 12:10.

<sup>265</sup> 1 Sam 2:28; 28:15 (see GKC §48d, p. 130; Driver, *Notes*, 216); 2 Sam 4:10; 7:9; 12:8 (x2); 22:24; all singular. See Rezetko, “Dating,” 227–28.

Chronicles, even where Chronicles' supposed parallel in "early" Samuel has it<sup>266</sup> has long been seen as an indication that we are dealing with a scribal phenomenon, not purely an indicator of linguistic development. For example, "it is not unlikely that the difference between Ezra-Neh. and Chronicles reflect [*sic*] at best two different copyists and not distinct authors."<sup>267</sup>

#### 4.11. LONG III-HE WAYYIQTOL

4.11.1. 4QA עיר ויבנה ("and he built a city"); MT ויבן דוד ("and David built"; 2 Sam 5:9).

There are several ways of interpreting what 4QA presents in this verse, and unravelling the relationship between the various witnesses. The parallel in 1 Chr 11:8 is ויבן העיר which represents the same string of consonants as 4QA, but just a different word division. This is favored as the earlier reading by Cross et al., Driver, and Ulrich.<sup>268</sup> The LXX reading (καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν πόλιν) seems to follow the same text and word division as 4QA, and reflect a third person feminine suffix on the verb, that is, וַיִּבְנֶה,<sup>269</sup> which is preferred by Smith.<sup>270</sup> Finally, McCarter considers 4QA's עיר ויבנה to be the earlier reading, and "to be read *wayyibneh*, a rare but well-attested (Josh 19:50; I Kings 18:32; II Chron 26:6) long form of the much more common *wayyiben*, which MT reads here."<sup>271</sup> In other words, McCarter considers the long III-He form to be the earliest recoverable reading. As McCarter's note indicates, the form ויבן is the only one used in MT Samuel for "and he built." None of the other examples in MT Samuel is preserved in Qumran Samuel.<sup>272</sup>

4.11.2. 1Q ויכה; MT ויד ("and he smote"; 2 Sam 23:10).

MT Samuel regularly uses the short form ויד. 1Q uses the long form again in 2 Sam 23:12 (see 4.11.4). 4QA is the only other Qumran Samuel manuscript to parallel this form in the MT, sharing the short form with the MT in 1 Sam 5:9,

<sup>266</sup> Rezetko, "Dating," 228. Note further that the two *wa'eqtlah* forms in 2 Sam 22:24 are both short in the parallel in Ps 18:24.

<sup>267</sup> D. Talshir, "A Reinvestigation of the Linguistic Relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah," *VT* 38 (1988): 165–93 (174).

<sup>268</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 121; Driver, *Notes*, 261; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 70. The MT's "David" is thought to result from graphic confusion.

<sup>269</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 261.

<sup>270</sup> Smith, *Samuel*, 289.

<sup>271</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 136.

<sup>272</sup> See 1 Sam 7:17; 14:35; 2 Sam 24:25.

and reading the short singular verb in 1 Sam 14:31 where the MT has the plural  $\text{וַיִּכּוּ}$ .<sup>273</sup>

4.11.3. 1Q  $\text{וַיַּעַשׂ}$ [ש]; MT  $\text{וַיַּעַשׂ}$  (“and he made”; 2 Sam 23:10).

The long form is attested a few times in the MT, but not in MT Samuel.<sup>274</sup> No examples of this form are found elsewhere in Qumran Samuel clearly enough preserved to tell whether they were short or long forms.

4.11.4. 1Q  $\text{וַיִּכּוּת}$ ; MT  $\text{וַיִּד}$  (“and he smote”; 2 Sam 23:12).

See 4.11.2.

4.11.5. General Comments on the Long III-*He* *Wayyiqtol*.

The issue here is the use of the long form of the III-*He* verb in a *wayyiqtol* form. This has sometimes been claimed to be a feature of late Hebrew,<sup>275</sup> but distributions of forms such as that for  $\text{עָשָׂה}$  above do not seem to support this suggestion. The three cases in 1Q are very interesting. It is unfortunate that there is so little preserved of this manuscript, since it would be interesting to see if this consistent treatment of III-*He* verbs is characteristic of the manuscript as a whole or just this short section. The three verbs involved are all the third person masculine singular *wayyiqtol* III-*He* verbs in 1Q, although note the short feminine form  $\text{וַתְּהִי}$  (“and there [she] was”) in 2 Sam 23:11. At the very least, it seems reasonable to infer that the proportion of short to long forms in the scroll as a whole was different to that in MT Samuel. Note a similar observation for the much better preserved Isaiah manuscript 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.<sup>276</sup> This phenomenon demonstrates once again that the distribution of linguistic forms in the surviving manuscripts is likely to reflect the linguistic preferences of their scribes, rather than allowing the assumption that the language of one manuscript is equivalent to the language of the “original” author of a particular composition. The pattern of linguistic forms used by the “author” of Samuel is, of course, beyond our reach.

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<sup>273</sup> The LXX also has a singular verb.

<sup>274</sup> 1 Kgs 16:25; 2 Kgs 3:2; 13:11; Ezek 18:19. See also first person: Ezek 20:14; Dan 8:27; second person masculine singular: 1 Kgs 14:9; Jer 32:20; Hab 1:14; third person feminine singular: 1 Kgs 17:15; first person plural: Josh 9:24.

<sup>275</sup> For example, GKC §75t, pp. 211–12.

<sup>276</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 328–29.

4.12. NEGATION OF *YIQTOL*/JUSSIVE

4QA וְלֹא; MT לֹא (‘‘and not’’; 2 Sam 3:29).

McCarter translates 4QA’s וְלֹא plus *yiqtol* as ‘‘And Joab’s house shall not be without,’’ and the MT’s לֹא plus jussive as ‘‘And let Joab’s house not be without.’’<sup>277</sup> Driver, McCarter, and Ulrich refer to other examples of ‘‘לֹא with the imperfect for emphasis.’’<sup>278</sup> McCarter suggests that the MT is a later adaptation to the more usual formulation.<sup>279</sup> The problem of the various uses of לֹא and לֹא that do not fit the more common patterns leads Waltke and O’Connor to comment that they ‘‘suggest that the forms are, to a slight degree, confounded within the Masoretic tradition.’’<sup>280</sup> Concealed behind the current forms of the text are the answers to questions such as whether the less common forms were perhaps more common at an earlier stage of the transmission or, alternatively, whether the anomalies have all been introduced in the later transmission of the text.

The less common negation לֹא is attested in a 4QA plus in 1 Sam 2:10, ‘‘and let not [the mighty] boast,’’ which is part of a long plus paralleled in the LXX and MT Jer 9:22–23.<sup>281</sup> In addition to the two variants involving it in 1 Sam 2:10 and 2 Sam 3:29, לֹא is attested in agreement with MT Samuel six times in Qumran Samuel.<sup>282</sup> It would be interesting to know whether this 25% rate of variation was sustained throughout these manuscripts. More clear is that there are many examples of the very common negation לֹא throughout MT and Qumran Samuel that agree with each other, demonstrating the principle that the more basic and common the linguistic form, the more likely it is to exhibit stability in the texts we have.

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<sup>277</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 110.

<sup>278</sup> Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 131; cf. GKC §107o, p. 317, §109d, p. 322; Driver, *Notes*, 250; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 110. They refer to 1 Sam 14:36 and 2 Sam 17:12, neither of which is preserved in Qumran Samuel, as well as Josh 9:23.

<sup>279</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 110.

<sup>280</sup> WO §34.2.1d, p. 567.

<sup>281</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 34.

<sup>282</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 6:3; 20:38; 2 Sam 14:2. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:38; 23:17. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:18.

## 4.13. לאמר (“SAYING”)

## 4.13.1. 4QA לאמר (“saying”); MT ואמר (“and he will say”; 1 Sam 2:36).

The context is: “Everyone who is left in your house will come to bow down to him for a piece of silver or a loaf of bread, saying/and he will say...” McCarter translates “saying” as his preferred text, but without comment.<sup>283</sup>

## 4.13.2. 4QA לאמר (“saying”); MT ויאמרו לאמר (“and they said, saying”; 2 Sam 5:1).

The context is: “All the tribes of Israel came to David at Hebron...” The syntactical construction using a *wayyiqtol* form of אמר immediately followed by לאמר is attested a small number of times in the MT (see Exod 15:1; Num 20:3; 2 Sam 20:18 [not preserved in Qumran Samuel]; Zech 2:4).<sup>284</sup> The parallel text in the MT of 1 Chr 11:1 reads לאמר like 4QA, and we have “and they said” in LXX<sup>L</sup>, and “and they said to him” in LXX<sup>B</sup> and also some MT manuscripts.<sup>285</sup> Cross et al. comment that the MT reading is a conflation of two different formulations of the verb “to say.”<sup>286</sup> McCarter gives לאמר as his preferred text.<sup>287</sup>

Once again, the problem for historical linguists is clear in cases such as this. Are the rare forms in the MT evidence of linguistic peculiarities of the language of the “author” of those texts? Are they perhaps the remnants of common old Hebrew forms that have been mostly removed during the transmission of the text? Or are they simple scribal errors or changes which provide no evidence for the actual usage of ancient Hebrew? The problem with such rare forms is that they have often been seen as clues that reveal important information about the “original” authors of biblical texts.

## 4.13.3. 4QA לאמר (“saying”); MT ויאמר (“and he said”; 2 Sam 6:9).

The context is: “And David feared YHWH that day, and he said (MT)/saying (4QA).” The parallels in 1 Chr 13:12 as well as LXX Samuel agree with 4QA. Cross et al. comment: “Both verbal forms provide a grammatically correct reading, making the primitive reading difficult to determine.”<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 86.

<sup>284</sup> See Driver, *Notes*, 257, who mentions also examples involving a *yiqtol* in Jer 29:24 and a *qatal* in Ezek 33:10.

<sup>285</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 120.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>287</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 130.

<sup>288</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 127. Rezetko argues, on the basis of statistics, that MT Samuel was more likely adjusted due to stylistic preference (Rezetko, *Source*, 149), but a

For another variant involving לאמר see 4.4.2 on 1 Sam 2:20.

#### 4.14. נגד *HIPHIL* PLUS OBJECT

4QA ויגדו האנשים על [ויגדו לדוד על] (“and they told David about the men”); MT ויגדו לדוד (“and they told David”; 2 Sam 10:5).

Cross et al. comment: “The *Hiphil* verb נגד prefers an object, although Hebrew grammar does not always require it.”<sup>289</sup> The LXX and the parallel in 1 Chr 19:5 agree with the syntax of 4QA against MT Samuel by containing the extra words. In contrast, McCarter considers the plus a later expansion.<sup>290</sup> Is the less common form in the MT a mistake, or are 4QA and Chronicles introducing the more common form? Or are our ideas of what is common and uncommon in ancient Hebrew warped by mistaking the language of the MT for the linguistic situation of ancient Hebrew? We have no certain basis to decide between these possibilities.

#### 4.15. THE VERB WITH A DOUBLE SUBJECT

4QA רדפו; MT רדף (“[and Joab and Abishai his brother] pursued”; 2 Sam 20:10).

Cross et al. comment: “The singular verb with the double subject is suspect. While certain classes of plural or compound nouns can be used as the subject of a singular verb, the two proper names here do not fall into the usual categories.”<sup>291</sup> It is good to remind ourselves that the idea of “the usual categories” is based on the MT, which as in this variant might have undergone linguistic change, and thus not be a direct witness to what was usual in more ancient strata of Hebrew. On the other hand, many basic and common features of the language of the biblical compositions seem to be quite stable in our current texts.

For another variant involving a potential double subject with a singular/plural verb variant see 4.4.2 on 1 Sam 2:20.

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general trend does not provide definitive information about an individual variant which may go against the trend.

<sup>289</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 135.

<sup>290</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 267.

<sup>291</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 174.

## 4.16. QAL INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT OF WEAK VERBS

## 4.16.1. QAL INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT OF A I-NUN VERB

4QC לנגוע;<sup>292</sup> MT לגעת (“to touch”; 2 Sam 14:10).

The issue is the formation of the *Qal* infinitive construct of נגע. The variability between forms retaining the *nun* and those dropping the *nun* and compensating with *taw* is not unique to נגע (cf. נטע).<sup>293</sup> In this case the MT form with *taw* is only found elsewhere in MT Ezek 17:10 (בגעת),<sup>294</sup> whereas the form retaining the *nun* as in 4QC is found in MT Gen 20:6; Exod 19:12; Josh 9:19; Job 6:7.<sup>295</sup> We have no reason to assume that either form was not present in ancient Hebrew, but we have no way of knowing whether any of the occurrences in our current texts stems from an “original” author of any particular text. This seems to be the only relevant form in MT Samuel.<sup>296</sup>

## 4.16.2. QAL INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT OF A I-WAW VERB

4QB לרדה; MT לרדה (“to come down”; 1 Sam 23:20).

4QB evidences a form of the infinitive construct of a I-*Waw* verb that is very rare in the MT.<sup>297</sup> The only example of the infinitive of ירד with final *he* rather than *taw* in the MT is מרדה in Gen 46:3. Does the rarity of the form in the MT indicate it is more likely to be “earlier” or “original” as McCarter suggests?<sup>298</sup> If so, how many other occurrences of the form have been removed in scribal transmission of the biblical texts? There are no other relevant forms of this root preserved in Qumran Samuel.

## 4.17. WAYYIQTOL VS. כִּי PLUS QATAL

4QA ויפקד (“and he visited”); MT כִּי פקד (“for he visited”; 1 Sam 2:21).

Examples of the “replacement” of *wayyiqtol* verbs, say in “late” Chronicles, with other sentence constructions where a *qatal* is more naturally used, are cited

<sup>292</sup> The *gimel* was inserted supralinearly by the same scribe (ibid., 257).

<sup>293</sup> GKC §66b, p. 173

<sup>294</sup> Cross et al. also note 1QS 5:13 (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 257).

<sup>295</sup> Cross et al. also mention the forms with pronominal suffixes in Lev 15:32 and Ruth 2:9 (ibid., 257).

<sup>296</sup> That is, of a *Qal* infinitive construct of a I-*Nun* root with preposition that shows variability between the two forms.

<sup>297</sup> GKC §69m, p. 189.

<sup>298</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 377.

in the literature as evidence of the alleged breakdown of the Classical Hebrew verbal system.<sup>299</sup> In this case, scholars commonly consider that the MT “obviously cannot be right: the fact that Yahweh visited Hannah cannot form the *ground* of what is related in v. 20,” that is, v. 21 cannot logically be connected to what precedes by **כי**, and hence a *wayyiqtol* verb was suggested for this context long before the discovery of 4QA (cf. LXX).<sup>300</sup>

#### 4.18. WAYYIQTOL VS. ITERATIVE YIQTOL

4.18.1. 4QA [ישכ]יל (“and he succeeded”); MT ישכיל (“he would succeed”; 1 Sam 18:5).

In the MT the sentence reads “And David went out wherever Saul would send him, he would succeed,” the syntax of which Driver explains as “defin[ing] how David fared when he went out: ‘And David went forth, wherever Saul sent him he prospered’ = prospering wherever Saul sent him.”<sup>301</sup> In contrast, 4QA would read: “And David went out wherever Saul would send him, and he succeeded.”

4.18.2. 4QC [יעשה] (“[Absalom] began to make use of”); MT = 4QA ויעש (“and Absalom made”; 2 Sam 15:1).

See the discussion in 4.4.12.

#### 4.19. SINGULAR VERB WITH PLURAL SUBJECT

4QA ויולד; MT *Kethiv* וילדו; MT *Qere* ויולדו (“[sons] were born [to David]; 2 Sam 3:2).

The MT *Kethiv* is interpreted by Cross et al. as a *Pual*, whereas the *Qere* is a *Niphal*. The singular *Niphal* of 4QA seems strange, but is paralleled by 2 Chr 3:1: “and these were the sons of David who were born (נולד: *Niphal qatal*) to him in Hebron.” The MT *Qere* reflects the normal form in MT Samuel,<sup>302</sup> but the form in Chronicles, along with the 4QA reading, raises the question whether this was the case in earlier compositional strata.

<sup>299</sup> For references see, for example, Rezetko, “Dating,” 233–35.

<sup>300</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 33; cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 80; Smith, *Samuel*, 19.

<sup>301</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 149.

<sup>302</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 109; cf. Driver, *Notes*, 246.

## 5. NOUNS

## 5.1. JONATHAN

4QA יהונתן; MT יונתן (“Jonathan”; 1 Sam 14:29, 49).

4QB יונתן; MT יהונתן (“Jonathan”; 1 Sam 20:28, 30, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40; 21:1).

Also relevant is:

4QA יונדב בן שמעיה [י]הונתן (“Jonathan son of Shemayah”); MT יונדב בן שמעה (“Jonadab son of Shimah”; 2 Sam 13:3).

The 4QA reading “Jonathan” in 2 Sam 13:3 is also found in LXX<sup>L</sup> and Josephus, *Antiquities* 7:164, 166, 178;<sup>303</sup> however, McCarter follows the reading “Jonadab” in his main text,<sup>304</sup> indicating his judgment that “Jonathan” is a late change in the text. Note that in 2 Sam 21:21 (//1 Chr 20:7) the MT mentions “Jonathan son of Shimah,” and here some Syriac and LXX manuscripts read Jonadab.<sup>305</sup>

Typologically, the form of names like “Jonathan” that have dropped the *he* in the divine element, are obviously the later or subsequent forms. However, even though the long form predominates in preexilic inscriptions, there is also a minority of the shorter form.<sup>306</sup> In contrast to what might be expected, “documents from the second half of the first millennium BCE down to the days of Bar Kosiba are conspicuous in their exclusive use of the long forms.”<sup>307</sup> In

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<sup>303</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 45; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 316; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 105–6. Tsumura argues against this, saying that “this less-than flattering information is more likely to have been deleted than to have been added” (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 160 n. 119), although he does not engage with the stylistic and other arguments the other scholars present for thinking it is an interpolation, nor offer a reason why later tradition would want to (slightly) restore the reputation of the House of Eli.

<sup>304</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 314, 316.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 449.

<sup>306</sup> D. Talshir, “Rabbinic Hebrew as Reflected in Personal Names,” in *Studies in Mishnaic Hebrew* (ed. M. Bar-Asher; ScrHier 37; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998), 365–79 (367–68). Talshir says that “the ratio of long personal names...to short ones...is 2:1 in favor of the long forms” (*ibid.*, 367). In the specific case of “Jonathan,” however, according to Dobbs-Allsopp et al. we only have the short form יונתן once, in Samaria ostracon 45:3 (Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 602), and even that case has been read differently (e.g., *ibid.*, 467).

<sup>307</sup> Talshir, “Rabbinic,” 369. Talshir’s use of “exclusive” here is a little misleading, since he does note that “the short forms are not altogether lacking in documents and seals

other words, the “early” form is more prevalent in later extra-biblical sources than in early ones. Despite the predominance of the long forms throughout the biblical period in extra-biblical sources, in MT biblical texts the short forms are more common.<sup>308</sup> It is this evidence from the biblical texts that leads scholars to suggest: “The pre-Exilic *yhwntn* / *yahû-natan* was replaced by *ywntn* / *yawnatan* > *yônātān*, and by secondary archaizing *yhwntn* / *yêhônātān*.”<sup>309</sup> The extra-biblical sources on their own would indicate the simpler conclusion that the long forms of such names were always prevalent.

The name “Jonathan” in the book of Samuel, referring primarily to Jonathan son of Saul, but also to other individuals, displays an interesting distribution in the MT. The short form יונתן is dominant in 1 Sam 13–14, appearing twenty-three times, against just two examples of יהונתן. However, starting with 1 Sam 18, the spelling יהונתן becomes standard (although note 1 Sam 19:1 which has both forms). The fragmentary nature of our textual sources is again shown in that the two examples under discussion here are the only two cases where 4QA preserves the name Jonathan in verses where the MT has the shorter spelling. In addition to these three variants (including the case where the MT reads “Jonadab”), the long form is found in 4QA in agreement with the MT in 1 Sam 31:2; 2 Sam 4:4; 15:27.<sup>310</sup> The fact that the longer form of the name predominates in 4QA 6–0, including cases where the MT has the shorter form, might indicate that 4QA had a more consistent use of יהונתן throughout the book, including 1 Sam 13–14 where MT’s concentration of short forms is found. In contrast to 4QA, however, we have 4QB which consistently uses the shorter form (8–0) in a chapter where the MT consistently uses the longer form! Perhaps that is an indication that 4QB had a more consistent use of יונתן throughout the book.

Was Samuel originally written with a mixture of forms, perhaps reflecting sources used? Did it consistently use one or the other form of “Jonathan,” and the current distribution in the MT is due to the large-scale intrusion of the other forms into the book? Did it early on exhibit a mixture of forms, but the current distribution in the MT exhibits a completely different distribution of forms? All these scenarios are possible, and relate to our inability to decide whether the 4QA, 4QB, or MT readings of this name in the verses being discussed here reflects the earlier text. Certainly one would not rely on the current distribution of these forms in our texts in order to describe the linguistic or orthographic practice of the “original” author of Samuel.

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from Second Temple times” (ibid., 369 n. 20), but they are “extremely rare” (ibid., 369 n. 22).

<sup>308</sup> Talshir states that “the balance is in favor of the short forms at a ratio of 3:2” (ibid., 368).

<sup>309</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 232; cf. Talshir, “Rabbinic.”

<sup>310</sup> 2 Sam 15:27 refers to Jonathan son of Abiathar.

5.2. DIRECTIVE *HE*

5.2.1. 4QA ויהי אחרי סבו גתה (“But after its moving to Gath”); MT ויהי אחרי הסבו אתו (“But after they moved it”; 1 Sam 5:9).

We have already discussed this variant above in 4.3.2. There we saw that both Cross et al. and McCarter consider אתו a corruption of גתה.<sup>311</sup> Cross et al. in addition consider that “to Gath” is probably an explicating plus, and refer to the reading of LXX<sup>A,B</sup> μετὰ τὸ μετελθεῖν αὐτῆς (“after it went round”). In this interpretation, the form with directive *he* was lost by the MT, but was itself a secondary reading.

5.2.2. 4QA מה[ש]; MT שם (“there”; 1 Sam 5:11).

The MT reads in this context: “For there was a deathly panic throughout the whole city. The hand of God was very heavy there.” While the directive *he* can be used in BH to express location in a place (see 5.2.7), Cross et al. and McCarter offer a reconstruction that suggests that its use in 4QA here is in line with the more common sense of movement towards, reflecting a different text to the MT.<sup>312</sup> They explain the MT as having arisen by textual error from an early text reflected in the LXX which McCarter translates “For there was a very grievous panic throughout the city when the ark of God came there.”<sup>313</sup> 4QA provides little evidence of the end of this text, only the form of “there” with the directive attached, but this grammatical variant fits in well with their reconstructed text.

5.2.3. 4QA א[להבי] גתה; MT להביא גת (“to bring to Gath”; 1 Sam 27:11).

Cross et al. comment: “The old locative suffix has been revised away in מ.”<sup>314</sup>

5.2.4. 4QA נימה[מח]; MT מחנים (“[to] Mahanaim”; 2 Sam 2:29).

In 2 Sam 2:29, in the phrase “and they came to Mahanaim,” 4QA has the directive whereas the MT does not.

<sup>311</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 50; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 120.

<sup>312</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 50; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 121.

<sup>313</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 118.

<sup>314</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 95.

5.2.5. 4QA חב[ר]ונה [חבר]ונה ר [חבר]ונה ר; MT וישב אבנר חברון (“and Abner returned to Hebron”; 2 Sam 3:27).

Here again 4QA has the directive while MT does not.

5.2.6. 4QA גת[י]ם גת[י]ם גת[י]ם גת[י]ם גת[י]ם; MT ויברחו הבארתים גתימה (“and the Beerothites fled to Gittaim”; 2 Sam 4:3).

In this verse the word “Gittaim” is marked with the directive *he* in the MT which is absent in 4QA.

5.2.7. 4QA רץ[א]; MT ארצה (“[on the] ground”; 2 Sam 8:2).

In this verse the MT seems to exhibit a non-directional use of the directive *he*, “making (the Moabites) lie down *on the ground*,” whereas 4QA does not have the *-h*. It is the case throughout BH that the directive *he* can refer to a location, as for example in החרשה (“at Horesh”).<sup>315</sup> “Lie (שכב) on the ground” occurs twice more in MT Samuel, in 2 Sam 12:16 and 13:31.<sup>316</sup> Both of these verses use the form ארצה for “on the ground” in the MT. In 4QA, the relevant section of 2 Sam 13:31 is not preserved, but 2 Sam 12:16 attests the form ארצה as well.<sup>317</sup>

5.2.8. 4QA ירו[ש]לם; MT ירושלם (“[to] Jerusalem”; 2 Sam 15:29).

Here 4QA attests the directive *he* in the sentence “Zadok and Abiathar brought the ark back to Jerusalem.” This is an especially interesting example in view of the relative rarity of the use of the directive *he* with “Jerusalem” in the MT (1 Kgs 10:2; 2 Kgs 9:28; Isa 36:2; Ezek 8:3; 2 Chr 32:9). Return (שוב) to Jerusalem is found in MT Samuel elsewhere in 2 Sam 12:31; 17:20; and 20:22 in *Qal* and in 2 Sam 15:8 in *Hiphil*, and “Jerusalem” is always without the directive. Is that evidence that old Hebrew preferred not to use the directive with “Jerusalem,” or that the directives have been thoroughly denuded in the scribal tradition of the MT?

<sup>315</sup> WO §10.5b, p. 186.

<sup>316</sup> Note that Lam 2:21 has שכבו לארץ with the preposition replacing the directive *he*.

<sup>317</sup> For the complicated textual witnesses to 2 Sam 12:16 see 4.4.9. Note in particular that McCarter suggests that שכב is a later addition to the text (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 297). Thus perhaps this example of “lie on the ground” is not relevant to the language of earlier stages of the book of Samuel.

## 5.2.9. 4QB העירה (“to the city”); MT minus (1 Sam 20:36).

The MT in this context can be translated as “While the boy was running, he (Jonathan) shot the arrow to cause it to go past him.” To this 4QB adds “to the city,” giving a translation, “And as the lad ran, he shot the arrow, causing it to fly toward the city.”<sup>318</sup> Both Cross et al. and McCarter suggest that this word was an “original” reading lost through *homoioteleuton*, when the archaic third person masculine singular suffix with *he* made the preceding word’s ending (להעברה) identical to that of “to the city.”<sup>319</sup> In contrast, Tsumura suggests: “However, ‘the city’ could be a later expansion.”<sup>320</sup>

## 5.2.10. 4QB העירה; MT העיר (“[and Jonathan came] {to} the city”; 1 Sam 21:1).

The MT has “come to the city” with the directive *he* in 2 Sam 17:17. See chapter 9 (9.4).

5.2.11. General Comments on the Directive *He*.

The use of the directive *he* is usually considered to have broken down and to have greatly decreased in late Hebrew.<sup>321</sup> However, this view is problematic.<sup>322</sup> In a previous publication we have already discussed the case of directive *he* in relation to all three 4Q Samuel scrolls,<sup>323</sup> and we summarize and update those findings here. MT Samuel has the fourth highest total of directive *he* forms in the MT Bible, with 103 examples. The fragmentary nature of the evidence is emphasized in that eighty eight of these cases are not attested in any of the Qumran Samuel manuscripts. On thirteen occasions MT and Qumran Samuel agree on the presence of the directive *he* (nine in 4QA, three in 4QB, one in 4QC).<sup>324</sup> On two occasions the MT has a directive *he*, where 4QA is missing this form.<sup>325</sup> In contrast to the two cases where the MT has the particle and Qumran Samuel does not, and in addition to the 103 total cases in the MT mentioned above, there are eight cases in Qumran Samuel where the MT is

<sup>318</sup> The translation is that of McCarter, *I Samuel*, 334.

<sup>319</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 234; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 340.

<sup>320</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 522 n. 110.

<sup>321</sup> See the references and discussion in *LDBT* 1:42, 78–80, 350–51.

<sup>322</sup> See the analysis in chapter 6 (6.3.1.2.1) and chapter 9 (9.4).

<sup>323</sup> *LDBT* 1:350–51.

<sup>324</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:19 (ימים ימימה) cf. GKC §90h, p. 251); 3:19; 14:32; 30:25 (ומעלה); 2 Sam 2:12; 5:1, 9 (וביתה) [“inward”]; 12:16; 20:10. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:41; 21:2; 22:9. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:31. Note that in *LDBT* we mistakenly wrote 4QA 2 Sam 20:14 instead of 4QB 1 Sam 20:41 (*LDBT* 1:350 n. 21).

<sup>325</sup> 2 Sam 4:3; 8:2.

lacking a *he* that is present in 4QA, seven in parallels to the MT and one where the MT offers no parallel.<sup>326</sup>

There are thus twenty-two parallel cases where either the MT or a Qumran Samuel manuscript attests a form with the directive *he*.<sup>327</sup> Of these, 9 of 22 are cases where these manuscripts of Samuel differ from each other. This means that the use of this linguistic form varies in 41% of the attestations, or almost approaching half of the time. Of the nine cases of variation, seven of them, or 78%, are cases where it is the MT that is missing the directive *he*. If it is correct to claim that directive *he* is an “early” form in Hebrew, nearly a third of the time (7/22 = 32%) the MT is missing this early linguistic form just when compared to other late manuscripts that have presumably undergone similar linguistic development themselves.

At this point we may ask ourselves: on what basis was the theory proposed that the wide use of the directive *he* was a feature of early Hebrew? The answer is that it was done largely on the basis of the distribution of the form in the MT. However, this case study gives us good reason to regard patterns of distribution of linguistic forms in the MT with a fair degree of suspicion. Without an adequate corpus of dated extra-biblical texts and, more importantly, early biblical manuscripts situated in time and place, we can only speculate about how much the language of our current texts varies from that of the putative preexilic originals of some of the books. Only an adequately sized corpus of dated texts could give us a fixed point to decide which linguistic patterns, in which of our much later and linguistically developed manuscripts, reflect “early” or “late” Hebrew.

### 5.3. COLLECTIVE NOUNS

5.3.1. 4QA בני החיל (“the men of strength”); MT החיל (“the army”; 1 Sam 10:26).

The context is: “The army (MT) went with him.” Thus in the MT this is a case of a collective noun agreeing with a plural verb. However, in 4QA the subject is simply the plural, literally “sons of.” Scholars commonly have noted that MT’s reading is difficult in context since, for example, החיל does not usually refer on its own to an army, and the sense “army” here does not seem appropriate. Therefore, even before the discovery of 4QA, scholars suggested

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<sup>326</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 5:9 (see the discussion above), 11; 27:11; 2 Sam 2:29; 3:27; 15:29. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:36 (no MT parallel); 21:1.

<sup>327</sup> We are setting aside at this point the non-paralleled occurrence in 4QB 1 Sam 20:36.

that “sons of” has dropped out, on the basis of the LXX.<sup>328</sup> Thus, the apparent evidence of the MT in this case about the agreement of collective nouns is, according to these scholars, due to a scribal error.

5.3.2. 4QA וייראו כול העם [ע]; MT וירא כל העם (“and all the people feared”; 1 Sam 12:18).

The point at issue in this variant is whether collective nouns are construed as singular or plural. LXX<sup>B,O</sup> have a plural verb, while LXX<sup>L</sup> has a singular one.<sup>329</sup>

5.3.3. 4QA וביית שאול הולך ודל [ל]; MT וביית שאול הלכים ודלים (“and the house of Saul became weaker and weaker”; 2 Sam 3:1).

Note that earlier in the verse the MT has “and David grew stronger and stronger” using singulars (ודוד הלך וחזק). Here the LXX has “the house of David” to parallel the house of Saul, which McCarter considers influenced by the context, but which Cross et al. consider to be the “original” reading.<sup>330</sup> If Cross et al. are right, perhaps the different textual histories of the phrases have affected whether these expressions have ended up as singular or plural in our current texts?

5.3.4. 4QA ויספו כל העם לבכות עליו [ת]; MT ויספו כל העם לבכות עליו (“and all [MT: the people] continued to weep over him”; 2 Sam 3:34).

The two texts effectively have two different collectives, with “all” functioning on its own in 4QA, whereas the subject of the verb in the MT is “all the people.” Cross et al. and McCarter consider it likely that “the people” was omitted from 4QA (or its ancestor) by error,<sup>331</sup> thus creating a less common collective and its associated grammar.

5.3.5. 4QA ויהיו מואב [mp]; MT ותהי מואב [fs] (“and Moab were [mp]”; 2 Sam 8:2).

Cross et al. note: “4QSam<sup>a</sup> reads either ויהי [י] or, less likely, ויהי [י].”<sup>332</sup> This statement perhaps is made because the parallel in 1 Chr 18:2 reads ויהיו.

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<sup>328</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 117; Driver, *Notes*, 85; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 191; Smith, *Samuel*, 75.

<sup>329</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 131; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 71.

<sup>330</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 109; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 100.

<sup>331</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 116; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 111.

<sup>332</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 133.

However, MT Chronicles has a distinct linguistic profile from MT Samuel in its clear preference for plural verbs with other collectives such as **עם**.<sup>333</sup> Furthermore, “Moab” is the subject of a third person masculine singular verb on several occasions in the MT (e.g., Num 22:3, 4; 2 Kgs 1:1). Thus, there is certainly a variation in the way this collective is construed in this verse, but it is not clear that the variation involves singular and plural verbs.

5.3.6. 4QA וישלח (“and he sent”); MT וישלחו (“and they sent”; 2 Sam 19:15).

The subject is expressed in the preceding clause: כל איש יהודה כאיש אחד (“all the men of Judah as one man”). Thus it does not seem necessary to suggest: “In both readings, the verb is taken as having an indefinite subject.”<sup>334</sup>

5.3.7. 4QA עבר כ[ו]ל העם (“all the people went on”); MT עבר כל איש (“every man went on”; 2 Sam 20:13).

LXX<sup>B</sup> witnesses to a different collective, reading “all the men of Israel” (i.e., כל איש ישראל). Here two collective nouns interchange, while the third reading “every man” is not a collective. All three relate to a singular verb. In the MT, each collective tends to have its own linguistic profile,<sup>335</sup> so such interchanges involve more than just the substitution of virtual synonyms. In the opinion of Cross et al., “the reading כול העם probably is secondary, a reminiscence of the כול העם in v 12 above.”<sup>336</sup> This warns us that data used in studies such as, for example, about how collectives like עם are construed with singular or plural verbs,<sup>337</sup> can contain an unknown number of forms that have been introduced into our late texts during scribal transmission.

#### 5.3.8. General Comments on Collective Nouns.

The common collective עם is attested with singular or plural verbs in agreement with the MT six times in Qumran Samuel, although in one of these cases the two texts differ on the use of a plural participle against a plural *qatal* (see 4.7.4).<sup>338</sup> We have seen three cases of variants above in regard to עם sentences (3/9 = 33.33%, one in three), although only one (5.3.2) relates directly

<sup>333</sup> Young, “Am.”

<sup>334</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 168.

<sup>335</sup> I. Young, “*Edah* and *Qahal* as Collective Nouns in Hebrew Biblical Texts,” *ZAH* 14 (2001): 68–78.

<sup>336</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 174.

<sup>337</sup> See Young, “Am.”

<sup>338</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 14:30; 2 Sam 3:32, 35; 18:5 (see 4.7.4); 20:12. 1Q: 2 Sam 23:10. Note also the plural attributive participle in 4QA 1 Sam 8:10, and the singular predicative adjective in 4QA 2 Sam 17:29.

to singular or plural verbs, while the other two (5.3.4, 5.3.7) involve the presence or absence of  $\text{ע}$  in the sentence.

It has been suggested that the preference to construe collective nouns like  $\text{ע}$  (“people”) as plural is a feature of late Hebrew.<sup>339</sup> 4QA’s plural verb in our first example here, 1 Sam 12:18, could accordingly be seen as “late.” However, the treatment of collectives in most MT books is decidedly mixed. In the case of  $\text{ע}$ , Samuel in the MT has an almost even mix of plural and singular verbs when  $\text{ע}$  is the subject. Related “early” books like Joshua, Judges, and Kings all have a majority of plural verbs.<sup>340</sup> The presence of  $\text{ל}$  (“all”) in such a sentence seems to increase the likelihood that the verb will be plural, notably in Samuel where a clear majority of  $\text{ל}$  plus  $\text{ע}$  sentences have plural verbs.<sup>341</sup> 4QA’s plural verb in this verse, therefore, is actually the more common form in MT Samuel.

As documented by Young, variation of singular and plural verbs with  $\text{ע}$  is evidenced repeatedly in the Hebrew textual tradition, whether in the Qumran scrolls, the Samaritan Pentateuch, or within the scribal tradition of the MT.<sup>342</sup> Young concluded that “the variability in all branches of the textual tradition in regard to these forms would seem to argue very strongly that the specific distribution of singular and plural forms in our texts is not directly due to the original authors of those texts.”<sup>343</sup> In relation to the attempts of language scholars to discern the reasons why singular or plural verbs are used in individual cases, or the use of fairly precise statistics to demonstrate the position of a biblical book (meaning the MT form of it) in the (supposed) diachronic development of this linguistic form, Young commented further that “the general variability evident in the textual evidence would tend to argue that the specific distribution of forms in the MT of Samuel is unlikely to reflect the distribution in the most ancient form of the book.”<sup>344</sup>

The idea that construing collective nouns as plural is a marker of late Hebrew seems to be based largely on the fact that there is an even stronger preference for  $\text{ע}$  to take a plural verb in Ezekiel, Ezra–Nehemiah, and Chronicles than in the other (MT) books.<sup>345</sup> Young notes, however, that other “late” books like Esther and Daniel do not seem to share this “late” tendency.<sup>346</sup> This is part of the evidence that argues for a non-chronological explanation for the low number of singular verbs with  $\text{ע}$  in Ezekiel, Ezra–Nehemiah, and Chronicles. An obvious alternative explanation is that these books were simply

<sup>339</sup> For example, Rooker, *Biblical*, 94–96.

<sup>340</sup> Young, “*Am*,” 50.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, 60–66.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 51–52.

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*, 67–68.

subject to a more systematic linguistic editing than other books.<sup>347</sup> It is evident in any case that we are in no position to describe the linguistic habits of individual biblical authors based on our current textual evidence.

#### 5.4. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

In the overwhelming number of examples, basic and common features of Hebrew like the definite article are stable in our textual witnesses. However, unusual uses in the textual tradition have a high tendency to variation, or are themselves the result of the textual transmission.

5.4.1. 4QA [ה]עלינה (“the upper”); MT והעליה (“and that which is upon it”; 1 Sam 9:24).

See the discussion of these variants in 6.1.2. Relevant to our current discussion is that this is the only example of the use of the definite article as a relative with a preposition.

5.4.2. 4QA האלוהים; MT אלהים (“God”; 1 Sam 10:9).

The word “God” in reference to the God of Israel can appear with both the definite article and without it.

5.4.3. 4QA ובני הבליעל; MT ובני בליעל (“[the] worthless fellows”; 1 Sam 10:27).

The indefinite form is the regular one in the MT. See also MT 1 Sam 2:12 (not preserved in 4QA). We did not find an example of בני בליעל in the MT with the definite article. The unanswerable question at present, given the state of our sources, is whether this absence was characteristic of the ancient Hebrew of the earliest compositional stages of the biblical books or, as 4QA might perhaps hint, due to later scribal levelling or change, perhaps due to the understanding of the second element as a name “Belial”?

5.4.4. 4QA [לכם] מיהוה [תש]ועה [ה] (“[tomorrow] for you from YHWH is the victory”); MT תהיה לכם תשועה (“[tomorrow] victory will be yours”; 1 Sam 11:9).

See 8.3.1 where anarthrous “victory” is preferred by McCarter.

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<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

5.4.5. 4QA מעט הדבש הזה; MT מעט דבש הזה (“a little of this honey”; 1 Sam 14:29).

GKC explains the unusual absence of the definite article in this specific instance as due to the fact that מעט has already determined the noun “honey.”<sup>348</sup> In contrast, Cross et al. comment: “The omission of the article on דבש in מ is best explained as simply a scribal lapse.”<sup>349</sup> In the state of our current knowledge, either explanation is possible, and even if one reading were preferred this would still not mean that that was the formulation in the “original” text, which is beyond our grasp.

5.4.6. 4QA רבה המכה; MT רבתה מכה (“[the] slaughter has been great”; 1 Sam 14:30).

The definite article is reflected in the LXX. “Meaning and syntax require the article on מכה. The article was probably lost from מ when a scribe wrongly divided the words and wrote רבתה מכה rather than רבה המכה.”<sup>350</sup>

5.4.7. 4QA [האחד] הפרעש; MT פרעש אחד (“[the] single flea”; 1 Sam 24:15).

The MT expression occurs in the exact same form in MT 1 Sam 26:20 (not preserved in 4QA). The LXX translates without the definite article.

5.4.8. 4QA [ית המלך] הנה חנן (‘Behold the spear of the king’; = MT *Qere*); MT *Kethiv* הנה החנית המלך (‘Behold the spear, O king’; 1 Sam 26:22).

The vocative reading of the MT *Kethiv* is preferred by Tsumura.<sup>351</sup> Cross et al., Driver, and McCarter consider the reading of the MT *Qere*, 4QA, and the LXX to be preferable, and suggest that the extra definite article in the MT’s *Kethiv* arose due to dittography from the final *he* of the preceding word.<sup>352</sup>

<sup>348</sup> GKC §126x, p. 409; cf. Driver, *Notes*, 114.

<sup>349</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 74. The LXX translation seems to reflect the definite article; cf. Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 153.

<sup>350</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 74; cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 246; Smith, *Samuel*, 119.

<sup>351</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 606; cf. Smith, *Samuel*, 233–34.

<sup>352</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 92; Driver, *Notes*, 209; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 407.

5.4.9. 4QA [שר לשאול] א; שר הצבא א; MT שר צבא אשר לשאול (“[the] commander of Saul’s army”; 2 Sam 2:8).

Cross et al. and Driver consider that the article is needed in the expression.<sup>353</sup> McCarter considers that the LXX (ἀρχιστράτηγος τοῦ Σαουλ) reflects the earliest reading שר צבא שאול (“the commander of the army of Saul”). According to him, the MT reflects a development where the construct was broken up by the insertion of ל אשר. 4QA reflects the last stage of the text’s development when the expected definite article was added. Thus, in one reconstruction, the definite article was perhaps lost from an “original” text. In the other, the definite article represents the last of two steps of development away from the earliest recoverable text.

5.4.10. 4QA [אלו]הים; MT האלהים (“God”; 2 Sam 7:23).

As in 5.4.2, the word “God” in reference to the God of Israel can appear with both the definite article and without it.

5.4.11. 4QA מן האהבה; MT מאהבה (“than [the] love”; 2 Sam 13:15).

Driver considers that the definite article is needed.<sup>354</sup>

5.4.12. 4QA [כל] איש; MT כל האיש (“any man”; 2 Sam 15:2).

Smith suggests that the reading without the definite article, now found in 4QA, should be read here on the basis of the LXX.<sup>355</sup>

5.4.13. 4QA מאזרני (“[who] girds me”); MT מעוזי (“my refuge”); MT Psalms המאזרני (“who girds me”; 2 Sam 22:33/Ps 18:33).

There is obviously a lot more going on in this variant than just the additional definite article in MT Psalms. McCarter prefers the reading of 4QA among all these readings, and Cross et al. comment that the article on the reading from Psalms “is suspect.”<sup>356</sup>

<sup>353</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 105; Driver, *Notes*, 240.

<sup>354</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 298.

<sup>355</sup> Smith, *Samuel*, 340; cf. McCarter, who also prefers this reading (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 354).

<sup>356</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 182; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 459.

5.4.14. 4QA נתן; MT הנתן (“[who] gives”; 2 Sam 22:48).

“4QSam<sup>a</sup>, with its lack of the article, preserves the older poetic form.”<sup>357</sup>

5.4.15. 4QB אחר אפד (“behind an ephod”); MT אחרי האפוד (“behind the ephod”; 1 Sam 21:10).

The phrase is not represented in LXX<sup>B</sup>, a tendentious omission according to Cross et al.<sup>358</sup> Cross et al. and McCarter consider the reading of 4QB without the definite article to be earlier.<sup>359</sup>

5.4.16. General Comments on the Definite Article.

The presence or absence of the definite article is a question of the syntax of Classical Hebrew. In general, basic and common features of Hebrew like the use of the definite article seem to be stable as far as our evidence goes. However, the discussion in this section indicates that we must bear in mind that many of the details of use of these common features have been affected by the scribal transmission of the texts. Furthermore, we must admit that all of our current manuscript evidence is very late, so that we cannot comment on suggestions that more radical changes have gone on before the period evidenced by our current manuscripts. Thus, for example, it has been argued to be a pervasive tendency of the scribal tradition to add definite articles, especially to poetic texts.<sup>360</sup> Such textual developments are hidden behind our uniformly late biblical manuscripts.

## 5.5. SINGULAR VS. PLURAL NOUNS

5.5.1. 4QA אל דעת; MT אל דעות (“God of knowledge”; 1 Sam 2:3).

Given the tendency to *plene* spelling in 4QA, it seems likely that the noun “knowledge” in 4QA is singular, as in the LXX. Scholars prefer the plural, explaining it for example as a “[p]oetic, amplificative plural.”<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 185.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, 239, following Wellhausen, *Text*, 123.

<sup>359</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 239; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 348.

<sup>360</sup> See, for example, the comments of Cross et al. in 5.4.13 and 5.4.14.

<sup>361</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 25; cf. Cross et al., *Samuel*, 34; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 69; Tsumura, *Samuel*, 144.

5.5.2. 4QA מנחות (“offerings”); MT מִנְחָה (“offering”; 1 Sam 2:29).

The context is the construct: “all the offerings (every offering) of Israel my people.” McCarter suggests that the plural is probably “original,” and that the MT, although pointed as singular, is actually originally a defective writing of the plural.<sup>362</sup>

5.5.3. 4QA ודם אבנר (“and the blood [sg.] of Abner”); MT מדמי אבנר (“of the blood [pl.] of Abner”; 2 Sam 3:28).

We note the variation between “blood” as singular or plural. The singular form is about four times as common in the MT Bible as the plural form<sup>363</sup> and the tendency to pluralize expressions previously singular is considered by many scholars as a feature of late Hebrew.<sup>364</sup> Thus one might see the MT form as evidence of this “late” tendency. However, the plural form of blood is so common and so widely distributed in the MT Bible that nobody to our knowledge has made the claim that it is a feature of late Hebrew. The current distribution would indicate that it is better taken as a synonymous, stylistic variant. Variants like this one in Samuel, however, raise the question to what extent the current distribution of this form in the MT reflects older stages of Hebrew. Both 4QA and the MT agree on a singular form in 2 Sam 4:11.

5.5.4. 4QA ודברך (“and your word”); MT ודבריך (“and your words”; 2 Sam 7:28).

David states “you are God,” then either “and your word is true” (4QA presumably had a singular verb) or “your words are true” (MT).

5.5.5. 4QA [הברזל] רץ [ובח] (“and with an iron pick”); MT ובהרצי הברזל (“and with iron picks”; 2 Sam 12:31).

In this verse in the MT David puts the Ammonites to work with saws (singular: במגרה) and iron picks (plural, above) and iron axes (also plural). Thus after the first grammatically singular noun, the MT has two plurals. We do not have any more of this phrase in 4QA other than what is quoted above, but *if* the MT is any guide, 4QA seems to have followed the singular “saw” with the singular “iron pick.” The pluralization of the MT could be connected with the supposed tendency of “late” Hebrew to pluralize nouns which normally appear in the singular, mentioned in 5.5.3. “Late” Chronicles agrees with the MT in

<sup>362</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 88.

<sup>363</sup> By around 280–70 occurrences; cf. Young, “Peshier Habakkuk,” 19.

<sup>364</sup> For details see Young, “Peshier Habakkuk,” 18–19; *LDBT* 2:169 (#42).

reading the plural (1 Chr 20:3). However, Cross et al. argue that “4QSam<sup>a</sup> levels through singulars for the tools of destruction following במגרה,<sup>365</sup> the plurals being the earlier text in this theory.

5.5.6. 4QA מלכו ישועת [מגדיל] (“the one who magnifies the victory of his king”); MT Samuel *Qere* מלכו ישועת מגדל (“a tower of salvation for his king”); MT Psalms = MT Samuel *Kethiv* מלכו ישועת מגדל (“the one who magnifies the victories of his king”; 2 Sam 22:51/Ps 18:51).

Given the tendency of 4QA to *plene* spelling, and the translation reflected in LXX<sup>L</sup>, it seems likely that 4QA witnesses to a singular form of the noun “victory.” McCarter prefers the plural given the context of exaltation of God’s support of the king.<sup>366</sup>

## 5.6. OBJECT MARKER את<sup>367</sup>

### 5.6.1. 4QA את; MT minus (1 Sam 8:9).

In the context where Samuel is commanded “you shall tell to them the judgment<sup>368</sup> of the king,” 4QA marks the direct object of the verb with the object marker את, while the MT does not. Marking the direct object after “tell” (*Hiphil* of נגד) seems the more common form in MT Samuel.<sup>369</sup> Thus again the choice seems to be that either an earlier unusual form has been erased by being brought into line with regular usage, or the unusual form was created through some sort of error.

### 5.6.2. 4QA אשר; MT את אשר (“in that”; 1 Sam 24:19).

The context is: “you have dealt well with me in that when YHWH delivered me into your hand, you did not kill me.” Scholars have commonly considered the את of the MT an error introduced under the influence of את אשר earlier in the verse.<sup>370</sup>

<sup>365</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 146.

<sup>366</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 463; cf. Cross et al., *Samuel*, 186.

<sup>367</sup> Cross et al. give the reading [א]יש טוב ואת as opposed to the MT’s ויש טוב in 2 Sam 10:6. However, on the previous page the text indicates that ואת is reconstructed (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 136–37). Neither McCarter nor Ulrich refer to the את here as extant (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 268; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 154). Therefore this may be a typographical error in Cross et al.

<sup>368</sup> The translation of משפט in this context is much discussed. See, for example, Tsumura, *Samuel*, 252–53.

<sup>369</sup> See, for example, 1 Sam 3:15, 18; 9:6, 8; etc.

<sup>370</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 85; Driver, *Notes*, 194; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 383.

5.6.3. 4QA קולו; MT את קולו (“his voice”; 2 Sam 3:32).

In the sentence “And the king lifted up his voice and wept,” the use of את before the object is regular and expected.

5.6.4. 4QA הרגו את איש [צ]דיק (“you killed a righteous man”); MT הרגו את איש (“they killed a righteous man”; 2 Sam 4:11).

Among the several issues of variation here (we have already discussed some of the difficulties in our discussion of הרג in 4.5.2.3), we focus now on the anomalous use of the object marker את before an indefinite noun. GKC suggests that the text thinks of the “righteous man” concretely as Ishbosheth, and so treats the words as definite.<sup>371</sup> Cross et al. and McCarter consider the את a textual change, the former suggesting that “את may be a remnant of אתם.”<sup>372</sup> Once again, for linguistic analysis, the question is whether the unusual form in one of the texts reflects a genuine peculiarity of an “original” author, or the result of later developments of the text.

5.6.5. 4QA אשר; MT אשר (“which”; 2 Sam 6:2).

The context is “the ark of God *which* is called by the name of YHWH of Hosts...” The parallel in 1 Chr 13:6 agrees with MT Samuel in this. The את of 4QA seems unusual and unnecessary (cf. 5.6.9). McCarter prefers the MT.<sup>373</sup>

5.6.6. 4QA מן האלוהים; MT ויבקש דוד את האלהים (“and David sought [from] God”; 2 Sam 12:16).

For more on the preposition מן here see 6.3.4. Cross et al. comment: “The particle את commonly accompanies the verb בקש; however it may also be used with מן. The latter would seem to reflect late idiom.”<sup>374</sup> The suggestion that the use of בקש with מן in the sense “to seek something from someone,” not the usual את, is “late,” is based on the following data. First, the fact that of the examples in the MT we identified, seven are found in core PCH books: Esth 4:8; Dan 1:8, 20; Ezra 8:21, 23; Neh 5:12; 2 Chr 20:4 (“from YHWH”). In addition, there are two in Ezekiel (7:26; 22:30), a book which is often linked by scholars to “late” Hebrew, as well as the postexilic Mal 2:7, and the possibly postexilic Ps 104:21. On the other hand there are three “early” attestations in Judg 14:4; Isa 1:12; and, relevant to the current case, 1 Sam 20:16.

<sup>371</sup> GKC §117d, p. 364; cf. Driver, *Notes*, 256.

<sup>372</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 120; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 126.

<sup>373</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 163.

<sup>374</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144.

The specific issue in the 4QA variant, however, is the distinction between “seeking (את) God” and “seeking (something?) from God.” Here the link with the PCH books becomes firmer, although the data become even thinner. This expression occurs in the exact form “to seek from (מן) God” only in Ezra 8:23. In addition, however, we have “to seek from YHWH” in 2 Chr 20:4, and in Ezra 8:21, “to seek from him” referring back to “God” earlier in the verse.

Cross et al. imply that “seeking God” as in MT 2 Sam 12:16 is a common idiom. In fact, this is not correct. The common idiom is, in fact, “to seek YHWH,” as in, for example, 2 Chr 20:4, where this idiom seems consciously parallel to “seek from YHWH.” When אלהים is found in the phrase it is usually preceded by YHWH, as in, for example, “to seek YHWH the God of Israel” (2 Chr 11:16). In fact, we were unable to find a parallel to the MT’s “seek (את) God” in 2 Sam 12:16. If 4QA’s “seek from God” is very rare, the MT’s expression is even rarer.

Both MT and 4QA exhibit very rare expressions in 2 Sam 12:16. However, we must again remind ourselves that our perception that the forms are rare is based on the current distribution in the MT. We cannot be certain whether this rarity is a reflection of the situation in earlier stages of Hebrew. The only use of *בקש* in the Hebrew inscriptions, our only direct evidence of early Hebrew, is in Arad 40:12, “and he looked for the letter,”<sup>375</sup> which is not relevant to the current case.<sup>376</sup> With rare forms it takes only a small amount of linguistic variation in scribal transmission to change their distribution. Thus, as mentioned above, if the MT had the 4QA variant in this verse, we would have an example of a very rare linguistic form which scholars might be inclined to see as “early” since it is found in “early” Samuel.

5.6.7. 4QB לא תבן את ממלכתך (“you will not establish your kingship”); MT לא תבון אתה ומלכותך (“you and your kingship will not be established”; 1 Sam 20:31).

Cross et al. suggest that the “original” את represented in 4QB has been misunderstood as אתה in the MT.<sup>377</sup> Smith suggests that the second person pronoun was introduced due to a misreading of the verb as second person masculine singular rather than third person feminine singular.<sup>378</sup> McCarter agrees that the object marker את is the correct reading and suggests the reading of the verb reflected in the translation above, that is, a *Hiphil*.<sup>379</sup> However, Cross

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<sup>375</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 70, 673.

<sup>376</sup> Without את: *הוא המכתב בקש*.

<sup>377</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 233.

<sup>378</sup> Smith, *Samuel*, 194.

<sup>379</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 339.

et al., while agreeing that this is possible, suggest that we would expect the *Hiphil* to be spelled תכין, and hence we have a case of את plus passive.<sup>380</sup>

5.6.8. 4QC את האשה [ויען המלך] (“and the king answered the woman”); MT ויען המלך ויאמר אל האשה (“and the king answered and he said to the woman”; 2 Sam 14:18).

The interchange between את and אל is clear, due to suspected different sentence constructions.

5.6.9. 4QC<sup>381</sup> לדעת את אשר בארץ (“to know what is on the earth”); MT לדעת את כל אשר בארץ (“to know everything that is on the earth”; 2 Sam 14:20).

McCarter refers to other biblical texts as evidence that the use of אשר without את “as an accusative in an *independent* relative clause...is archaic and poetic (Isa 52:15; etc.).”<sup>382</sup> This begs the question of how we know which forms in our current biblical texts are more archaic than others? Cross et al. suggest a potentially more secure approach, pointing out that the ninth century B.C.E. Mesha Inscription, line 29, uses אשר without את; however, McCarter is correct that the Mesha form is not relevant to the question since it is a dependent relative clause.<sup>383</sup> Elsewhere in MT Samuel, note that the three examples in 1 Sam 16:3–4 are all cases of את אשר (not preserved in Qumran Samuel).

#### 5.6.10. General Comments on the Object Marker את

We have seen nine variants involving the object marker את in this section. However, given that the object marker is attested over one-hundred times in Qumran Samuel, the examples of variation are only a small percentage of the overall number of cases. This is an illustration of the general rule that those features which are most basic and common to ancient Hebrew tend to be the most stable in textual transmission.

<sup>380</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 233; cf. GKC §121 a–b, pp. 387–88.

<sup>381</sup> In 4QC “*pe* and *šade* show no distinct final form” (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 249).

<sup>382</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 341 (italics original). It seems a little strange that McCarter chooses a text from Second Isaiah when describing this feature as not only poetic, but archaic.

<sup>383</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 258; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 341.

## 5.7. THE NAME SHIMEA/SHAMMUA/SHEMAYAH

## 5.7.1. 4QA א[שמע] (“Shimea”); MT שמוע (“Shammua”; 2 Sam 5:14).

This variant is found in a list of David’s sons, and relates to different ways of forming Hebrew names. A comparable list is found in both 1 Chr 3 and 14.<sup>384</sup> In 1 Chr 14:4 the name is as the MT has it here, שמוע, whereas in 1 Chr 3:5 we have the form seemingly represented in 4QA, שמעא.<sup>385</sup>

## 5.7.2. 4QA שמעיה (“Shemayah”); MT שמעה (“Shimeah”; 2 Sam 13:3).

The various forms that the name of David’s brother takes in the textual traditions overlap with the forms we saw in 5.7.1 for David’s son. The form שמעה is also found in 2 Sam 13:32 (4QA not preserved). Note also in MT Samuel שמעי (“Shimei”; 2 Sam 21:21 *Kethiv*), and שמה (1 Sam 16:9; 17:13) with loss of guttural. Chronicles has yet another form for the name of David’s brother, שמעא (1 Chr 2:13; 20:7), which Cross et al. prefer as being “the hypocoristicon for *šm ‘yhw*.”<sup>386</sup> 4QA evidences a form of the name with *–yah* which has been considered to be later than *–yahu*.<sup>387</sup> However, *–yah* names are well attested in preexilic inscriptions, albeit less commonly than *–yahu* names, so there is no reason to think that 4QA’s form should be specifically labelled as “late.”<sup>388</sup> Furthermore, MT Samuel actually has many more *–yah* than *–yahu* names, by a ratio of 47 to 4.<sup>389</sup> In this case we do not know, of course, which of the various forms of this name was written by an “original” author of Samuel. Given the variety, however, there is just as much chance that the “late” form of 4QA is the result of a later scribal change as that any of the other readings was likewise produced during scribal transmission.

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<sup>384</sup> Conveniently tabulated by Driver, *Notes*, 262.

<sup>385</sup> For the LXX witnesses to both readings see McCarter, *II Samuel*, 147.

<sup>386</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 146.

<sup>387</sup> *LDBT* 2:192 (#137).

<sup>388</sup> *LDBT* 1:156–57.

<sup>389</sup> “Early” *–yahu* (x4): 2 Sam 8:18; 23:20, 22, 30. “Late” *–yah* (x47): 1 Sam 8:2; 14:3; 26:6; 2 Sam 2:13, 18; 3:4 (x2), 39 (= 4QA); 8:16, 17; 11:3, 6 (x2), 7 (= 4QA), 8 (x2), 9, 10 (x2), 11, 12 (x2), 14, 15, 16, 17 (= 4QA), 21, 24, 26 (x2); 12:9, 10, 15 (= 4QA), 25; 14:1; 16:9, 10; 17:25; 18:2; 19:22, 23; 20:23; 21:17; 23:18, 37, 39; 24:18 (*Kethiv*).

## 5.8. WORD ORDER: SUBSTANTIVE—NUMERAL

5.8.1. 4QA בַּקֵּר מִשְׁלֵשׁ [בַּפֵּר בֶּן] (“with a three year old bull from the herd”); MT בַּפְּרִים שְׁלֹשָׁה (“with three bulls”; 1 Sam 1:24).

The MT has long been recognized as problematic, with for example the following verse just talking about one bull. The LXX (ἐν μὲν μόσχῳ τριετίζοντι) led to the suggestion that בַּפֵּר מִשְׁלֵשׁ should be restored to the text, a reading which was confirmed by 4QA, albeit the latter showing an expansion with the addition of the common בֶּן בַּקֵּר. The MT is explained as having arisen due to a wrong division of letters between the words.<sup>390</sup> In contrast, Tsumura argues that the MT should be retained as *lectio difficilior*.<sup>391</sup>

One of the points which Driver raises against the MT reading is the unusual word order, the number following the noun quantified. The most common word order, overwhelmingly so in MT Samuel, is number–noun. The noun–number word order of the MT has been suggested to be characteristic of late Hebrew, although it is, for example, well attested in preexilic inscriptions.<sup>392</sup> If the majority of scholars are right, then this unusual, supposed late linguistic form arose in this verse in MT Samuel due to scribal error. Elsewhere in Qumran Samuel, sentences using the number “three” follow the normal number–noun order exclusively,<sup>393</sup> demonstrating the stability of many of the most basic and common features of Hebrew grammar in our textual witnesses.

5.8.2. 4QA אֶלֶף כֶּבֶד כֶּסֶף (“a thousand talents of silver”); MT minus (2 Sam 10:6).

Among the many textual variants in this verse, McCarter indicates that this phrase, attested in 4QA and the parallel in 1 Chr 19:6, but missing from the other witnesses like the LXX, is in his opinion a later plus to the text.<sup>394</sup> If so, it

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<sup>390</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 26; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 33; Driver, *Notes*, 20; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 56–57; Smith, *Samuel*, 14.

<sup>391</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 126 n. 119. This would need to be argued more strongly, taking into account the range of arguments scholars have used in regard to this verse. Preference for the “difficult reading” is nonsense if it means preferring a scribal error over a text that makes better sense. Tsumura obscures the problems of the MT by, for example, translating the singular “bull” in the following verse as “bulls.”

<sup>392</sup> *LDBT* 1:162; 2:171 (#49).

<sup>393</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:16 (4QA plus), 21; 10:3; 2 Sam 21:1. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:41. 1Q: 2 Sam 23:9.

<sup>394</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 266, 268. Cross et al. talk of “several omissions in the passage,” but it is not clear whether they consider that this phrase belongs to the earliest recoverable text (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 136–37).

is perhaps expected that the plus exhibits the regular supposed early word order which characterizes all of Samuel.

## 5.9. X THE KING

5.9.1. 4QA ה[רו]ח המלך (“the spirit of the king”); MT דוד המלך (“David the king”; 2 Sam 13:39).

The MT phrase ותכל דוד המלך (“David the king finished”) has long been seen as problematic, particularly as the verb is feminine, not masculine to agree with “David.” 4QA’s reading is in line with those texts like LXX<sup>L</sup> which include the word “spirit,” and this is commonly seen as the preferred reading.<sup>395</sup>

The word order “x the king” as opposed to “the king x” is considered to be a feature of late Hebrew.<sup>396</sup> The idea that “the king x” is “early” relies as one of its bases on the predominance of this form in MT Samuel and MT Kings. However, it is not the exclusive form used in either. In Samuel it occurs 16 of 19 times, and in Kings 83 of 86.<sup>397</sup> The several occurrences of the “late” form “x the king” in these supposed early books are problematic, making MT Samuel and MT Kings less absolute in their preference for the “early” form than, for example, late Esther. Given that supposed late linguistic forms are definitely attested in early inscriptions,<sup>398</sup> the unanswerable question on the basis of our current sources is whether the unusual, supposed late linguistic forms are later scribal additions or evidence of the language of the earliest compositional layers of Samuel, possibly even evidence that the unusual forms were more prominent in early Hebrew.

5.9.2. 4QA המלך דוי[ד] (“king David”); MT המלך (“the king”; 2 Sam 19:10).

In this case it is suggested that the scribal tradition behind 4QA, also reflected in the LXX, has filled out the epithet, although in this case according to “early” Hebrew, or rather the majority form in MT Samuel.<sup>399</sup> The word order “the king David” is preserved three further times in parallel with the MT.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 488; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 150; Driver, *Notes*, 305; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 338; Smith, *Samuel*, 333.

<sup>396</sup> *LDBT* 2:170 (#45).

<sup>397</sup> Rezetko, “Dating,” 229.

<sup>398</sup> Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 292–99; *LDBT* 1:143–72.

<sup>399</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 168; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 415.

<sup>400</sup> 4QA: 2 Sam 3:31; 8:8; 19:10.

5.10. NOUNS FORMED WITH  $-\hat{u}t$ 

4QA minus; MT אֶלְמָנוּת (“widowhood”) and חַיִּית (“lifetime” [?]; 2 Sam 20:3).

The suspicion of some scholars that this verse in the MT was a late addition receives further support from its absence from 4QA.<sup>401</sup> The verse in the MT contains two words formed with  $-\hat{u}t$ : אֶלְמָנוּת (“widowhood”) and חַיִּית (“lifetime” [?]). The two are in fact found together: אֶלְמָנוּת חַיִּית. Scholars have grappled with the questions of what the MT is meant to say, and whether another text lies behind this. Thus, McCarter suggests that the MT might be rendered “the widowhood of life,” and restores “widows while alive,” revocalizing the MT consonants on the basis of the LXX.<sup>402</sup> The increasing use of the suffix  $-\hat{u}t$  has been considered a feature of late Hebrew by some scholars.<sup>403</sup> In any case, we can see that these rare linguistic forms are subject to variation in the textual transmission.

## 5.11. NOUN FORM חַץ/חֶץ (“ARROW”)

4QB החץ; MT החצי (“the arrow”; 1 Sam 20:37).

The rare form חַץ for “arrow” only occurs in the MT in 1 Sam 20:36, 37 (x2), 38 *Kethiv*; 2 Kgs 9:24. Instead of this rare form, 4QB has the regular form in the one place it is preserved. Driver discusses the evidence for the less common form as a genuine alternative, derived from a III-*He* root.<sup>404</sup> It could perhaps be suggested that 4QB has replaced the less common form with the more common one, presuming that our current evidence gives us a true picture of what was common and uncommon at earlier stages of the language.

## 5.12. MASCULINE VS. FEMININE NOUN

4QA בחזק; MT בחזקה (“by force”; 1 Sam 2:16).

In the MT the feminine noun חֲזָקָה is always used with the *beth* preposition. The masculine can also be used with this preposition, so it is very difficult to decide which might be a preferable or older reading, although one might note a tendency in the MT for the feminine to be associated with negative uses of

<sup>401</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 172–73; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 423.

<sup>402</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 419; cf. Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 558; Driver, *Notes*, 341; Smith, *Samuel*, 368.

<sup>403</sup> See *LDBT* 2:172 (#55). Against this see, for example, Rezetko, “Dating,” 224; and the analysis in chapter 9 (9.2).

<sup>404</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 172.

force, the masculine with positive. The feminine form is used with *beth* preposition in the 4QA plus at MT 1 Sam 10:27+.

## 6. PARTICLES

### 6.1. THE PREPOSITION על

6.1.1. 4QA [השלל] העם על [ויעט]; MT השלל אל העם (“the people flew upon the spoil”; 1 Sam 14:32).<sup>405</sup>

Cross et al. comment: “The interchange of אל and על in **מ** and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is common, a hearing error,”<sup>406</sup> “owing to their falling together in pronunciation with the weakening of laryngeals,”<sup>407</sup> “when ‘*ayin* was being lost and the vowel shifted.”<sup>408</sup> We might suspect that על (“upon”) is called for in this case.<sup>409</sup> Note, however, that in the other occurrence of the idiom in 1 Sam 15:19 the MT also has אל, which could be yet another case of אל/על interchange. 4QA is not preserved for that verse. LXX<sup>L</sup> seems to reflect על with its ἐπί, whereas LXX<sup>B</sup> seems to reflect אל by its εἰς.<sup>410</sup>

6.1.2. 4QA [ה]עלינה (“the upper”); MT והעליה (“that which is upon it”; 1 Sam 9:24).

Scholars have long considered the MT (“and the cook lifted up the thigh and that which is upon it”) problematic here, among various reasons this being the only time that the definite article as a relative is found with a preposition.<sup>411</sup> Older scholars proposed that a reading והאליה (“and the fat tail”) lay behind the MT,<sup>412</sup> whereas 4QA now offers the variant reading “the upper thigh.” McCarter

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<sup>405</sup> The MT *Kethiv* is ויעט, which McCarter suggests “is incomprehensible” (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 246; cf. Cross et al., *Samuel*, 74). Barr discusses the possibility that it derives from another עשה root meaning “to turn oneself, incline” (J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968], 246–47; cf. Tsumura, *Samuel*, 374 n. 71).

<sup>406</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 74.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>409</sup> Both Cross et al. and McCarter indicate their opinion that the verb ויעט fits well with the preposition על (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 74; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 246).

<sup>410</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 74.

<sup>411</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 75–76; *LDBT* 2:116–17.

<sup>412</sup> See, for example, Driver, *Notes*, 76; Smith, *Samuel*, 65–66; cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 170. In his defense of the MT, Tsumura makes what in this context can be viewed as a rather extraordinary claim: “However, the two gutturals /ʾ/ and /ʿ/ are normally distinguished in Hebrew” (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 279).

considers that the short reading of LXX<sup>B</sup>, which simply reads “the thigh,” is the earliest reading and that all the other readings are expansions of it.<sup>413</sup>

6.1.3. 4QA [י] על (“against whom”); MT אַל (“not”; 1 Sam 27:10a).

A widely accepted solution in regard to the MT is that it reflects the remnants of אַל מי, the equivalent of על מי (“against whom”) with confusion of אַל and על, reflected in the LXX (ἐπὶ τῖνα) and Vulgate (*in quem*). See, for example, the NRSV which translates “Against whom” with a note: “MT lacks *whom*.”<sup>414</sup>

6.1.4. 4QA ] ועל נגב הירחמאלי ואל נגב ירח[מ]אל ועל נגב ] MT ואל נגב הירחמאלי ואל נגב (“And against the Negeb of the Jerahmeelites [4QA: Jerahmeel] and against the Negeb [of the Kenizzites {e.g., LXX<sup>B</sup>}/Kenites {e.g., MT}]”; 1 Sam 27:10b).

As Cross et al. note, “The common confusion between אַל and על in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and אַל is graphically illustrated here by reverse sequences (על...אַל and אַל...על).”<sup>415</sup> The translation of both as “against” (e.g., NRSV) would seem to indicate that each text is right or at least representing the standard grammar when it has על.<sup>416</sup>

6.1.5. 4QA על שאול; MT אַל שאול (“against Saul”; 1 Sam 31:3).

In the phrase “the battle pressed hard *upon* Saul” (NRSV, emphasis added), על seems to be the more appropriate reading.<sup>417</sup> Note that the reading על is shared with the parallel in 1 Chr 10:3, as well as seemingly reflected in the LXX (ἐπί) and other versions.<sup>418</sup>

<sup>413</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 170.

<sup>414</sup> See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 94; Driver, *Notes*, 212; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 413. Tsumura invokes the Akkadian word *ali/al* for the meaning “where?” for the MT. He does not discuss the 4QA reading (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 613).

<sup>415</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 94.

<sup>416</sup> On the contrary, Tsumura translates “toward the Negeb of the Yerahmeelites and to the Negeb of the Kenites” (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 611). He does not comment on whether “toward” is a translation of MT אַל.

<sup>417</sup> See Driver, *Notes*, 228; Smith, *Samuel*, 252.

<sup>418</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 101.



expression (against the אַל of both 4QA and the MT in v. 6) is supported by McCarter.<sup>425</sup>

6.1.11. 4QA זקני ביתו אליו [ויקומו]; MT ויקמו זקני ביתו עליו (“and the elders of his house stood beside him”; 2 Sam 12:17).

The use of על for “beside” in the MT seems appropriate.<sup>426</sup> In addition, note that אַל plus קום is only attested in the MT at 1 Sam 22:13 and 1 Sam 24:7, both in hostile contexts where על might be expected.

6.1.12. 4QA [אח] [אֵל] (“no, my brother”); MT אַל אודת (“concerning”; 2 Sam 13:16).

Scholars have long noted the problem of the MT, on which Driver comments, “The text is untranslatable,”<sup>427</sup> and they generally follow the reading of LXX<sup>L</sup> and now 4QA.<sup>428</sup> Although neither text contains the preposition על, the normal expression is על אודת, the אַל here thus functioning as על.<sup>429</sup>

6.1.13. 4QA [נחם] א[ל]; MT על נחם (“he was consoled over [the death of Amnon]”; 2 Sam 13:39).

The על of the MT is much more common with נחם.<sup>430</sup>

6.1.14. 4QA על החמש בה; MT = 1Q ויכהו בה אַל החמש (“and he struck him in the belly”; 2 Sam 20:10).

This idiom, using the word חמש (“belly”) is only found in Samuel in the MT Bible in 2 Sam 2:23; 3:27; 4:6; and here in 20:10. The phrase is not preserved in 4QA for 2 Sam 2:23 and 4:6, but there is a variant attested in 2 Sam 3:27: 4QA ׀ עד החמש [ויכהו ש]; MT ויכהו שם החמש. The MT has no preposition

<sup>425</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 164; cf. the discussion of this variant in Rezetko, *Source*, 128–41.

<sup>426</sup> Cross et al. indicate that they have revised an earlier reading of the verb as ויקרבו (“and they drew near”; cf. LXX<sup>L</sup>) (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144), which would easily fit with אַל as argued by McCarter (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 297).

<sup>427</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 298. “And she said to him: ‘No, on account of this great evil more than the other which you have done with me’” (?).

<sup>428</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 476; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 149; Driver, *Notes*, 298–99; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 317–18; Smith, *Samuel*, 330.

<sup>429</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 317.

<sup>430</sup> BDB 637a.

in this case. In the other three occurrences of this idiom it uses לָא.<sup>431</sup> 4QA has דַּע in 2 Sam 3:27 and לַע in 2 Sam 20:10. Within the textual tradition for this phrase there are thus four different collocations of prepositions with the verb in this expression: לָא, לַע, דַּע, and none. Neither 4QA nor MT presents a consistent picture, although on the basis of the use of לָא 3 times out of 4 in the MT we might be inclined to view this as the “original” idiom. However, 4QA indicates that other texts may have had quite different linguistic constructions, so that we are in fact not in any position on the basis of this fluid textual evidence to make statements about the linguistic usage of the “original” author. It is interesting, in fact, to note that Ulrich, discussing 2 Sam 3:27, on the basis that “לַע should be used after נָכַח for parts of the body (as is the case here; cf. 1 K 22:34//2 C 18:23, Jon 4:8), and לַע is indeed the Vorlage for G here,”<sup>432</sup> and McCarter on the basis of the frequent לָא/לַע substitution in the MT,<sup>433</sup> both conclude that the “original” usage was probably לַע. In other words, they are suggesting that in none of the four cases in the MT is the “original” linguistic form preserved.

6.1.15. 4QA = MT Samuel לָא; MT Psalms לַע (“[they cried] to [YHWH]”; 2 Sam 22:42//Ps 18:42).

Here the variation involving לָא and לַע is within the MT, in the parallel texts 2 Sam 22//Ps 18. Psalm 18 is considered to exhibit the “late” preference for the preposition לַע.<sup>434</sup>

6.1.16. 4QA אֵל הַקִּים (“God established”); MT עָלַי הַקִּים (“who was raised on high”; 2 Sam 23:1).

This is an interesting case, as neither text seems to read a preposition here,<sup>435</sup> yet Cross et al. and McCarter argue that “the corruption of the phrase in **MT** was owing to the well-known interchange of לָא and לַע.”<sup>436</sup>

6.1.17. 4QB עַל הַשֻּׁלְחָן (“to the table”); MT אֵל הַלֶּחֶם (“to the meal”; 1 Sam 20:27).

This is a more complicated example, since this particular variant (cf. LXX ἐπὶ τῆν τράπεζαν) involves more than just the preposition. Cross et al. think that

<sup>431</sup> And hence Driver suggests that לָא has dropped out of 2 Sam 3:27 as well (Driver, *Notes*, 250).

<sup>432</sup> Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 56.

<sup>433</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 109–10.

<sup>434</sup> See *ibid.*, 461.

<sup>435</sup> And so it is not counted in the statistics presented below.

<sup>436</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 187; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 477; quote from Cross et al.

על is correct in this idiom, and reconstruct it in v. 29 also where the MT has אל.<sup>437</sup> Elsewhere in MT Samuel we note the repeated use of על when referring to Mephibosheth eating at the king's table (2 Sam 9:7, 10, 11, 13). In contrast, Tsumura notes that the broader context is the question why David has not "come to" the meal, and that אל is "normally used with the verb 'to come.'"<sup>438</sup>

6.1.18. 4QB מעל; MT מעם ("[Jonathan rose] from [the table]"; 1 Sam 20:34).

Cross et al. report the opinion of Tov that the MT's use of מעם "may be a reminiscence of מעם in v 33."<sup>439</sup> In contrast, Driver compares 1 Sam 2:33, "I will not cut off from (מעם) my altar."<sup>440</sup>

6.1.19. 4QB על; MT אל ("[Jonathan gave his weapons] to [the boy]"; 1 Sam 20:40).

In the expression "give to" the use of אל or ל is expected.<sup>441</sup> 4QB's על seems to be reflected by Greek ἐπί.

6.1.20. 4QB [הסגירו] עלינו; MT ולנו הסגירו ("and it will be our part to hand him over"; 1 Sam 23:20).

This is a case of על/ל interchange, but perhaps the LXX reflects a reading with אל (πρός). Driver notes that ל is unexpected here, and that על is used in 2 Sam 18:11 in a similar context,<sup>442</sup> and hence McCarter reads על with 4QA here.<sup>443</sup>

6.1.21. 4QC [על עבדי] ויאמר; MT ויאמר אל עבדיו ("and he said to his servants"; 2 Sam 14:30).

We expect אל with אומר.<sup>444</sup>

6.1.22. 4QC [יד] על; MT אל ידי ("next to me"; 2 Sam 14:30).

In this case we expect על.<sup>445</sup> It is striking from this and the previous example that in the same verse each manuscript chooses the same preposition

<sup>437</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 230, 232; cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 338.

<sup>438</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 519.

<sup>439</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 233.

<sup>440</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 172.

<sup>441</sup> BDB 678a.

<sup>442</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 188, 328; cf. Smith, *Samuel*, 215.

<sup>443</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 377.

<sup>444</sup> "4QSam<sup>c</sup> confuses the laryngeal" (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262).

for both cases, so that each seems to be correct/writes the standard form once, and each seems to be in error/has a non-standard form once.

6.1.23. 4QC first wrote **וַיֹּאמֶר עָלָיו**; 4QC correction = MT **וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו** (“and [Absalom] said to him”; 2 Sam 15:3).

Cross et al. comment: “The scribe first wrote **עָלָיו**...He rewrote *’alep* over the *’ayin* and, the result being unclear, wrote *’alep* again supralinearly.”<sup>446</sup> Compare **אָמַר** plus **עַל** in 4QC 2 Sam 14:30, above.

6.1.24. 1Q minus; MT **עָלָיו** (“over it”; 2 Sam 20:8).

1Q minus; MT **עָלָיו** (“upon [his hip]”; 2 Sam 20:8).

In the context of a long minus in 1Q, these two examples of **עַל** are unparalleled.

6.1.25. General Comments on the Preposition **עַל**.

In addition to the above examples, the Qumran Samuel manuscripts have a total of 31 occurrences of **עַל** that are shared by both 4QABC and the MT.<sup>447</sup> (There are no examples in 1Q.) We have listed above twenty-two cases where either the MT or Qumran Samuel has **עַל** but where the other text has something different, usually a preposition (but three times nothing since **עַל** is used in pluses in 4QA 2 Sam 6:7 and twice in 1Q 2 Sam 20:8). This gives a total of fifty-three cases where at least one of the texts has **עַל**. This is summarized in the table overleaf:

<sup>445</sup> “**מ** confuses the laryngeal” (ibid., 262).

<sup>446</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>447</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 1:11; 2:8; 6:18; 8:7; 10:6, 12; 11:1; 12:14; 14:47; 2 Sam 2:7, 13; 3:29a, 30, 34; 4:2, 11; 5:12; 7:26; 13:25; 15:2, 4; 16:8; 17:25; 20:12; 22:50; 23:2. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:31, 33; 23:9. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:9, 13. See above on 4QC 2 Sam 15:3. Since this is written both with **עַל** and **אֵל** we have counted this neither as a variant nor as a shared form.

Scroll	Total Cases <sup>448</sup> of על	Total Variants Involving על	Percentage of Variants
4QA	40	14	35.00%
4QB	7	4	57.14%
4QC	4	2	50.00%
1Q	2	2	100.00%
Total	53	22	41.51%

Thus, when comparing the Qumran manuscripts with the MT, 41.51%, or more than 2 of every 5 of the uses of the preposition על, are not found in the other text. Instead, another preposition is used in place of על in one of the texts in each case. (There are only three examples where the phrase in 4QA and 1Q is completely missing from the MT, and one example where 4QA offers an adjective; see 1 Sam 9:24.) To put this another way, around only 60%, or around 3 of 5 of the uses of the preposition על, are shared between both texts. The shared cases are almost uniformly examples of the standard use of the preposition. The only obvious non-standard form shared between 4QA and the MT seems to be in 2 Sam 15:4 where both 4QA and the MT have “come to” using על instead of אל. It may even be that these figures conceal areas of much higher variability in the use of the preposition in these texts of Samuel. Of the fifty-three cases of על in the table above, sixteen of them are forms where על is attached to a pronominal suffix (e.g., עליהם) and the other text does not have a minus.<sup>449</sup> However, only two of the variants involve forms with the suffix,<sup>450</sup> or 11.76%, which is a significantly lower rate of variation than the overall figure of 41.51%. If we look only at non-suffixed forms of על the proportion of variants increases to 17/34, or 50%. Furthermore, all seven times that על is used in expressions denoting “being a king over” or “ruling over”<sup>451</sup> there are no variants, so it may be that these related expressions should be seen as less variant in the texts under consideration. Removing the four examples of this idiom with no suffix, we would end up with a rate of variation among the other examples of על of 17/30, or 56.67%. In other words, more than half of the

<sup>448</sup> That is, all cases where each Qumran Samuel manuscript has relevant evidence, including its absence from that manuscript when compared to the MT.

<sup>449</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:8; 6:18; 8:7; 10:6; 12:14; 2 Sam 2:7; 3:34; 12:17; 13:25; 15:4; 16:8; 20:12. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:33; 23:9, 20. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:9. We exclude the rather extraordinary case of והעליה in 1 Sam 9:24 from this discussion. We are also not discussing here cases where the suffixed form is missing due to a minus in one text, and thus 1Q 2 Sam 20:8 is not included.

<sup>450</sup> 4QA 2 Sam 12:17 and 4QB 1 Sam 23:20. And see 4QC 2 Sam 15:3, which is not being counted in these statistics.

<sup>451</sup> All in 4QA: 1 Sam 8:7; 12:14; 14:47; 2 Sam 2:7; 5:12; 7:26; 17:25.

examples of לַע outside of forms with suffixes or denoting rulership are not found with לַע in the corresponding text of Samuel. Nevertheless even the original figure of 41.51% variation is a clear indication that this linguistic feature was highly fluid in the scribal transmission of the book of Samuel.

The preference for the preposition לַע in various collocations, or the confusion of לֵא and לַע, are often cited in the literature as evidence for late linguistic features used by biblical authors. For example, Hurvitz states: “Some of the linguistic peculiarities discussed above involve the substitution of prepositions, and not of words or roots. It must be emphasized that it is often the selection of prepositions which indicates mastery of a language and, therefore, deviations from classical usage in this regard should be given due consideration.”<sup>452</sup> Hurvitz is quite right about language in general, but the evidence cited here would indicate that we are in no position to comment about the use of prepositions by any authors of biblical compositions, as Hurvitz does here, arguing that some unusual uses of לַע are evidence that the *author* of the Prose Tale of Job was writing in a late period. As another example, Rooker suggests that “the confusion in the use of these prepositions” by Ezekiel<sup>453</sup> is evidence that “the book of Ezekiel reflects a period of transition.”<sup>454</sup> By this he means that the usage of these prepositions in the MT book of Ezekiel reflects the language of the prophet Ezekiel during the exile in the sixth century B.C.E. He even cites examples where 4QA Samuel manuscripts have לַע where MT has לֵא without noting that on a number of occasions it seems to be the MT reading לֵא which is the later development.<sup>455</sup> Interestingly, he cites the example of אֶל/עַל in 2 Sam 20:10 as his example from 4QA. As we have seen above, however, consideration of the textual evidence indicates a situation of extreme variability in the use of the preposition in this collocation. The text-critical assumptions underlying Rooker’s chronological conclusions are clear: The MT reflects, in detail, the language of the “original” authors of the biblical writings. Thus, the pattern of distribution of the prepositions לֵא and לַע in MT Ezekiel or MT Samuel reflects what the authors wrote in their “original” context. Since, in his view, the MT is the “original” text of the Bible, other texts of the Bible such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, where they differ from the MT, reflect later changes to the “original” texts. It hardly needs saying that such a view on the history of the biblical text is completely at odds with the views of specialists on the text of the Bible.<sup>456</sup> We can mention, for example, the surprised reaction of Lust, a textual

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<sup>452</sup> Hurvitz, “Prose-Tale,” 32 n. 56.

<sup>453</sup> In Ezekiel, actually, it is mostly cases where לֵא is used in place of an expected לַע. See J. Lust, “The Ezekiel Text,” in *Sôfer Mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker by the Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (ed. Y. A. P. Goldman, A. van der Kooij, and R. D. Weis; VTSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 153–67 (164).

<sup>454</sup> Rooker, *Biblical*, 128, 131.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>456</sup> See chapter 3.

critic, to Rooker's approach to the language of Ezekiel. In regard to Rooker's citation of variant texts of the Bible from Qumran, he comments: "Rooker does not seem to be aware that he undermines his own thesis."<sup>457</sup> In his comments on the specific case of אַל and עַל, Lust continues: "This probably did not happen in the times of the original authors, but rather in a much later period when scribes used to writing Aramaic transmitted the text."<sup>458</sup> He notes that Rooker sees late, Aramaic influence on the language of the scribes of Qumran biblical texts in this feature, and yet "Rooker fails to note the possibility, or probability, that the confusion in M[T]-Ezekiel may be due to a similar influence, or to a scribal effort to correct that influence by an attempt toward archaizing."<sup>459</sup> Drawing conclusions even from linguistic features that are well-attested in individual biblical texts in regard to the "original" language of the biblical books is a practice revealed to be on shaky ground.<sup>460</sup>

## 6.2. THE PREPOSITION אַל

### 6.2.1. 4QA אַל מקומו; MT למקומו ("to its place"; 1 Sam 6:2).<sup>461</sup>

In the expression, "Tell us how we may send it back to its place," the verb שלח (MT: *Piel*) is coordinated with different prepositions in 4QA (אַל) and MT (לְ). In general, "send to" in the MT is more commonly expressed by אַל, as for example in the other instance of "send to a place" in 2 Kgs 6:10, which uses אַל. However, there are numerous examples of "send to" using לְ. They seem to be free, stylistic variants, as indicated by this variant.

There are a number of other variants involving the preposition אַל other than those discussed under עַל above (6.1). Many of these involve the interchange of the prepositions אַל and לְ. Especially prominent are examples of the use of these different prepositions in the expression "say to." Although אַל אמר plus אַל is the more common idiom, אַל אמר plus לְ is also common in BH.

### 6.2.2. 4QA אַל [שׁ]אול ("and Saul said"); MT ויאמר שאול לנערו ("and Saul said to his boy"; 1 Sam 9:7).

Here the MT plus exhibits the collocation אַל אמר plus לְ. Cross et al. consider the MT to exhibit an explicating plus, and "4QSam<sup>a</sup> probably is original."<sup>462</sup>

<sup>457</sup> Lust, "Ezekiel," 163.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>459</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>460</sup> For similar comments in regard to the prepositions אַל and עַל see Rezetko, "Qumran," 43–46.

<sup>461</sup> Cross et al. suggest "cf. ⚡" (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 52), but they can be no more definite than this since Greek εἰς can be used for לְ as well as אַל. The more regular Greek equivalent of אַל is πρὸς, by about three (πρὸς) to one (εἰς).

6.2.3. 4QA ויאמר דוד לנערים אל הנערים (“and David said to the young men”; 1 Sam 25:5).

Both Cross et al. and McCarter suggest that the אל of 4QA is reflected in LXX<sup>L</sup> πρὸς τὰ παιδάρια against the MT and LXX<sup>B</sup>, the latter having τοῖς παιδαρίοις.<sup>463</sup>

6.2.4. 4QA ויאמר שאול לנשא כליו אל [נושא כ]ליו; MT ויאמר שאול כליו (“and Saul said to his armor bearer”; 1 Sam 31:4).

The parallel in 1 Chr 10:4 agrees with 4QA in the use of אל, and Cross et al. also refer to the LXX (πρὸς) and Vulgate (*ad*) readings.<sup>464</sup>

6.2.5. 4QA ויאמר לו (“and he said to him”); MT ויאמר (“and he said”; 2 Sam 3:8).

Here the 4QA plus, shared with the LXX, uses אמר with ל. Cross et al. consider the longer reading to be an explicating plus.<sup>465</sup>

6.2.6. 4QA ויאמר דוד לאוריה אל [אוריה]; MT ויאמר דוד לאוריה (“and David said to Uriah”; 2 Sam 11:8).

Cross et al. indicate that the Greek witnesses LXX<sup>A,B,L</sup> seem to agree with the MT here by not attesting πρὸς.<sup>466</sup>

In addition to these examples, there are other cases of the interchange of אל and ל in the following variants.

6.2.7. 4QA למשפט ל[א]; MT למשפט (“for judgment”; 2 Sam 15:2).

Although it is not completely certain that we have אל (rather than say על) here, ל is excluded due to the placement of the *lamed*.<sup>467</sup> 4QC (cf. Peshitta) has משפט without any preposition<sup>468</sup> which is considered an error by Cross et al. and McCarter.<sup>469</sup>

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>463</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 87; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 392.

<sup>464</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 101.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., 140.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>469</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 263; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 354.

6.2.8. 4QA ם[ו]שלוּם וקרא לו (“and Absalom would call to him”); MT ויקרא אלו אבשלום (“and Absalom called to him”; 2 Sam 15:2).

We note also the variation in word order (see 8.3). Cross et al. and McCarter refer to LXX<sup>B,L</sup>.<sup>470</sup> However, note that while they follow the word order of 4QA, their use of *πρός* could also indicate that their *Vorlage* read אלו: *καὶ ἐβόησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀβεσσαλωμ*.

6.2.9. 4QA לא ישימו אלינו לב [י]ש[ו]ם לנו; MT לא ישימו אלינו לב (“he/they will pay no attention to us”; 2 Sam 18:3).

The expression שים לב (“to pay attention to,” as opposed to “take to heart”) is found both with ל (1 Sam 9:20) and with אל (1 Sam 25:25; 2 Sam 18:3 [x2]) elsewhere in MT Samuel.<sup>471</sup> More generally in the MT Bible the idiom (with both לב and לבב for “heart”) is also found with ל in Deut 32:46; Ezek 40:4; 44:5; with אל also in Exod 9:21; Job 2:3; 34:14; and with על in Hag 1:5, 7; Job 1:8.<sup>472</sup> We are in no position to determine whether perhaps one of these prepositions was at one stage considered “correct” or whether they were always used interchangeably in this idiom.

The MT has the same phrase, also with אל, in the first part of the verse, which is not preserved in 4QA. Cross et al., McCarter, and Ulrich consider it likely that 4QA had ל in the first part of the verse also.<sup>473</sup> They point out that LXX<sup>L</sup> (ἐν ἡμῖν) and the Old Latin (*in nobis*) seem to reflect ל in the first part of the verse, as in the second part of 4QA, while their second part seems to reflect the אל of the MT.<sup>474</sup>

Other variants involving אל include:

6.2.10. 4QA [שמואל] ל[א] ויגש שאול אה [שמואל]; MT ויגש שאול אה שמואל (“and Saul drew near to Samuel”; 1 Sam 9:18).

The use of אה here in the MT has regularly been seen as problematic, and scholars have often suggested that אל should appear here (cf. LXX *πρός*).<sup>475</sup>

<sup>470</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 155; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 354.

<sup>471</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 336.

<sup>472</sup> BDB 523b, §3c, 524b, §3c. Note also variants in MT manuscripts for these verses.

<sup>473</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 165; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 399–400.

<sup>474</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 165; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 399–400; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 107–8.

<sup>475</sup> For example, BDB 620b; Driver, *Notes*, 74; Smith, *Samuel*, 64.

6.2.11. 4QA יהוה אל [ל]ו [ופללו] ל[ו] (“they may appeal on his behalf to YHWH”<sup>476</sup>); MT ופללו אלהים (“God will mediate [for] him”; 1 Sam 2:25).

Smith notes that the use of the direct object with פלל is “without analogy,” and thus suggests either reading לו ופלל or following other scholars such as Budde and Wellhausen in repointing the verb as plural.<sup>477</sup> The plural verb would be in accordance with Exod 22:8, which is interpreted as “gods” or “judges.”<sup>478</sup> For 4QA’s “to YHWH” we may compare the LXX reading *πρὸς αὐτὸν*. McCarter sees the 4QA and LXX reading as a corruption of אלהים “because of the virtual identity of *w* and *y* in MSS of the Hasmonean and Herodian periods.”<sup>479</sup> Cross et al. note the graphical similarity, but state: “The text of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is not at all objectionable in idiom.”<sup>480</sup>

6.2.12. 4QA ויאמר [ו] (“and he said”); MT ויאמר אליו (“and he said to him”; 1 Sam 2:27).

The shorter text, shared by LXX<sup>B,O</sup>, is preferred by McCarter.<sup>481</sup>

6.2.13. 4QA [ו]יקרא יהוה [שמואל] (“YHWH called ‘Samuel, Samuel’”); MT ויקרא יהוה אל שמואל (“YHWH called to Samuel”; 1 Sam 3:4).

Scholars commonly consider the 4QA reading, shared with LXX<sup>B</sup>, to be superior.<sup>482</sup>

6.2.14. 4QA ויבאו אל [י]בש גלעד (“and they came to Jabesh Gilead”); MT minus (1 Sam 10:27+).

This is part of the long plus, shared by the Greek text used by Josephus, *Antiquities* 6:68–70, between 1 Sam 10:27 and 11:1 of the MT which Cross et al. and McCarter consider to have been omitted by mistake in the MT tradition.<sup>483</sup>

<sup>476</sup> See the translation in Cross et al., *Samuel*, 43; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 82.

<sup>477</sup> Smith, *Samuel*, 21.

<sup>478</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 35. For “gods” see, for example, McCarter, *I Samuel*, 77, 82. For “judges” see, for example, Tsumura, *Samuel*, 160 n. 123.

<sup>479</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 82.

<sup>480</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 43.

<sup>481</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 87.

<sup>482</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 42; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 95; Smith, *Samuel*, 27.

<sup>483</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 66; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 199; cf. Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 166–70. In contrast, Tsumura cites the opinion of Herbert that this paragraph is not original to the Samuel tradition (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 301; cf. 302–3); cf. Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 118.

6.2.15. 4QA [ב]עלותו אל יר[ושלים] (“when he came up to Jerusalem”); MT minus (2 Sam 8:7).

This is part of a long plus shared between 4QA, the LXX, the Old Latin, and Josephus, *Antiquities* 7:105. McCarter considers that “it is probable that the short text of MT stands closer to the primitive situation.”<sup>484</sup> Cross et al. agree that it could be an expansion in 4QA and elsewhere, but seriously consider that it could have been lost in the MT by error, a possibility discussed but then rejected by McCarter.<sup>485</sup>

6.2.16. 4QA ילך נ[א המ]לך ועבדיו אל עבדך (“let the king and his servants please go to your servant”); MT ילך נא המלך ועבדיו עם עבדך (“let the king and his servants please go with your servant”; 2 Sam 13:24b).

The 4QA reading is shared by LXX<sup>L</sup>, the Old Latin, and the Vulgate, whereas the MT reading is reflected in LXX<sup>A,B,M,N</sup>, as well as the Targum and the Peshitta, with McCarter indicating a preference for the latter.<sup>486</sup>

6.2.17. 4QA minus; MT ויבא דוד אל-ביתו (“and David came to his house”; 2 Sam 20:3).

In this verse, missing from 4QA, comes the phrase “and David came to (אל) his house.”

6.2.18. 4QB minus; MT אליו (“to him”; 1 Sam 20:32).

The MT reads: “Jonathan answered Saul his father, and he said *to him*,” whereas 4QB simply has for the last part “and he said,” while LXX<sup>B</sup> has an even shorter reading: “Jonathan answered Saul.” Cross et al. and McCarter consider the last, shortest reading to be the earliest.<sup>487</sup> In contrast Tsumura argues that the MT “answered and said” is idiomatic.<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>484</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 244.

<sup>485</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 133.

<sup>486</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 149; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 330.

<sup>487</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 233; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 339.

<sup>488</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 520–21.

6.2.19. 4QB [י]תחת חל לחם; MT אין לחם חל תחת ידי (“I have no common bread in my possession”; 1 Sam 21:5).

Scholars have commonly considered the אַל of the MT as a corrupt dittograph of חַל.<sup>489</sup> The LXX seems to reflect the 4QB reading by just having ὑπό.

6.2.20. 4QC את האשה [ויען המלך] (“and the king answered the woman”); MT ויען המלך ויאמר אל האשה (“and the king answered and he said to the woman”; 2 Sam 14:18).

The interchange between את and אַל is clear, due to suspected different sentence constructions.

6.2.21. 4QC [ויש]לח עוד שנית אליו; MT וישלח עוד שנית (“he sent a second time [to him]”; 2 Sam 14:29).

4QC’s reading is paralleled by the LXX’s πρὸς αὐτόν. Cross et al. comment: “Expansion in 4QSam<sup>c</sup>.”<sup>490</sup>

6.2.22. 4QC [ויבואו י]לדי יואב אלו (“and the servants [lads] of Joab came to him”);<sup>491</sup> MT minus (2 Sam 14:30).

This is part of a long plus in 4QC, the LXX, and the Old Latin, which is considered to have been lost from the MT by Cross et al., McCarter, and Smith.<sup>492</sup>

6.2.23. General Comments on the Preposition אַל.

In addition to the cases discussed in this section and the one on עַל, there are fifty-five instances where 4QABC and 1Q share אַל with the MT.<sup>493</sup> We have

<sup>489</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235; Driver, *Notes*, 174; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 347; Smith, *Samuel*, 200.

<sup>490</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262.

<sup>491</sup> On the spelling of the suffix see 3.2.2.1.

<sup>492</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 343; Smith, *Samuel*, 339.

<sup>493</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:16; 6:20, 21 (x2); 8:10; 10:3, 8, 16; 11:1; 12:8; 24:18; 28:1; 2 Sam 1:13; 3:7 (x2), 23, 24; 6:6; 11:4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 19; 12:15, 18; 13:24, 28; 14:3 (x2); 15:27; 16:21; 19:28; 20:22; 22:42 (variant from the parallel in Psalms; cf. 6.1.15); 24:17. 4QB: 1 Sam 16:3, 8; 21:2, 3; 22:9; 23:9, 16, 17, 22. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:8, 24, 31, 32 (x3), 33; 15:2. 1Q: 2 Sam 20:10 (note that this agreement with the MT is in contrast with 4QA which disagrees with 1Q and the MT here; cf. 6.1.14; this verse thus contributes one variant [for 4QA] and one agreement [for 1Q] to the statistics here); 23:10.

discussed thirty-five cases where לֹא appears in one text but something else, usually לְ or ל, is found in another text, or where לֹא is missing in the parallel text. That gives a total of ninety cases where at least one manuscript has לֹא. This is summarized in the following table:

Scroll	Total Cases <sup>494</sup> of לֹא	Total Variants Involving לֹא	Percentage of Variants
4QA	62	26	41.94%
4QB	13	4	30.77%
4QC	13	5	38.46%
1Q	2	0	0.00%
Total	90	35	38.89%

Thus, when comparing the Qumran Samuel manuscripts with the MT, 38.89%, or nearly 2 of 5 of the uses of the preposition לֹא, are not found in the other text.<sup>495</sup> To put this another way, only about 61%, or around 3 of 5 of the uses of the preposition לֹא, are shared between both texts. The shared cases are almost uniformly examples of the standard use of the preposition. The only obvious non-standard form shared between 4QA and the MT seems to be in 2 Sam 6:6 where both 4QA and the MT have “put his hand upon” using לֹא instead of לְ.<sup>496</sup> (See the discussion of the same idiom in the following verse in 6.1.10.)

Although Qimron refers to “the retreat of לֹא in post-exilic Hebrew,”<sup>497</sup> usually the focus is specifically on the use of לְ with verbs of motion, and within that category the use of בּוֹא (“come”) with לְ is often singled out.<sup>498</sup> In the light of the variants discussed here it is interesting to reflect on the fact that the evidence for the diachronic shift in the use of the preposition is based on a restricted group of examples. Is the current distribution of this form reflective of

<sup>494</sup> That is, all cases where each Qumran Samuel manuscript has relevant evidence, including its absence from that manuscript compared to the MT.

<sup>495</sup> Unlike the discussion of לְ, in 6.1.25, other factors like the presence of a suffix do not seem significant in this case. A third of the forms with suffixes are variant (4/12), which is almost exactly the same as the overall proportion.

<sup>496</sup> Rezetko discusses in detail the idiom לֹא...שָׁלַח shared by MT and 4QA 2 Sam 6:6 (but not by, for example, LXX<sup>B</sup> or synoptic 1 Chr 13:9), and concludes that, although shared by both these Hebrew texts, the idiom is in fact a revised reading in the Samuel tradition (Rezetko, *Source*, 123–24).

<sup>497</sup> Qimron, *Hebrew*, 88.

<sup>498</sup> G. Brin, “Linguistic Comments on the Temple Scroll” (Hebrew), *Lesh* 43 (1978): 20–28 (24–25); Kropat, *Syntax*, 43–44; Qimron, *Hebrew*, 88; Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah*, 88; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 117; Talshir, “Reinvestigation,” 179–80. However, see *LDBT* 1:42, 80, and chapter 9 (9.4).

the language and date of the “original” authors of each of the biblical writings involved or, on the analogy with the ל/אל interchanges in the textual transmission of Samuel, are they merely evidence of the textual history of each book in which they are found?

### 6.3. THE PREPOSITION מן

6.3.1. 4QA רץ[הא]רץ; MT מהארץ (“from the land”; 1 Sam 28:23).

Cross et al. note that “from the land/ground” is always written מהארץ in MT Samuel.<sup>499</sup>

6.3.2. 4QA [הבקר] א; MT אז מהבקר (“until morning”; 2 Sam 2:27).

6.3.3. 4QA [הערים] מן (“from the cities”); MT minus (2 Sam 10:6).

Among the many variants in this verse,<sup>500</sup> at the end 4QA shares with 1 Chr 19:7 the plus “and they came and they camped before Medeba, and the Ammonites were gathered from the(ir) cities and they came to fight (Chronicles: ‘for war’).”<sup>501</sup> It is interesting to note that although Chronicles shares this plus, the parallel to the phrase under discussion in Chronicles is מעריהם (“from their cities”), not being therefore a case of מן plus definite article at all. As we have seen, the linguistic forms used in parallel passages are quite variable. McCarter comments: “We should probably regard this plus...as expansive.”<sup>502</sup> However, Auld comments to the contrary in regard to vv. 6, 7: “This is one of the portions of Samuel in which 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and Chronicles attest a longer and apparently better text of Samuel.”<sup>503</sup>

6.3.4. 4QA מן האלוהים; MT ויבקש דוד את האלהים (“and David sought [from] God”; 2 Sam 12:16).

As part of the larger issue of the coordination of the verb בקש with prepositions (see 5.6.6), the 4QA variant exhibits the form מן-ה.<sup>504</sup> While McCarter prefers the 4QA reading,<sup>505</sup> Cross et al. note: “The particle את

<sup>499</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 96. The other two verses are not paralleled in 4QA.

<sup>500</sup> See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 135–38; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 267–68; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 152–56.

<sup>501</sup> See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 136.

<sup>502</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 268.

<sup>503</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 445.

<sup>504</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 297. Cross et al. compares the Syriac and Targum (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144).

<sup>505</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 297.

commonly accompanies the verb בקש; however, it may also be used with מן. The latter would seem to reflect late idiom.”<sup>506</sup> Presumably this last judgment is based on the appearance of “seek from God” in Ezra 8:23 and “seek from YHWH” in 2 Chr 20:4.<sup>507</sup> However, given the fluidity of linguistic features attested by this 4QA variant, among many others, it can be seen that such judgments about what is “early” and “late” in Hebrew are especially tenuous when based on such a small number of examples from the MT. If the 4QA form was accepted as reflecting the language of the “original,” “early” author of Samuel, the form with מן would be almost as well attested in “early” Hebrew.

#### 6.3.5. 4QA מן האהבה; MT מאהבה (“than [the] love”; 2 Sam 13:15).

Both texts have the regular BH form, but it is noteworthy that 4QA does not have the assimilated form with the definite article. Driver comments that the MT form needs the definite article.<sup>508</sup> If it was elided from the form which he suggests, מהאהבה, then perhaps this was once another example of –מה in MT Samuel.

#### 6.3.6. General Comments on the Preposition מן.

By far the most common practice in the MT Bible is for מן to be written separately before a noun beginning with the definite article (–ה מן: x635; –מה: x94).<sup>509</sup> No biblical book has a majority of the assimilated forms, but Samuel and Ezekiel have a significant number of examples, in fact together providing 54 of the 94 examples. Samuel has the highest proportion of assimilated forms in the MT Bible with 34 of 72 cases, or 47.2%. This is therefore a distinctive feature of the language of MT Samuel.

It is noteworthy that in each of the variants discussed here, 4QA presents the standard MT Bible form –ה מן with unassimilated *nun*, even in those cases where MT Samuel has the assimilated form. In addition, note the following cases where 4QA and MT agree on their readings, all of which are cases of מן –ה: 1 Sam 2:20; 2 Sam 1:4; 4:11; 5:9;<sup>510</sup> 12:17; 19:10. It is an indication of how fragmentary 4QA is that these eleven are the only preserved cases of מן followed

<sup>506</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 144.

<sup>507</sup> We did not find any other examples.

<sup>508</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 298.

<sup>509</sup> For full data on this form in the MT and further discussion, see Young, “Patterns.”

<sup>510</sup> In fact, מן is not preserved in the text, but since the following word המלוא begins a new line it is very unlikely that the preposition was not separate.

by a definite article.<sup>511</sup> It is striking, however, that contrary to the distinctive feature of MT Samuel, where there is an even mix of assimilated with non-assimilated forms, 4QA has an 11–0 preference for the non-assimilated form, even where the MT parallel has the assimilated form. Although fragmentary, the data suggest that 4QA had a radically different linguistic profile in this feature to the MT.

An additional line of argument might strengthen this suggestion. It is interesting to note that in the common material where Samuel and Chronicles share a form with מן plus definite article, Chronicles each time has the form מן –ה (6–0), even when MT Samuel has the assimilated form –מה.<sup>512</sup> One possible way of interpreting these data is that Chronicles attests a form of Samuel that did not exhibit the high proportion of assimilated –מה so distinctive of MT Samuel.<sup>513</sup>

The distribution of the assimilated form is not explicable according to the standard chronological categories, since in contrast to the significant number of examples in “early” Samuel (and also Joshua, Judges, and Kings, the four books totaling fifty-three examples), the “early” Pentateuch has only one example of the assimilated form, against 244 of the unassimilated form.<sup>514</sup> Chronology aside, nevertheless, do we have evidence of a distinctive linguistic practice by the “original” author of Samuel? It may possibly be that the tendency to use the assimilated form was a feature stretching back to the composition of the texts. However, the repeated examples of variation involving this feature in 4QA would indicate that it would be well not to base any conclusions about historical linguistic development on this assumption. The tendency to use the assimilated form, or at least to use it in the proportions currently found in MT Samuel, could just as easily be a feature of the later scribal transmission of the text.<sup>515</sup>

#### 6.4. עד PLUS *YIQTOL*

4QA עד אשר; MT עד (1 Sam 1:22).

The two texts vary in their coordination of the preposition עד (“until”) with a *yiqtol* verb in the phrase “until the child is weaned, then I will bring him.”

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<sup>511</sup> It is an indication of how extremely fragmentary the other Qumran Samuel manuscripts (1Q, 4QB, 4QC) are that they do not preserve a single verse in which מן plus definite article is attested.

<sup>512</sup> The verses are: 1 Sam 31:3 (מהמורים)//1 Chr 10:3 (מן היורים); 2 Sam 5:9//1 Chr 11:8; 2 Sam 7:8//1 Chr 17:7; 2 Sam 23:3 (מהשלשים)//1 Chr 11:15 (מן השלושים); 2 Sam 23:19//1 Chr 11:21; 2 Sam 23:23//1 Chr 11:25.

<sup>513</sup> However, we must also consider that (MT) Chronicles similarly had a long process of transmission from this hypothetical earlier text.

<sup>514</sup> See Young, “Patterns,” 387–88; cf. *LDBT* 2:104.

<sup>515</sup> For further discussion see Young, “Patterns.”

Cross et al. point out that **עד** followed by the *yiqtol* without an intervening **אשר** is rare in biblical prose;<sup>516</sup> however, it is attested, for example, in MT 2 Sam 10:5.<sup>517</sup> The present example is the only preserved case of **עד** plus *yiqtol* in a Qumran Samuel manuscript. In fact, it is not certain that that is what we have here, since the following words are not attested in 4QA, and the LXX witnesses a different text, which might be rendered “until the child goes up, when I have weaned him.” In regard to the interpretation of this particular variant, we could argue that the MT is an awkward reading created by a scribal lapse. Thus Cross et al. point out that underlying the Greek seems to be a more common construction of **עד** plus infinitive (**עד עלות**), which text they speculate could have suffered a haplography which led to the unusual **עד** plus *yiqtol* of the current MT.<sup>518</sup> Alternatively, we could argue that the 4QA reading is a revision of a text like the MT towards the more common grammatical form.<sup>519</sup> In the former case, a textual accident would have created data that did not reflect actual Hebrew usage. In the latter case, the replacing of one grammatical form with the other would seem to indicate the likelihood that the two ways of constructing **עד** with a *yiqtol* verb are stylistic variants. In each of these possible scenarios we have no idea which linguistic form is “original.”

#### 6.5. קרא (“SUMMON”) PLUS PREPOSITION

4QA לא [בימלך] לקרא; MT לקרא את אחימלך (“to summon Ahimelech”;<sup>520</sup> 1 Sam 22:11).

This issue is the coordination of the verb **קרא** with a preposition in this phrase. “4QSam<sup>a</sup> follows the usual idiomatic use of **קרא** plus **ל**.”<sup>521</sup> BDB indicates that **קרא** plus **ל** in the sense “summon” is used about one-hundred times in the MT, while **את** is used about thirty-three times, and **אל** about twenty

<sup>516</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 33, 35.

<sup>517</sup> In fact, in MT Samuel, **אשר עד** plus *yiqtol* is only attested in 1 Sam 22:3, and in other Former Prophets books only in Josh 1:15. However, it is common in the prose of the Pentateuch: Gen 27:44; 29:8; 33:14; Exod 23:30; 24:14; Lev 22:4; Num 11:20; 20:17; 21:22; Deut 2:29; 3:20.

<sup>518</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 35. On the Greek reading see also McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 55–56. Note that while Cross et al. consider it possible that 4QA’s text could have been in line with the LXX, their currently favored reconstructed text is **עד אשר [יעלה]** (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 33, 35).

<sup>519</sup> Although not obviously a “more common” form when just seen in the context of the book of Samuel.

<sup>520</sup> Note that the 4QA text is reconstructed to read Abimelech (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 82).

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

times,<sup>522</sup> meaning that while the reading of the MT is the minority form it is not uncommon. The issue, therefore, is whether 4QA is replacing a less usual construction with the more usual form, or whether for some reason the MT is a scribal change to a less common form. This is of course assuming that what is common or uncommon in our current texts reflects the situation in earlier times, which this study has shown need not be the case. Elsewhere in Qumran Samuel, 4QA agrees with the MT in reading קרא plus ל in 2 Sam 13:23; 4QC agrees with the MT on אל in 2 Sam 14:33; and 4QC has קרא plus את in 2 Sam 15:12, where the MT is generally considered to have lost the verb, reading instead of “and he sent and summoned Ahithophel,” simply “and he sent (for?) Ahithophel.”<sup>523</sup>

## 6.6. את AND עם (“WITH”)

### 6.6.1. 4QA אתכם; MT עםכם (“with you”; 2 Sam 2:6).

The context is: “And now may YHWH do steadfast love and faithfulness with you.” Cross et al. comment that the LXX is no help in these variants since it uses the same word to translate both (μετά).<sup>524</sup> Note that while the MT uses עם three times in 2 Sam 2:5–6, not only in this verse is עם replaced, but in v. 5 the one preserved example interchanges with על in 4QA (see 6.1.6).

### 6.6.2. 4QB עםך; MT אתך (“with you”; 1 Sam 21:2).

The context is: “Why are you alone, and no one with you?”

### 6.6.3. General Comments on את and עם (“With”).

The preposition עם not only interchanges with את when comparing the MT with Qumran Samuel, but we have already seen it interchange with על in 4QA 2 Sam 2:5 (6.1.6) and 4QB 1 Sam 20:34 (6.1.18), as well as with אל in 4QA 2 Sam 13:24 (6.2.15). In addition, whereas the MT has עם (“with [YHWH]”) in 1 Sam 2:21, 4QA has לפני (“before [YHWH]”) which is preferred by Cross et al. and McCarter.<sup>525</sup> So too in 2 Sam 6:7, while in the MT Uzzah dies “beside (עם) the ark of God, in 4QA, as in 1 Chr 13:10, he dies “before (לפני) God,” which scholars often consider a superior reading.<sup>526</sup> The MT and Qumran Samuel agree

<sup>522</sup> BDB 895b.

<sup>523</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 265; Driver, *Notes*, 312; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 355; Smith, *Samuel*, 342.

<sup>524</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 105.

<sup>525</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 42; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 80. They both consider “with YHWH” to be an anticipation of the same phrase in 1 Sam 2:26.

<sup>526</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 127; Driver, *Notes*, 268; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 165; Smith, *Samuel*, 294. For a full discussion see Rezetko, *Source*, 141–42.

on the presence of םע on sixteen occasions.<sup>527</sup> This means that with the seven variants we have mentioned, we have twenty-three occasions where one or more of the witnesses has םע, giving a rate of variation of 7/23, or 30.43%, or approaching 1 in 3. While this is still significant variation, םע is less variable in these manuscripts than are אל or על.

In regard to the preposition את (“with”), the MT has pluses in 2 Sam 13:26, which Cross et al. and McCarter consider an expansion,<sup>528</sup> and in 2 Sam 13:27, which Cross et al. consider the earlier reading, lost by 4QA through “simple haplography.”<sup>529</sup> There are ten cases where the MT and Qumran Samuel agree on the presence of את (“with”),<sup>530</sup> thus giving a rate of variation of 4/14 occasions where one or both texts have את, or 28.57% or more than one in four, which is thus not too different from םע.

It has been claimed that את (“with”) declines in use in late Hebrew in proportion to the use of its synonym םע, due to its relative rarity in the core LBH books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. In these variants, therefore, in one case the MT could exhibit the removal of an “early” form and its replacement with the form more favored in “late” Hebrew, and in the other case we could see the reverse process. However, if את was the form gradually disappearing from use, it is perhaps unexpected that more variants involve םע. In any case, consideration of the overall evidence of the MT casts doubt on a simple chronological interpretation of the data.<sup>531</sup> MT Samuel prefers םע over את at a rate of nearly two to one, while supposed later compositions like Second Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel more strongly favor את than any “early” composition. The current variants show, in any case, that we need, as always, to be cautious about making claims about the linguistic use of “original” authors and hence inferences about linguistic developments, based on the current distributions of forms in the MT.

#### 6.7. “WITH” SPELLED אִתּוֹ–

4QA אִתָּם; MT אִתָּם (“with them”; 2 Sam 12:17).

BDB notes that את (“with”) with suffixes in the MT is usually vocalized with a *hireq*, but “also, however, אִתּוֹ, אִתָּו, and similarly אִתּוֹתוֹ, אִתּוֹתוֹ etc., first

<sup>527</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:26 (x2); 12:25; 2 Sam 3:26, 28; 5:10; 11:11; 13:23; 21:4, 15; 24:16. 4QB: 1 Sam 20:35; 23:19. 1Q: 2 Sam 20:8; 21:18; 23:9.

<sup>528</sup> See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 150; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 330. “Please let Amnon my brother go *with us*.”

<sup>529</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 150. “And he sent *with him* Amnon.” Also see 6.7 and the LXX reading in 4.3.1.

<sup>530</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 8:10; 24:19; 2 Sam 3:27; 6:2; 12:17; 15:3; 16:21; 19:8. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:19. 1Q: 2 Sam 21:17.

<sup>531</sup> *LDBT* 2:111–13.

in Jos 10<sup>25</sup> 14<sup>12</sup>, next 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>; then repeatedly (but not exclusively) I K 20–2 K 8, & in Je Ez.<sup>532</sup> McCarter specifically compares the form in MT 2 Sam 24:24 to this example from 4QA.<sup>533</sup> There are no other examples of “with” spelled –ארת in Qumran Samuel.

As always with such variations in the MT, the question has been discussed whether they are features which tell us something about the language of the authors of the texts in question or are due simply to their scribal transmission. Thus, in regard to the concentration of forms in Kings, Burney rejects including them as a northern dialect feature with the comment that the form “can scarcely be counted dialectal, depending as it does upon vocalization and *scriptio plena*, and standing also beside the more ordinary form.”<sup>534</sup> In contrast, Rendsburg argues that Burney’s objection is overcome by “recent research into the historical validity of the Masora.”<sup>535</sup> He interprets the forms in Kings as evidence of the northern, Israelian dialect of Hebrew.<sup>536</sup>

One phenomenon that gives Rendsburg problems in substantiating his claim that certain linguistic forms are characteristic of Israelian Hebrew are the various occurrences of supposed Israelian forms in southern, Judahite texts. In this particular case, examples like 2 Sam 24:24 are firmly set in a southern context. The form in 4QA 2 Sam 12:17, dealing as it does with David and his royal court, would be another example of a use in a southern context. It is conceivable, however, that noting this variant could help Rendsburg’s case, as he might claim that many of the Israelian forms in Judahite texts could be the result of later textual corruption of the linguistic form of those texts. However, this would probably be too much of a double-edged sword, since an awareness of the high degree of textual variation in linguistic forms in our textual evidence would tend to cast doubt on any assertion that a linguistic peculiarity is evidence of the “original” dialect of the author or their sources, and most of Rendsburg’s evidence consists of isolated linguistic peculiarities.<sup>537</sup> In our specific case here, there is the added consideration that the spelling of a medial vowel letter in the form ארת would be completely unexpected in a preexilic text. Hence, Burney’s dismissal of this form as being a late peculiarity of the scribal transmission of certain texts seems much more likely.

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<sup>532</sup> BDB 85b.

<sup>533</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 297.

<sup>534</sup> C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 237–38.

<sup>535</sup> Rendsburg, *Israelian*, 62 n. 28.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, 61–65.

<sup>537</sup> *LDBT* 1:173–200 *passim*.

## 6.8. מ (“FROM”) AND ב (“AMONG”) INTERCHANGE

4QA [מאנשי אבנר] (“from the men of Abner”); MT וּבְאֲנָשֵׁי אֲבִנֵר (“and among the men of Abner”; 2 Sam 2:31).

The phrase occurs in the context “And the servants of David smote from Benjamin (מִבְּנֵימֵן),<sup>538</sup> (and)<sup>539</sup> among the men of Abner.” 4QA preserves no parallel to “from Benjamin,” but it parallels the use of מֵן (“from”) on the following word “men,” whereas the MT has the preposition ב (“among”). McCarter follows the 4QA reading, which is reflected in the LXX.<sup>540</sup> Is the MT’s use of ב evidence of a rare idiom or an error? Is 4QA’s use of מֵן simply a harmonization with the preposition earlier in the verse? Which, if any, of these linguistic forms might have been used by the “original” author of Samuel?

## 6.9. ל/ב (“IN”) INTERCHANGE

4QA שׁ{ו} לא הג[ו] בנחש[תי]ם לא רגליך; MT וּרְגְלֶיךָ לֹא לִנְחָשִׁים הִגְשׁוּ (“and your feet were not put into fetters”; 2 Sam 3:34).

The issue here relates to the preposition used to express “in fetters.” 4QA uses ב whereas the MT uses ל. Cross et al. comment: “As for the preposition, however, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>...is equivalent in meaning to ל.”<sup>541</sup> In English translation this may be correct, but if one is describing the historical grammar of ancient Hebrew, the collocation of verbs with prepositions is a significant matter. Both Cross et al. and McCarter indicate a preference for בנחשתיים.<sup>542</sup>

Elsewhere in regard to this passage, we discuss the variation in the verb in 4.5.2.2 and in word order in 8.3.4. With three linguistic variants in three words, this example illustrates how cautious we must be about asserting that any detail of the language of the current texts reflects the language of the “original” text.

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<sup>538</sup> It is commonly considered that the MT has lost בְּנֵי (“sons of”) here due to its similarity with “Benjamin.” See, for example, McCarter, *II Samuel*, 94, with reference to the LXX.

<sup>539</sup> The conjunction is recommended to be removed from the MT by, for example, Driver, *Notes*, 245; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 94; Smith, *Samuel*, 274.

<sup>540</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 94.

<sup>541</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 115.

<sup>542</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 117; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 111. McCarter prefers an instrumental translation “by fetters,” and indicates the possibility that ל could be preferable in conveying that meaning.

## 6.10. PRESENCE OF ב IN TEMPORAL AND LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS

6.10.1. 4QA [הוא] הלילה (“[and they went] that night”); MT בלילה ההוא “[and they went] in that night”; 1 Sam 28:25).

In agreement with the reading of 4QA, the LXX does not reflect the preposition, and McCarter prefers the reading without the preposition.<sup>543</sup> In the MT, the form with the preposition seems more common. For a fairly close parallel, see Josh 8:13: “And Joshua went *in* that night.” Does the prevalence of this form in the MT reflect older Hebrew, or a later development?

6.10.2. 4QA שבו ירחו; MT שבו בירחו (“remain [in] Jericho”; 2 Sam 10:5).

The preposition is expected in this expression, and is present in the parallel in 1 Chr 19:5, and is also reflected in the translations such as the LXX. In regard to the 4QA form we must ask the same question which we must ask about any unusual linguistic form: Is it a genuine rare form, perhaps even evidence for the language of the “original” author, or is it simply a scribal error?

## 6.11. PREPOSITION IN OATH FORMULA

4QA ה[ש]ה אלוהים; MT כה יעשה לי אלהים (“thus may God do [MT: to me]”; 2 Sam 3:35).

The issue here is the use of a prepositional phrase in the syntactical construction of the oath formula. Cross et al. mention a similar variant in 1 Sam 14:44 (not preserved in Qumran Samuel) where the LXX reflects לי in its *Vorlage* whereas it is not present in the MT of that verse.<sup>544</sup> Prepositional phrases seem to be more usual in such constructions in the MT, but apart from 1 Sam 14:44, there are other examples such as 1 Kgs 19:2 where the preposition is missing. Among the issues that we cannot solve with our current information are whether perhaps the use of the prepositional phrase grew in the textual transmission, or whether it has been lost in those places where it is not found in our current texts. No further examples of this construction are preserved in Qumran Samuel.

<sup>543</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 420; cf. Cross et al., *Samuel*, 97.

<sup>544</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 116.

6.12. ABSENCE OF *LAMED* FROM לבלתי

4QA [ת]בלתי; MT (ידח) לבלתי (“so as not [to banish]”; 2 Sam 14:14).

Usually לבלתי with *lamed* is used in such senses as “so as not...” It is usually used with a following infinitive construct. Driver also notes only this verse and Exod 20:20 in the MT as exhibiting the use of לבלתי with a *yiqtol* verb.<sup>545</sup> Without the *lamed* בלתי is usually used in senses such as “not, except” as in MT 1 Sam 20:26 בלתי טהור (“not clean”). We do not know what followed this word in 4QA, but the preceding word in 4QA agrees with the MT. Thus, the 4QA text and even the MT are potential evidence of unusual features of ancient Hebrew. However, textual critics have had a fair amount of difficulty with the verse so that scholars often consider that it is difficult without emendation to “derive some satisfactory sense from MT.”<sup>546</sup> Thus McCarter reconstructs the earlier form of the verse on the basis of LXX<sup>L</sup> so that a form of לבלתי does not appear in it at all.<sup>547</sup> It is doubtful that we should put reliance on any of our textual witnesses as evidencing a genuine feature of ancient Hebrew in this case. The form לבלתי is attested parallel to the MT in 4QC 2 Sam 14:7.

## 6.13. PARTICLE OF EXISTENCE שׁ/שׁא

4QC שׁ; MT שׁא (“there is”; 2 Sam 14:19).

The form of the particle of existence with *ʾaleph* is very rare in MT Hebrew, possibly also found in Mic 6:10 and Prov 18:24 as well as perhaps in names like Eshbaal.<sup>548</sup> Although also found in Ugaritic, the form with *ʾaleph* is considered an Aramaic loanword by Wagner.<sup>549</sup> Driver comments: “Probably...here the א is not original, but due to a late transcriber.”<sup>550</sup> Cross et al. agree that the 4QC reading “is probably superior,” although they concede that the evidence from Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Hebrew personal names means that it is also possible that the form with *ʾaleph* is more original.<sup>551</sup> Scholars are divided, therefore, as to whether the rare linguistic form is evidence of early Hebrew or, say, a late intrusion under Aramaic influence. 4QC shares the reading שׁ with the MT in 2 Sam 14:32. No other forms are preserved in Qumran Samuel.

<sup>545</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 308.

<sup>546</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 341.

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*, 341.

<sup>548</sup> *HALOT* 1:92–93.

<sup>549</sup> Wagner, *Aramaismen*, 30.

<sup>550</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 309.

<sup>551</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 258.

## 6.14. PARTICLE OF ENTREATY ׀ (“PLEASE”)

## 6.14.1. 4QB ׀ ׀ (“if please/therefore”); MT ׀ (“if”; 1 Sam 20:29).

The context is the expression “if I have found favor in your eyes.” This expression is found more commonly in the MT with ׀ than without it, 8–5.<sup>552</sup> There are two examples in MT Samuel, 1 Sam 27:5 with ׀, and this one without ׀. With more securely dated evidence we could perhaps answer the question whether at one stage the use of ׀ was perhaps obligatory, and the MT represents a c. 40% loss of the feature in textual transmission, a figure which this chapter indicates is quite possible.<sup>553</sup>

## 6.14.2. 4QB ק (“get”); MT ׀ מצא (“find please”; 1 Sam 20:36).

Of the over three-hundred examples of imperatives in MT Samuel, about thirty have ׀ attached to them. With an adequate corpus of dated and localized non-literary sources we could explore further questions such as whether the distribution of such forms in our current texts reflects older forms of Hebrew or has been radically changed in textual transmission.

## 6.14.3. 4QB ד[ד] לעבד (“tell your servant”); MT ׀ לעבדך (“tell please your servant”; 1 Sam 23:11).

We discussed the interchange involving the lengthened imperative in this form in 4.7.2.2. The imperative “tell” is found both with and without ׀ in MT Samuel. The LXX does not reflect ׀. McCarter comments that “there is no basis for choosing between” the two readings, while Cross et al., admitting the difficulty, suggest: “Perhaps 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, the shorter reading, is superior.”<sup>554</sup>

## 6.14.4. 4QC ׀ אר[א] (“let me please see”); MT אראה (“let me see”; 2 Sam 14:32).

The ׀ of 4QC is reflected in LXX<sup>L</sup>.<sup>556</sup> Cross et al. comment: “Probably an expansion in 4QSam<sup>c</sup>.”<sup>557</sup>

<sup>552</sup> With ׀: Gen 30:27; 33:10; 47:29; 50:4; Exod 33:13; 34:9; Judg 6:17; 1 Sam 27:5. Without ׀: Num 11:15; 1 Sam 20:29; Esth 5:8; 7:3; 8:5.

<sup>553</sup> However, the fact that three of the examples without ׀ are in definitely late Esther is possibly significant.

<sup>554</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 243; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 370.

<sup>555</sup> The final *he* seems to have been written supralinearly (see Cross et al., *Samuel*, 261).

<sup>556</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 498.

<sup>557</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262.

## 6.14.5. General Comments on the Particle of Entreaty נא (“Please”).

It has been claimed that נא (“please”) is rare in late Hebrew.<sup>558</sup> In that context Cross et al.’s argument that נא is probably present in MT 1 Sam 23:11 and 4QC 2 Sam 14:32 as an expansion to an earlier text which did not have it (6.14.3, 6.14.4) would be an interesting example of the addition rather than subtraction of this form during textual transmission. (They do not comment on the 4QB examples.) Judgments about the history of the form, however, are hampered by the lack of an adequate corpus of dated non-literary texts. The evidence we have seen here casts doubt that the distribution of this form in our current texts reflects earlier stages of the language of the biblical compositions. We have seen four examples of variation in this section. There are, in addition, four secure cases where נא is shared by both MT and Qumran Samuel.<sup>559</sup> This means that in half (50%) of the cases where at least one of the texts has נא, there is a variant.

## 6.15. אחרִי (“AFTER”)

## 6.15.1. אחרִי/מאחרִי (“AFTER”)

4QC אחרִי בן; MT מאחרִי בן (“after this”; 2 Sam 15:1).

The 4QC form without the preposition מן is the usual one in MT Samuel, by 10–2.<sup>560</sup> Further, Auld notes that combined with the preceding ויהי the clause is unique in the MT Bible.<sup>561</sup> This fact can be evaluated in a number of different ways. McCarter considers that 4QC has substituted the ordinary form for an earlier, unusual one, whereas Cross et al. consider 4QC to be the superior reading because it is “the correct introduction.”<sup>562</sup> Once again we are not able to make a more certain text-critical judgment in the case of a rare linguistic form. There is no Qumran evidence preserved for the other cases in the MT.

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<sup>558</sup> *LDBT* 1:270; 2:118.

<sup>559</sup> 4QA: 2 Sam 1:4; 13:24, 26. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:18. In addition there is 1 Sam 28:22 in 4QA, about which Cross et al. caution: “This reading is most precarious” (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 96).

<sup>560</sup> Without: 1 Sam 9:13; 24:6, 9; 2 Sam 2:1; 8:1; 10:1; 13:1; 21:14, 18; 24:10. With: 2 Sam 3:28; 15:1.

<sup>561</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 500.

<sup>562</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262–63; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 354.

## 6.15.2. אַחַר OR אַחֲרָי (“AFTER”)

4QB אַחַר; MT אַחֲרָי (“after”; 1 Sam 20:38).

4QB אַחַר; MT אַחֲרָי (“after”; 1 Sam 21:10).<sup>563</sup>

Although neither form of the preposition is rare, the longer form אַחֲרָי is found much more often in the MT. MT Samuel, in fact, has a very strong preference for the longer form, using it over seventy times, while using the short form on only four occasions.<sup>564</sup> Given the rarity of the form in MT Samuel, it is striking that both cases of the preposition in 4QB are the very rare short form in disagreement with the MT. This hints that 4QB may have had a quite different linguistic profile in this feature to MT Samuel. The other Qumran Samuel manuscripts, in contrast, all agree with the MT by having the long form in all seven cases where the form is preserved enough to identify it.<sup>565</sup> What was the distribution of this form in the earliest compositional layers of Samuel?

## 7. VOCABULARY

In this section we first discuss cases of vocabulary interchange with specific issues associated with them, and then we provide a general listing of vocabulary interchanges. In addition, one could compile a substantial list of the items of vocabulary which are only attested in pluses to the MT or Qumran Samuel.

## 7.1. אָמָה AND שְׂפָחָה (“MAIDSERVANT”)

4QA אָמָה; MT שְׂפָחָה (“your maidservants”; 1 Sam 8:16).

4QA אָמָה; MT שְׂפָחָה (“your maidservant”; 2 Sam 14:19).

Cross et al. comment in relation to the first case: “The 4QSam<sup>a</sup> reading may be owing to modernizing.”<sup>566</sup> It is difficult to know on what grounds this statement is made. Neither term occurs very often in the so-called Late Biblical Hebrew books, אָמָה only in Ezra 2:65//Neh 7:67, and שְׂפָחָה only in Esth 7:4 and non-synoptic 2 Chr 28:10 (cf. Qoh 2:7). The latest study of the two terms concludes: “[N]o general distinction in meaning...can be made. [The two terms]

<sup>563</sup> For more on the phrase in which this appears see 5.4.15.

<sup>564</sup> 1 Sam 10:5; 11:7 (//אַחֲרָי); 12:14; 2 Sam 7:8.

<sup>565</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 5:9; 15:31; 2 Sam 2:25; 20:10, 13. 4QC: 2 Sam 15:1. 1Q: 2 Sam 21:18.

<sup>566</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 59.

are synonyms.”<sup>567</sup> Furthermore, it is אָמָה which is attested in preexilic Hebrew inscriptions (see the Silwan Tomb inscription 1:2 from c. 700 B.C.E.).<sup>568</sup> One of the pieces of evidence that the two terms are synonymous is their interchange within the same speech, for example in the speech of the wise woman from Tekoa in 2 Sam 14.<sup>569</sup> The two variants noted above are the only two occurrences where 4QA or the MT have אָמָה or שְׂפָחָה, the fragmentary nature of the text being evidenced again in that none of the other examples are preserved. 4QC, however, agrees with the MT in two occurrences, once with אָמָה (2 Sam 14:16) and once with שְׂפָחָה (2 Sam 14:12). It would have been interesting to have more evidence from 4QA to confirm that it is likely only a coincidence that both examples of שְׂפָחָה in the MT correspond to אָמָה in 4QA. The alternative would be a more systematic replacement of one term with the other in one of the texts, for example to produce a more standardized text in 4QA. In any case we can draw from the example not to put too much reliance on the exact distribution of items of vocabulary as evidence of the language of “original” authors or as indications of “early” or “late” usage.

## 7.2. פָּחוּ (“TO BE RECKLESS/ARROGANT”)

4QA בָּלַגְ[נ] הָזֵי [וּי]פָּחָה[ח] (“and Nabal behaved arrogantly”<sup>570</sup>); MT וַיִּנְחֹחוּ (“and they rested” [NRSV: “waited”]; 1 Sam 25:9).

4QB וַיִּפְחוּ (“and he sprang up”); MT וַיִּקָּם (“and he arose”; 1 Sam 20:34).

In both of these cases the rare and perhaps archaic term פָּחוּ is paralleled by a more common term in the MT. The LXX has the reading *καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν* (“and he leapt/started up”) in both cases, and it is considered likely that by this it is translating פָּחוּ.<sup>571</sup> The most likely scenario is that the MT tradition has replaced the rare term with the more common ones. Cross et al. and McCarter suggest an explanation based on similarity of letters: “*p* and *n* on the one hand and *z* and *w* on the other are among the most easily confused letter-forms in the scripts in

<sup>567</sup> E. J. Bridge, “Female Slave vs Female Slave: אָמָה and שְׂפָחָה in the HB,” *JHS* 12 (2012): 21 (<http://www.jhsonline.org>); cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 155.

<sup>568</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp also mention two occurrences in Moussaieff ostracon 2:2, 4 (Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 662). However, on these inscriptions see, for example, Rollston’s comment: “I am confident beyond a reasonable doubt that both of the Moussaieff Ostraca were indeed written by the same person, and that both are modern forgeries” (C. A. Rollston, “Non-Provenanced Epigraphs I: Pillaged Antiquities, Northwest Semitic Forgeries, and Protocols for Laboratory Tests,” *Maarav* 10 [2003]: 135–93 [173]).

<sup>569</sup> Bridge, “Female,” 18–19.

<sup>570</sup> For this translation see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 389, 393.

<sup>571</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 87, 233; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 339, 393.

which the biblical manuscripts were transmitted.”<sup>572</sup> Cross et al. claim further that in late Hebrew the term “gained the meaning ‘to be concupiscent, lewd, lascivious’ and lost its primitive meaning ‘to act in excitement’,” and hence was replaced since it was inappropriate for its context, especially in 1 Sam 20:34 where Jonathan is the subject.<sup>573</sup> However, McCarter sees at least a connotation of impudence or arrogance as appropriate to both Samuel texts, as can be seen from his translation of 4QA, quoted above.<sup>574</sup> Whatever we decide on this issue, removal of rare forms is enough of a motivation on its own to explain the variants.

Polak has recently used this example as evidence that “many ancient lexemes have been lost in the transmission process.” He argues that instead of looking to such changeable details of the text, we must look at larger structures, such as syntax, as providing possible evidence of older linguistic stages in the current texts.<sup>575</sup> We agree that the more pervasive the linguistic features, the higher the likelihood that they provide evidence of earlier, and perhaps the earliest stage of the text in question, although we have described several examples in these Samuel texts alone where there seems to be evidence for large-scale changes of linguistic usage. These two variants at least show again that we must be very cautious about any attempts to make exact statements about the language of “the Bible,” unless we specify that by that we mean the MT Bible.

### 7.3. מלכות (“KINGDOM”)

7.3.1. 4QA [ל]מלכות ישראל; MT ממלכות ישראל (“the kingdom/kingship of Israel”; 1 Sam 15:28).

The construct form of the normal word for “kingdom” is ממלכה, which some scholars have suggested should be read in every place where the MT gives מְמַלְכֹת, a rare word which is only ever attested in construct in the MT.<sup>576</sup> This is therefore a suggestion of a serious change in the linguistic profile of the MT. McCarter suggests: “The first word may be a conflation of *mlkwt* and *mmlkt*,” and continues: “Read tentatively *mlkwt yśr’l*.”<sup>577</sup>

<sup>572</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 233; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 393.

<sup>573</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 87, 233.

<sup>574</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 339–40.

<sup>575</sup> Polak, “Book,” 69.

<sup>576</sup> Wellhausen, *Text*, 100; cf. Driver, *Notes*, 128.

<sup>577</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 264.

7.3.2. 4QB ממלכות; MT ומלכותך (“[and] your kingdom”; 1 Sam 20:31).

Here 4QB gives the more common BH form.

7.3.3. General Comments on מלכות (“Kingdom”).

None of these words for “kingdom/kingship” are clearly preserved in any other places in Qumran Samuel, although two cases where a form of ממלכה are shared between 4QA and MT Samuel seem likely from what remains.<sup>578</sup>

The form מלכות for (“kingdom”) is one of the most commonly cited examples of late Hebrew vocabulary.<sup>579</sup> What do we make of cases where this “late” form turns up in “early” writings like Samuel? It is clear from these examples here that characteristic “late” linguistic features were added and subtracted from the text during its transmission. Perhaps we could simply remove all such “late” forms from our “early” texts as later scribal updates. There are several problems with this suggestion. The first is that characteristic “late” linguistic forms are attested in the preexilic inscriptions, our only secure evidence for monarchic-era Hebrew.<sup>580</sup> The second is that in most cases we do not know what is actually early and late in ancient Hebrew, except on the basis of the distribution of forms in the late manuscripts of the MT, which have demonstrably undergone serious changes in their linguistic profiles. We do not have the adequate corpus of dated and localized texts that would allow us with some confidence to declare the likelihood that such forms as מלכות were only used by “late” authors, and that their attestation in “early” writings is due to later scribal changes. As the evidence stands, there is no doubt that it is a characteristic and favored word of some definitely postexilic works, usually seen as the core LBH books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. But does this mean that the form was only developed late in Hebrew or does it perhaps represent a stylistic choice by these works to favor a word that existed earlier, but was mostly avoided by other biblical authors?<sup>581</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> 1 Sam 24:21; 2 Sam 3:28.

<sup>579</sup> See *LDBT* 1:21 with n. 21.

<sup>580</sup> Young, “Hebrew Inscriptions”; *LDBT* 1:143–72. For the suggestion that מלכות is attested in a preexilic inscription see Na’aman, “New,” 89–90.

<sup>581</sup> See the analysis in chapter 9 (9.2).

## 7.4. הַן/הִנֵּה (“BEHOLD”)

## 7.4.1. 4QA וְ[הַן] (“and behold”); MT minus (1 Sam 10:27+).

In the long plus in 4QA after MT 1 Sam 10:27 (see 4.4.5) we read “and behold seven thousand men escaped from the hand of the king of Ammon,” using הַן.

## 7.4.2. 4QA הִנֵּה; MT הַן (“behold”; 2 Sam 3:24).

The context is Joab saying to David, “Behold, Abner came to you.”

## 7.4.3. General Comments on הַן/הִנֵּה (“Behold”).

The longer form הִנֵּה is clearly attested eight times in cases where the MT and Qumran Samuel agree.<sup>582</sup> As Cross et al. note, “הַן is the rarer form and is not found in the Masoretic Text of Samuel.”<sup>583</sup> In fact, almost all the examples in the MT Hebrew Bible are concentrated in the Pentateuch (especially Genesis), Isaiah (especially the second half), and Job. None of the books of the so-called Deuteronomistic History after Deuteronomy (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) has a single example. These variants in 4QA, where 20% of the 4QA forms are הַן, raise the question: Is the absence of this form in books like Samuel a feature of the language of the “original” author of these books, or is it due to subsequent revision of the language during scribal transmission?

## 7.5. שָׁל (“ERROR”)

4QA אֶרְוֶן [הַן] אֶרְוֶן עַל [הַן] אֶרְוֶן שָׁל יָדוֹ (“because he put out his hand to the ark”); MT עַל הַשָּׁל (“for his error”; 2 Sam 6:7).

The phrase gives the reason why Uzzah was killed by God for his actions in regard to the ark. The reading of 4QA is also the reading of the parallel in 1 Chr 13:10. Driver outlines reasons for suspicion of the MT reading הַשָּׁל (“the error”): “(1) שָׁל is scarcely a pure Hebrew word: where it occurs, it is either dialectical (2 Ki. 4) or late (2 Ch.); so that its appearance in early Hebrew is unexpected; (2) the unusual apocopated form (שָׁל for שָׁלִי) excites suspicion.”<sup>584</sup> We might note Driver’s presupposition that Samuel is early Hebrew and that the MT is a reliable indicator of the distribution of linguistic forms in ancient Hebrew, but many scholars have agreed with Driver’s suspicions. It is

<sup>582</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 9:8, 12, 17; 10:10; 26:22; 2 Sam 16:11; 19:38. 4QC: 2 Sam 14:32.

<sup>583</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 114.

<sup>584</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 267–68.

commonly suggested that the MT reading is a corruption of that found in Chronicles and 4QA.<sup>585</sup> McCarter, furthermore, on the basis of the absence of either version of the phrase in LXX<sup>B</sup> suggests that the 4QA/Chronicles phrase is a later plus, itself subsequently corrupted into the MT reading.<sup>586</sup> Thus, textual corruption, in the opinion of many scholars, produced an unusual linguistic form in the MT.<sup>587</sup>

#### 7.6. שׁוֹר (“WATCH”)

4QA [וַיִּהְיֶה בְשׁוֹר יוֹאָב] (“and while Joab watched”); MT וַיְהִי בְשׁוֹר יוֹאָב (“and while Joab guarded”; 2 Sam 11:16).

McCarter argues that 4QA retains a rare word which has been replaced by a more common one in the MT.<sup>588</sup> On the contrary, Ulrich, on the basis of LXX<sup>L</sup> and other witnesses, argues that 4QA’s בְּשׁוֹר is probably an error for בְּצוֹר, the more usual word for “besieging.”<sup>589</sup> Cross et al., while agreeing that Ulrich is probably right, suggest yet another possibility, that בְּשׁוֹר came about by dropping the *mem* of the MT form.<sup>590</sup> We are certainly far from being sure what an “original” author wrote here.

#### 7.7. פְּלִגְשִׁים (“CONCUBINES”)

4QA minus; MT פְּלִגְשִׁים (“concubines”; 2 Sam 20:3).

The suspicion of some scholars that this verse in the MT was a late addition receives further support from its absence from 4QA.<sup>591</sup> פְּלִגְשִׁים (“concubines”), found in this verse, is an acknowledged foreign loanword in BH, sometimes derived from Greek.<sup>592</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 408; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 127; Driver, *Notes*, 268; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 165.

<sup>586</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 165.

<sup>587</sup> For a full discussion, and an argument that both readings are secondary, see Rezetko, *Source*, 128–41; cf. *LDBT* 1:105.

<sup>588</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 281.

<sup>589</sup> Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 137–38.

<sup>590</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 141.

<sup>591</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 172–73; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 423.

<sup>592</sup> See, for example, *HALOT* 3:929; M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament: Their Origin and Etymology* (London: Luzac & Company, 1962), 134.

## 7.8. רדד (“SUBJUGATE”)

4QA ומרדד (“and subjugating”); MT Samuel ומוריד (“and brings down”); MT Psalms וַיִּדְבֹר (“and he subdued”; 2 Sam 22:48/Ps 18:48).

This is a noteworthy case of vocabulary substitution. First, there are three different Hebrew words used in the three Hebrew witnesses to this text. Second, two of the texts use very rare vocabulary in the form of the roots רדד, and דבר without the sense “to speak.” Cross et al. comment: “It is difficult to determine the *Vorlage* of the Greek witnesses.”<sup>593</sup> They suggest that all of them reflect רדד, yet McCarter thinks that while LXX<sup>L</sup> reflects this root, LXX<sup>B</sup> with its *παιδεύω* reflects a reading מיסר.<sup>594</sup> If one were considering just MT Samuel against either 4QA or Psalms, one might consider it easy to assume that the rare form has been replaced by the more common form in MT Samuel. However, if one were trying to reconstruct the “original” text of this poem, a problem arises in that we have several options for what the “earlier” rare form might have been. Further, it is far from certain that a common linguistic form was not the older reading. With almost no external fixed points from which to view the language of the biblical texts, we have no real vantage point from which to judge what linguistic forms were “unusual” at various periods and in various locations in the history of Hebrew.

## 7.9. “VENGEANCE” OR “OBSTACLE”?

4QC לנקם (“for vengeance”);<sup>595</sup> MT לפוקה (“for an obstacle”; 1 Sam 25:31).

The MT noun פוקה, translated as “obstacle” or “(cause of) tottering,”<sup>596</sup> is a *hapax legomenon* related to the verb attested once in *Qal* (Isa 28:7) and once in *Hiphil* (Jer 10:4), and the noun פק (“tottering”) which is attested only in Nah 2:11. While McCarter finds the use of the word in this verse to be “unusual,” he suggests it is “to be preferred as *lectio difficilior*.”<sup>597</sup> In contrast, Cross et al. consider that the MT is “implausible” and, suggesting that 4QC’s reading (along with those of the Targum and Peshitta) is “*ad sensum*,” and that the LXX (βδελυγμός) reflects a Hebrew text which read שקוץ, argues that the “original

<sup>593</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 186.

<sup>594</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 186; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 462; cf. Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 589; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 91.

<sup>595</sup> The scribe of 4QC wrote למנקם but the *mem* was erased. It is possible that the scribe started to write the following word ולמכשול but realized his mistake before continuing (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 255).

<sup>596</sup> For “obstacle” see, for example, *HALOT* 3:920; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 394–95. For “tottering” see, for example, BDB 807b; Tsumura, *Samuel*, 587.

<sup>597</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 394.

reading...seems irretrievable” with only the *qoph* in common between 4QC, the MT, and the *Vorlage* of the LXX.<sup>598</sup> In view of this discussion, the question is whether פוקה is a real ancient Hebrew noun (even if perhaps inappropriately used in this text), or whether it is only a creation of the scribal transmission of the text.

#### 7.10. מאד/מאודה “GREATLY”

4QC [מ]אודה; MT מאד (“greatly”; 2 Sam 14:25).

The long form of this word is well known as a “Qumran” form, in that it was not known before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. Kutscher explains the final “a” vowel as the ancient Semitic accusative ending.<sup>599</sup> This raises the question whether its presence in QH and in biblical texts from Qumran is purely a late development or evidence of a much older usage?<sup>600</sup> Both 4QA and 4QB attest the shorter form in common with the MT,<sup>601</sup> and at present it is generally considered that the use of “Qumran” linguistic forms is part of the scribal style of 4QC, reflecting its particular milieu rather than a symptom of earlier linguistic forms that have been lost. Scrolls like this that are more in line with so-called Qumran styles, however, are further evidence that the linguistic profiles of our biblical texts were changed in scribal transmission.

#### 7.11. עלם (“LAD”)

4QB עלמה (“his lad”); MT הנער (“the boy”; 1 Sam 20:38).

The word עלם for “lad” is only found in Samuel in the MT Bible in 1 Sam 17:56; 20:22. See also the feminine עלמה (“young woman”) which occurs seven times. Cross et al. comment: “Apparently, **מ** has been attracted to הנער in v 37, a modernizing substitute for the rare term עלם, or has been revised in anticipation of נער יונתן later in v 38.”<sup>602</sup>

#### 7.12. OTHER VOCABULARY SUBSTITUTIONS

Here we list other examples not mentioned elsewhere where vocabulary items are variant between parallel texts in the MT and Qumran Samuel. Note

<sup>598</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 255.

<sup>599</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*, 414.

<sup>600</sup> The appearance of the short form מאד in Arad 111:3 is the sole case in the concordance of inscriptions in Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew*, 706.

<sup>601</sup> 4QA: 1 Sam 2:17, 22; 5:9; 12:18; 2 Sam 8:8; 10:5. 4QB plus in 1 Sam 20:30.

<sup>602</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 234.

again that there are many other items that are not parallel because they appear in pluses in the MT or Qumran Samuel.

### 7.12.1. 4QA

4QA יעבור; MT יעלה (1 Sam 1:11). Context: “no razor shall *touch* his head.”

4QA היוצא מפיך (“what went forth from your mouth”); MT את דברו (“his word”; 1 Sam 1:23). Context: “may YHWH confirm *his word*.”

4QA ודרך חסידיו (“and the way of his faithful ones”); MT רגלי חסידו (“the feet of his faithful ones”; 1 Sam 2:9). Context: “[YHWH] will guard *the feet* of his faithful ones.”

4QA מכול אשר (“from all that”); MT כאשר (“as”; 1 Sam 2:16). Context: “take *whatever* you wish.”

4QA ישלם (“may he repay”); MT ישם (“may he put [establish]”; 1 Sam 2:20). Context: “May YHWH *repay* you.”

4QA מראש; MT מראשית (“from the first part”; 1 Sam 2:29). Context: “by fattening yourselves *on the first part* of every offering of Israel my people.”

4QA יפולו בחרב אנשים (“they will fall by the sword of men”); MT ימותו אנשים (“they will die as [?] men”; 1 Sam 2:33). Context: death of priest Eli’s descendants.

4QA אלוהי ישראל (“the God of Israel”); MT האלהים (“God”; 1 Sam 5:10). Context: “the ark of *the God of Israel/God*.”

4QA מהמה יהוה (“a panic of [from] YHWH”; cf. Zech 14:13); MT מהומת־מות (“a panic of death”; 1 Sam 5:11). Context: “for there was *a panic of death* in the whole city.” For another “theological correction” in the MT see 2 Sam 12:14, below.

4QA [הע]יר (“the city”); MT השער (“the gate”; 1 Sam 9:18). Context: “Then Saul approached Samuel inside *the gate*.”

4QA [ה]וא (“he”); MT הראה (“the seer”; 1 Sam 9:19). Context: “Samuel answered Saul: ‘I am *the seer*.’”

4QA ים[ש] (“it is set” or “place” [imperative]); MT שמור (“it was kept”; 1 Sam 9:24). Context: “Behold what is left, place it before you, eat because for the festival *it was kept* for you.”

4QA [נ] למקומו (“to his place”); MT לביתו (“to his house”; 1 Sam 10:25). Context: “Samuel sent away all the people, each *to his house*.”

4QA יה[ו]ה (“YHWH”); MT אלהים (“God”; 1 Sam 10:26). Context: “warriors whose heart *God* had touched.”

4QA ויהי כמו חדש (“about a month later”); MT ויהי כמחריש (“and he was like someone who keeps silent”; 1 Sam 10:27). The contexts are quite different, the MT referring to how Saul reacted to those who despised his kingship, 4QA continuing the story about the activities of Nahash the Ammonite after a long plus.

4QA אלף (“70 thousand”); MT שלשים אלף (“30 thousand”; 1 Sam 11:8). Context: “(Saul mustered)...*thirty* thousand from Judah.”

4QA נפצו; MT פצו (“scatter”; 1 Sam 14:34). Context: “Saul said: ‘*Disperse* yourselves among the troops.’” This is either an interchange of the roots נפץ and פוץ or the 4QA reading is the *Niphal* of the same root פוץ.<sup>603</sup>

4QA ישוב (“he will retract”);<sup>604</sup> MT ישקר (“he will deceive”; 1 Sam 15:29). Context: “the Glory of Israel will not *deceive* or change his mind.”

4QA ארבע (“four”); MT שש (“six”; 1 Sam 17:4). Context: “(Goliath’s) height was *six* cubits and a span.”

4QA [הים] באלו (“God”); MT ביהוה (“YHWH”; 1 Sam 22:10). Context: “he enquired of *YHWH* for him.”

4QA והאיש (“and the man”); MT והוא (“and he”; 1 Sam 25:3). Context: “but the man was surly and mean; *now he* was a Calebite.”

4QA [המתפר] שים; MT המתפרצים (“breaking away”; 1 Sam 25:10). Context: “Today there are many servants *breaking away*, each from his master.”

4QA [ו]א[רבע] (“and four”); MT ושש (“and six”; 1 Sam 27:2). Context: “So David arose and went over, he and *six*-hundred men.”

<sup>603</sup> See *ibid.*, 74.

<sup>604</sup> See McCarter, *I Samuel*, 264; cf. NRSV: “recant.”

4QA הקניזי (“the Kenizzite”); MT הקיני (“the Kenite”; 1 Sam 30:29). Context: “in the cities of the *Kenites*.”

4QA דלי[ה] (“Delaiah”); MT כלאב (“Chileab”; 2 Sam 3:3). Context: sons of David.

4QA [ו]יאמר (“and [Abner] said [to the elders of Israel]”); MT ודברה...היה (“and the word [of Abner] was [with the elders of Israel]”; 2 Sam 3:17).

4QA דויד (“David”); MT המלך (“the king”; 2 Sam 3:23). Context: “Abner son of Ner came to *the king*.”

4QA יואב (“Joab”); MT אביו (“his father”; 2 Sam 3:29). Context: “May the guilt fall on the head of Joab and on all the house of *his father*.”

4QA [נג]או (“they smote”);<sup>605</sup> MT הרגו (“they slew”; 2 Sam 3:30). Context: “Joab and Abishai his brother *slew* Abner.”

4QA לפי (“according to” [?]); MT לפני (“before”; 2 Sam 3:35). Context: David swore not to eat “*before* the sun goes down.”

4QA אוכל (“eating”); MT או כל (“or anything”; 2 Sam 3:35). Context: David swears he will not “taste bread or anything else” in the MT; 4QA: “taste bread, eating anything else.”<sup>606</sup>

4QA מפיבשת (“Mephibosheth”); MT איש בשת (“Ishbosheth”; 2 Sam 4:12). Context: name of the (ex-)ruler of the northern tribes.

4QA [וד] הסית (“[for the blind and the lame] incited you”); MT הסירך (“[on the contrary the blind and the lame] have turned you away [?]”; 2 Sam 5:6). See 8.6.1.

4QA [יהו]ה (“YHWH”); MT האלהים (“God”; 2 Sam 6:3). Context: “They transported the ark of *God*.”

4QA [ו]בני (“sons of”); MT בית (“house of”; 2 Sam 6:5). Context: “David and all the *house of* Israel played before YHWH.”

<sup>605</sup> See Cross et al., *Samuel*, 115.

<sup>606</sup> See McCarter, *II Samuel*, 111.

4QA עז (“strength”); MT עצי (“wood”; 2 Sam 6:5). Context: following on from the previous: “...played before YHWH with all (their) *strength*...” See the following for the continuation.

4QA [ו]בשירים (“and with songs”); MT ברושים (“cypresses”; 2 Sam 6:5). Context: continued from the previous: 4QA: “with all their strength and with songs”; MT: “with every sort of cypress wood.”

4QA נודן (“Nodan”); MT נכון (“Nacon”; 2 Sam 6:6). Context: the name or owner of a threshing floor.

4QA [ש]ב[ע]ה אילים (“seven bulls and seven rams”); MT שור ומריא (“an ox and a fatling”; 2 Sam 6:13). Context: “David sacrificed *an ox and a fatling*.”<sup>607</sup>

4QA ואהלים (“and tents”); MT ואלהיו (“and its gods”; 2 Sam 7:23). Context: “your people, whom you redeemed for yourself from Egypt, nations and *its gods*” (*sic!*).

4QA [ו]תב[וא] (“and she came”); MT ותשב (“and she returned”; 2 Sam 11:4). Context: “Then [Bathsheba] *returned* to her house.”

4QA דבר (“word”); MT איבי (“enemies”; 2 Sam 12:14). Context: “you have utterly scorned the *enemies* of YHWH.” For another “theological correction” in the MT see 1 Sam 5:11, above.

4QA אלוהים (“God”); MT יהוה (“YHWH”; 2 Sam 12:15). Context: “*YHWH* struck the child.”

4QA ויפצר (“and he pressed”); MT ויפרץ (“and he broke out”; 2 Sam 13:25). Context: “[Absalom] pressed [David] (to go).”

4QA [ק]יץ (“and an ephah of summer fruit”); MT ומאה קיץ (“and a hundred summer fruit”; 2 Sam 16:1). Context: supplies that Ziba brought to David.

4QA [י]שי (“Jesse”); MT נחש (“Nahash”; 2 Sam 17:25). Context: “Abigail daughter of *Nahash*.”

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<sup>607</sup> On all these vocabulary changes in 2 Sam 6 see the detailed discussions throughout Rezetko, *Source*.

4QA [וישמ[ור] (“and he watched”); MT ויעמד (“and he stood”; 2 Sam 18:4). Context: “And the king *stood* at the side of the gate.”

4QA והוא (“and he”); MT ואבשלום (“and Absalom”; 2 Sam 18:9). Context: “And Absalom encountered the servants of David, *and Absalom* was riding on his mule.”

4QA ויתל (“and he hung”); MT ויתן (“and he was set”; 2 Sam 18:9). Context: “And [Absalom’s] head got stuck in the oak and *he was set* between heaven and earth.”

4QA [חמ]שים (“fifty”); MT עשרה (“ten”; 2 Sam 18:11). Context: “ten pieces of silver.”

4QA [ודע]ה לך (“and know for yourself”); MT ורעה לך (“bad for you”; 2 Sam 19:8). Context: “if you do not go out...then this will be *bad (worse) for you*...”

4QA [אלוהי]ם (“God”); MT יהוה (“YHWH”; 2 Sam 20:19). Context: “Why will you swallow up the heritage of *YHWH*?”

4QA [חגור] חורה (“girded with ?”); MT חגור חדשה (“girded with new ?”; 2 Sam 21:16). Context: the equipment of Ishbi-benob.<sup>608</sup>

4QA ועזרתך (“your help”); MT וענתך (“your answer”; 2 Sam 22:36). Context: “and *your answer* has made me great.”

4QA [כעפר על] פני ארה (“like dust on a path”); MT כעפר ארץ (“like the dust of the earth”; 2 Sam 22:43). Context: “And I crushed them *like the dust of the earth*.”

4QA תצרני (“you protected me”); MT תצילני (“you saved me”; 2 Sam 22:49). Context: “from men of violence *you saved me*.”

4QA עומד (“standing”); MT היה (“was”; 2 Sam 24:16). Context: “The angel of YHWH *was* by the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite.”

4QA הרעתי (“I did evil”); MT העייתי (“I did wickedly”; 2 Sam 24:17). Context: David confesses: “I myself *have done wickedly*.”

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<sup>608</sup> See the discussion of the variants in Cross et al., *Samuel*, 179–80; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 448.

4QA לדוי[ד] (“to David”); MT למלך (“to the king”; 2 Sam 24:20). Context: “and they bowed down *to the king*.”

### 7.12.2. 4QB

4QB נערות (“young women”); MT נעות (“perverse”; 1 Sam 20:30). Context: Saul calls Jonathan: “You son of a *perverse woman* of rebellion.”

4QB כל הנערים (“all the young men”); MT כלי הנערים (“the vessels of the young men”; 1 Sam 21:6). Context: “*the vessels of the young men* are holy even when it is a common journey.”

4QB בערב (“desert”); MT במדבר (“in the wilderness”; 1 Sam 23:14). Context: “[David] dwelt in the hill country, in the *wilderness* of Ziph.”

4QB יה[וה] (“YHWH”); MT אלהים (“God”; 1 Sam 23:14). Context: “Saul sought [David] every day, but *God* did not give him into his hand.”

4QB ביה[וה] (“by YHWH”); MT באלהים (“by God”; 1 Sam 23:16). Context: “[Jonathan] strengthened [David’s] hand *by God*.” Altogether there are seven interchanges between “God” and “YHWH” in the MT and Qumran Samuel. Three times the MT has “God” and 4QA has “YHWH”: 1 Sam 22:10; 2 Sam 12:15; 20:19; cf. 1 Sam 2:25 (see 6.2.11). Four times the MT has “YHWH” and a scroll has “God”: 1 Sam 10:26 (4QA); 23:14 (4QB), 16 (4QB); 2 Sam 6:3 (4QA).<sup>609</sup>

### 7.12.3. 4QC

4QC קוקד[ד] (“?”); MT קדקדו (“the crown of his head”; 2 Sam 14:25).<sup>610</sup> Context: Absalom: “from the sole of his foot to *the crown of his head* there was no blemish in him.”

4QC מירושלם (“from Jerusalem”); MT מרגלים (“spies”; 2 Sam 15:10). Context: “Absalom sent *spies* through all the tribes of Israel.”

<sup>609</sup> For a discussion of interchanges between “God” and “YHWH” in Samuel and Chronicles, and of 2 Sam 6:3 in particular, see Rezetko, *Source*, 79–80, 113–14; cf. further comments concerning the idea that “God” and “YHWH” are diachronically stratified in BH in E. J. van Wolde and R. Rezetko, “Semantics and the Semantics of ברא [bārā]: A Rejoinder to the Arguments Advanced by B. Becking and M. Korpel,” *JHS* 11 (2011): 29–39 (<http://www.jhsonline.org>).

<sup>610</sup> Cross et al. comment: “4QSam<sup>c</sup> errs, with *dalet/waw* confusion” (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 262).

## 7.12.4. 1Q

1Q אַלִּים (“[at] Elim”); MT בגוב (“in Gob”; 2 Sam 20:18). Context: “After this, there was again war *in Gob* with the Philistines.”

## 7.13. General Comments on Vocabulary Substitutions.

We need to remind ourselves that this long list of eighty<sup>611</sup> vocabulary substitutions does not include examples already mentioned elsewhere in the context of other variants, nor does it include the many vocabulary items included in pluses either to the MT or Qumran Samuel. In sum, the number of vocabulary items not in parallel between Qumran Samuel and the MT is very significant. This puts a different perspective on attempts by scholars to compile lists of vocabulary items (usually quite short) which, it is alleged, give us information about special features of the language of the “original” author of a biblical composition. This chapter demonstrates that vocabulary items, just like other language features, were quite fluid in the textual transmission of the biblical compositions.

## 8. OTHER ISSUES OF SYNTAX

## 8.1. GENDER AND NUMBER INCONGRUENCE

## 8.1.1. 4QA חתה; MT חתים (“shattered”; 1 Sam 2:4).

These variant forms of adjectives relate to the word קשת, vocalized as קֶשֶׁת in the MT, the singular feminine word for “bow.” 4QA agrees with this interpretation of the word with its feminine singular adjective, the singular also being reflected by the Greek ἡσθένησεν, which Smith had already connected to the reading חתה.<sup>612</sup> The MT reflects an incongruence of number and gender with its masculine plural adjective, perhaps reflecting a purely mechanical error under the influence of the intervening masculine plural noun גבורים (“warriors”) or, as Driver suggests, “by attraction to גבורים, because this is the principal idea, and what the poet desires to express is not so much that the bows, as that the warriors themselves, are broken.”<sup>613</sup> Tsumura also explains the MT on poetic grounds, interpreting “bow” as an adverbial accusative: “The mighty, their bows

<sup>611</sup> This number includes the items cited in 7.1–7.12 except for the two pluses/minuses cited in 1 Sam 10:27+ and 2 Sam 20:3.

<sup>612</sup> Smith, *Samuel*, 16. Cross et al. also include this reading in their reconstructed text of the Song of Hannah (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 38).

<sup>613</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 25.

are broken.”<sup>614</sup> In contrast, McCarter suggests that the consonantal form קשת reflects a rare masculine plural קֶשֶׁת (“bows”).<sup>615</sup> It is noteworthy that should this option be correct, all subsequent witnesses misunderstood the linguistic form and this led to linguistic changes to the text, whether the vocalization of קשת or the resolution of the grammatical difficulty in 4QA and the LXX. Lewis responds that, rather than suggest the existence of an otherwise unknown masculine form of “bow,” it “seems more plausible that the singular verbal [*sic*] form (*hth*) was original and was later changed to the plural by attraction to *gibbōrīm*.”<sup>616</sup> It can be seen that there is no agreement on which one of these three texts (4QA, MT, and the conjecture) reflects the earliest reading, never mind the language of the “original” author.

8.1.2. 4QB המוסר; MT המוסרים (“[the Bread of the Presence] which is removed”; 1 Sam 21:7).

Scholars commonly explain the MT’s plural in this verse as an error due to either duplication of the *mem* on the following word (מלפני)<sup>617</sup> or the influence of the plural of the preceding word (הפנים).<sup>618</sup> Tsumura, on the contrary, suggests that the MT could be plural because multiple loaves are involved, or the *mem* could be an enclitic *mem*.<sup>619</sup> Rendsburg gives a wide survey of cases of number or gender incongruence in the MT, and suggests that they are colloquial forms.<sup>620</sup> We thus might have an unusual, possibly archaic form (Tsumura’s enclitic *mem*), or evidence that literary Hebrew could at times be loose in its number agreement, either influenced by the context (Tsumura’s other explanation), or by colloquial language (Rendsburg). Alternatively, according to scholars, this would not be evidence of an unusual feature of the language of the author of the text, but simply a scribal error arising from mechanical, rather than purely linguistic causes.

## 8.2. CONJUNCTIONS

There are many cases where a conjunction is optional in Hebrew sentences, and where different manuscripts attest its presence or absence. Although relatively minor changes, they affect our understanding of Hebrew syntax, in

<sup>614</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 138 with n. 20.

<sup>615</sup> McCarter is here following Dahood (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 69).

<sup>616</sup> Lewis, “Textual,” 32.

<sup>617</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 175; Smith, *Samuel*, 200.

<sup>618</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 348.

<sup>619</sup> Tsumura, *Samuel*, 532.

<sup>620</sup> Although this is not one of the examples discussed. See Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 69–83.

particular coordination between clauses. We present here just a few illustrative examples.<sup>621</sup>

8.2.1. 4QA [ב]שׁוּב (“return”); MT וּשׁוּב (“and return”; 1 Sam 15:30).

In this verse in the MT Saul says: “I have sinned, (but) now<sup>622</sup> honor me please before the elders of my people and before Israel, and return with me.” Instead, 4QA would reflect: “...Israel. Return with me.”<sup>623</sup> “Only 4QSam<sup>a</sup> of our witnesses lacks the conjunction.”<sup>624</sup>

8.2.2. 4QA וּדְם אֲבִנֵר (“and the blood [sg.] of Abner”); MT מִדְּמֵי אֲבִנֵר (“of the blood [pl.] of Abner”; 2 Sam 3:28).

In this example 4QA’s conjunction rather than MT’s מִן leads to a different construction of the sentences in the context. The MT reading מִדְּמֵי אֲבִנֵר leads to the following translation of vv. 28b, 29a: “I and my kingdom are guiltless before YHWH forever from the blood of Abner, son of Ner. Let it rest on the head of Joab...” In contrast, 4QA with its reading וּדְם אֲבִנֵר can be translated: “I and my kingdom are guiltless before YHWH forever! And may the blood of Abner, son of Ner, rest on the head of Joab...” LXX<sup>L</sup> provides evidence of a third reading, having just “blood” without either conjunction or preposition. Cross et al. and McCarter suggest that the MT’s מִדְּמֵי with its extra preposition “from” arose by dittography of the *mem* of the preceding word עֹלָם.<sup>625</sup> The contrast between the LXX<sup>L</sup> reading and 4QA is a case of presence or absence of the conjunction. This is an example of how relatively small differences in terms of the number of letters involved can have important consequences for the construction of Hebrew sentences. Any study of Hebrew syntax needs to take into account the fluidity of the textual tradition.

8.2.3. 4QA וַיִּגַע; MT וַיִּגַע (“whoever would smite a Jebusite [and] let him approach”; 2 Sam 5:8).

This is a very difficult verse.<sup>626</sup> We concentrate here on only the form of the verb with the conjunction. On this, Cross et al. comment: “Either 4QSam<sup>a</sup> or **א**

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<sup>621</sup> For more thorough discussion of this issue see J. T. Jacobs, “A Comprehensive Analysis of the Conjunction *Waw* in the Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls: Variants and Their Implications” (M.A. thesis, Trinity Western University, 2008).

<sup>622</sup> Note that Cross et al. reconstruct a conjunction *waw* for 4QA in place of the MT’s עַתָּה (Cross et al., *Samuel*, 77–78).

<sup>623</sup> See McCarter, *I Samuel*, 260, but without reference to 4QA.

<sup>624</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 78.

<sup>625</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 114–15; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 110.

<sup>626</sup> See, for example, Driver, *Notes*, 259; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 136.

may be translated as a volitional...The *waw* apodosis is not required in the construction of the sentence.”<sup>627</sup>

8.2.4. 4QA [עם]ו (“and with”); MT עם (“with”; 2 Sam 22:26).

2 Sam 22:26 in the MT is: “With the loyal you show yourself loyal; with the blameless man you show yourself blameless.” 4QA coordinates the two parts of the poetic verse with a conjunction: “...loyal; and with...”

8.2.5. 4QC ולך והשב (“and go and bring back”); MT ולך השב (“and go [and] bring back”; 2 Sam 14:21).

In the phrase “and go, bring back the young man, Absalom,” the MT presents two imperative verbs without coordinating them. 4QA has conjunctions on both words, while LXX<sup>L</sup> has a conjunction on only the second word, and LXX<sup>B</sup> only has the second word, and without a conjunction. McCarter considers “go and bring back” as the superior reading,<sup>628</sup> while Cross et al. favor the reading of LXX<sup>B</sup> “bring back.”<sup>629</sup>

8.2.6. 4QC והיא (“and she”); MT היא (“she”; 2 Sam 14:27).

The background information about Absalom’s daughter Tamar is presented without a coordinating conjunction in the MT, “There were born to Absalom three sons, and one daughter whose name was Tamar; she was a beautiful woman,” whereas 4QC uses the conjunction, “whose name was Tamar, and she was a beautiful woman.” Once again the versions line up on either side by reflecting or not reflecting the conjunction.<sup>630</sup>

8.2.7. 4QA [הקם]עלה (“go and erect”); MT עלה הקם (“go, erect”; 2 Sam 24:18).

The issue here is the syntactical one of coordination of two imperatives. The conjunction is reflected by the LXX.

### 8.3. WORD ORDER VARIANTS

Here we discuss cases of word order variation that are not mentioned or discussed under other headings.

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<sup>627</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 121.

<sup>628</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 342.

<sup>629</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 258.

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

8.3.1. 4QA [מיהוה התשׁועה] [לכם] (“[tomorrow] for you from YHWH is the victory”); MT תהיה לכם תשועה (“[tomorrow] victory will be yours”; 1 Sam 11:9).

This variant also involves vocabulary substitution and the presence or absence of the definite article. Cross et al. and McCarter suggest that “from YHWH” came into the text in anticipation of its use in v. 13. McCarter prefers the short text of LXX<sup>B</sup>, “(tomorrow) victory shall be yours,” as the earlier text.<sup>631</sup>

8.3.2. 4QA ה[ז]ה היום [ת]א[ת]ה [כאשר עשיתה] (“[just as] you [did] this day”); MT: לי תחת היום הזה אשר עשיתה (“in return for this day wherein you did for me”; 1 Sam 24:20).

The 4QA text is largely reconstructed but it is clear that it attests a different word order than the MT, and is probably to be reconstructed similar to LXX<sup>L</sup>'s *καθὼς πεποίνηκας σὺ σήμερον*. Cross et al. remark that “the placement in **מ** of היום after תחת is exceedingly awkward as Driver...has noted.”<sup>632</sup> McCarter reads with LXX<sup>B</sup>, *καθὼς πεποίνηκας σήμερον*.<sup>633</sup>

8.3.3. 4QA [למלך] עליהם; MT למלך עליהם (“as king over them”; 2 Sam 2:7).

This is an example of how even minor variations in the text can have implications for our understanding of ancient Hebrew syntax. Cross et al. comment: “**מ** attests the preposition על with its affixed pronoun both after למלך (Judg 9:15; 2 Sam 3:17) and before (2 Chr 9:8) making a preference between the two syntactical sequences difficult.”<sup>634</sup> What did the “original” author of Samuel write? In addition to the examples cited by Cross et al., note also 2 Sam 5:12, where both 4QA and the MT read “and David knew that YHWH had established him as king over Israel (ל[ל]מלך על ישראל),” where על follows למלך as in the MT of 2 Sam 2:7.

8.3.4. 4QA ש[ו] לא הגו; MT ורגליך לא לנחשתים הגשו (“and your feet were not put into fetters”; 2 Sam 3:34).

We have discussed the verb in 4.5.2.2. Here we focus on the variation in word order. In one text (MT) the indirect object with the preposition “in fetters” intervenes between the negative and the verb, whereas in the other text (4QA)

<sup>631</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 200–201; cf. Cross et al., *Samuel*, 68.

<sup>632</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 85; cf. Driver, *Notes*, 195; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 79.

<sup>633</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 383.

<sup>634</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 105; cf. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 82.

the negation and verb are together with each other. The LXX seems to have conflated the two readings by reading the negative in both positions.<sup>635</sup> McCarter follows 4QA here, without giving his reason,<sup>636</sup> but perhaps because the negative is expected more in immediate proximity to the verb it negates.

8.3.5. 4QA ואת העורים ואת ה[פסחי]ם [ואת] (‘‘and the blind and the lame’’); MT ואת העורים ואת הפסחים (‘‘and the lame and the blind’’; 2 Sam 5:8).

In v. 6 both 4QA and the MT have the word order ‘‘the blind and the lame,’’ while LXX<sup>L</sup> has ‘‘the lame and the blind.’’<sup>637</sup> In v. 8, the MT has the reverse order, ‘‘the lame and the blind,’’ in agreement with major Greek witnesses such as LXX<sup>B</sup> and LXX<sup>L</sup>. In contrast, 4QA, in agreement with Greek witnesses such as LXX<sup>M,N</sup>, has the order ‘‘the blind and the lame.’’ Finally, 4QA, the MT, and the major Greek witnesses agree on the order ‘‘blind and lame’’ (singular; some Greek witnesses like LXX<sup>B</sup>, plural)<sup>638</sup> later in v. 8. Cross et al. comment: ‘‘The probable scribal mechanism for this scribal transposition of words is the double usage of ואת ה-ים found in this phrase.’’<sup>639</sup> In other words, they think as usual of mechanical reasons for the change, rather than, say, in terms of ‘‘memory variants.’’<sup>640</sup> While Cross et al. suggest ‘‘it is impossible to determine the original reading,’’ they consider it may be significant that 4QA is in agreement with the word order later in the verse. McCarter also prefers the MT word order in his translation.<sup>641</sup> The question is whether 4QA and related texts have brought this reading in conformity with the order in the other two occurrences in vv. 6, 8, or whether the variation in the MT was introduced later.

Language scholars have suggested that the order in which the terms are presented in certain idiomatic expressions varies between different (chronological) strata of Hebrew,<sup>642</sup> for example as with the variation between ‘‘gold and silver’’ and ‘‘silver and gold.’’ Word order variations such as this one call the data used for such judgments into question.

<sup>635</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 115; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 111.

<sup>636</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 111.

<sup>637</sup> Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 128.

<sup>638</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 121; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 136; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 129.

<sup>639</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 121.

<sup>640</sup> On ‘‘memory variants’’ see chapter 3 (3.5.4).

<sup>641</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 121; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 136.

<sup>642</sup> *LDBT* 2:170 (#46).

8.3.6. 4QA ויולדו[ן לדוד עוד]; MT ויולדו עוד לדוד (“more [sons and daughters] were born to David”; 2 Sam 5:13).

The major LXX witnesses reflect the word order of 4QA (see the similar phrase in 1 Chr 14:3).<sup>643</sup> The syntactical issue is the order of verb, adverb, and indirect object.

8.3.7. 4QA [על פ]לשת[יי]ם האע[לה]; MT האעלה אל פלשתים (“shall I go up against the Philistines?”; 2 Sam 5:19).

Cross et al. comment: “The transposition of the phrase [על פ]לשת[יי]ם האע[לה], placing it before the verb with interrogative *he*, is unexpected, and while it can be called a *lectio difficilior*, is surely not original.”<sup>644</sup> 4QA’s word order is not attested in any other witness for this verse. Once again the issue is whether an unusual form is suspect, or evidence of other ways of constructing this sort of sentence, perhaps more common in older Hebrew, an issue which cannot be settled until we have more dated and localized evidence of older Hebrew.

8.3.8. 4QA הנה[ה] אנוכי הרה (“behold I am pregnant”); MT הרה אנכי (“pregnant am I”; 2 Sam 11:5).

There are two related syntactical variants in this short phrase. Apart from the word order variation, there is the question of the presence or absence of הנה. Cross et al. argue that 4QA exhibits the preferable text despite the lack of other texts in agreement with it, arguing that הנה has been lost in the MT by haplography, and comparing 1 Sam 8:5 and 10:22 “where הנה immediately precedes and accentuates the independent pronoun.”<sup>645</sup> In regard to the word order of the following two elements, Auld points out that the same phrase in Gen 38:25 has the word order found in 4QA.<sup>646</sup>

8.3.9. 4QA [עד] בוא מ[עמכם דבר]; MT עד בוא דבר מעמכם (“until word comes from you”; 2 Sam 15:28).

Cross et al. indicate that 4QA is the only witness to this word order.<sup>647</sup>

<sup>643</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 122; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 147; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 83.

<sup>644</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 122.

<sup>645</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>646</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 451.

<sup>647</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 157.

8.3.10. 4QC אֲדוֹנַי לְ[א] (“to my lord”); MT אֵל הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲדוֹנַי (“to the king, my lord”; 2 Sam 14:15).

The word order “my lord, the king” is found thirty-six times in MT Samuel,<sup>648</sup> whereas the word order “the king, my lord” appears only here. The unusual word order of the MT has been created by the combining of two variants “the king” (as in LXX<sup>L</sup>) and “my lord” (as in 4QC) according to Cross et al. and McCarter.<sup>649</sup> The unusual syntax was thus, according to them, created during the scribal transmission of the text; it does not represent the language of an “original” author.

### 8.3.11. General Comments on Word Order Variations.

The numerous and unpredictable shifts in word order in our witnesses to the book of Samuel mean that we need to be cautious of making overly precise statements about sentence construction in ancient Hebrew.

## 8.4. WAYS OF EXPRESSING THE POSSESSIVE

8.4.1. 4QA וְשְׁנֵי אֲנָשִׁים שְׂרֵי גִדּוּדִים בֶּן בְּנֵי שָׁאֻל לְמַפִּיבֶשֶׁת (“Mephibosheth, son of Saul, had two captains of raiding bands”); MT וְשְׁנֵי אֲנָשִׁים שְׂרֵי גִדּוּדִים הָיוּ בֶּן בְּנֵי שָׁאֻל (“And the son of Saul [had] two captains of raiding bands”; 2 Sam 4:2).

The two texts exhibit two different ways of constructing a possessive phrase. 4QA uses the possessive *lamed* on its own, without the verb *haya* which is attested in the MT. However, very unusually, the MT does not use the possessive *lamed*. One could register the MT as an unusual way that ancient Hebrew constructed a possessive phrase, perhaps a symptom of the northern original of stories about the house of Saul. However, scholars generally think that *lamed* בֶּשֶׁת (“[to] Ishboshet”), has dropped out of the text.<sup>650</sup> Cross et al. and McCarter suggest this happened as part of a reaction to the error evidenced by 4QA and the LXX where the name Mephibosheth appears.<sup>651</sup> Thus, the MT tells us nothing about unusual forms in ancient Hebrew, according to these scholars. In fact, Driver comments: “The text, as it stands, is not translatable.”<sup>652</sup>

<sup>648</sup> 1 Sam 24:9; 26:17, 19; 29:8; 2 Sam 3:21; 4:8; 9:11; 13:33; 14:9, 12, 17 (x2), 18, 19 (x2), 22; 15:15, 21 (x2); 16:4, 9; 18:28, 32; 19:20, 21, 27, 28 (x2), 29, 31, 36, 38; 24:3 (x2), 21, 22.

<sup>649</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 258; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 339.

<sup>650</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 253; Smith, *Samuel*, 284; cf. GKC §128c, p. 415, and the next footnote.

<sup>651</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 116; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 124.

<sup>652</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 253.

An interesting observation about this example is that it is possible that neither of the texts exhibits a preferable reading over the other. If the earlier reading used the common idiom for possession, *ל* plus *היה*, as Cross et al. seem to suggest,<sup>653</sup> then both 4QA and the MT will have undergone change during textual transmission. This would be an indication of possibly many other more complex cases we know nothing about where a more “original” linguistic form is not represented in any of our textual witnesses.

8.4.2. 4QA *יד עבדים* [לדו]; MT *לדוד לעבדים* (“[they became] servants to David”; 2 Sam 8:6).

The issue here is whether both elements in this expression have the preposition *ל*. 4QA literally is “to David servants” (presuming the likelihood that the *lamed* was at least on the first element) whereas the MT is “to David for servants.” Cross et al. point out the very similar expression in the MT of 2 Sam 8:14, “and all Edom became servants to David” where we have *לדוד עבדים*, the word “servants” being without the *lamed* as in v. 6 in 4QA.<sup>654</sup> However, the word order with “servants” first may be significant here. There are a number of examples of “become servants to X” where *עבדים* comes before the indirect object and lacks the preposition, for example, *והיינו עבדים לפרעה* (“we will become slaves to Pharaoh”; Gen 47:25). More significant therefore are examples like 1 Kgs 12:7 *והיו לך עבדים* (“then they will be servants to you”) where the word “servants” follows the object with the preposition. Nevertheless, it seems evident that the MT reading with both words bearing the preposition when “servants” follows the noun or pronoun is the more common one in the MT. However, again we are faced with the question whether the relative frequency in the MT reflects the language of the “original” authors or a later scribal development. Is the rare form of 4QA earlier or later in the scribal history of Samuel? It is significant that the parallel text in 1 Chr 18:6 agrees with 4QA against MT Samuel in having *לדוד עבדים*. Is the agreement 4QA = Chronicles evidence of an earlier form of the Samuel text, or of a shared, maybe later linguistic development? It is interesting that while 1 Chr 18:13 agrees with its parallel in 2 Sam 8:14 in having *עבדים לדוד*, in 1 Chr 18:2 it has the same phrase whereas 2 Sam 8:2 has *לדוד לעבדים*. The syntax of this expression varies not only between books, but also in the textual traditions of the same book.

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<sup>653</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 116. In contrast, McCarter prefers the 4QA grammatical construction, without *היו* (McCarter, *II Samuel*, 124).

<sup>654</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 133.

8.4.3. 4QC אש[ר] לוא; MT אשר יהיה לו (“who has”; 2 Sam 15:4).

Here both texts have the preposition *lamed*. The difference is the presence of היה in the MT. Cross et al. suggest that there is no room for יהיה also in the identical expression in v. 2,<sup>655</sup> although this is of course just based on considerations of space and line length.

#### 8.5. היה WITH AGE FORMULA/TEMPORAL CLAUSE

4QA ויהי; MT היה (“[and] he was”; 2 Sam 4:4).

This is another example where a minor variation, graphically speaking, can have quite significant consequences for the syntax of the passage. The MT is part of the context: “Saul’s son Jonathan had a son who was crippled in his feet. *He was* (היה) five years old when the news about Saul and Jonathan came...” (NRSV). 4QA can be rendered: “Jonathan son of Saul had a lame son, five years old. (*And it was*: ויהי) When the news about Saul and Jonathan came...”

The variant involves two issues of Hebrew syntax. The first is the use of היה in the age formula in the MT, which is unusual. Next, the MT leads on to a temporal clause which begins with the infinitive construct introduced by *beth*. Because היה is taken with the previous clause, the temporal clause is technically not introduced by the verb היה, the absence of which is said to be characteristic of late Hebrew.<sup>656</sup> In contrast, 4QA has the “early” form introduced by ויהי. Different to both of these readings, the LXX (καὶ ὅτε) is considered to reflect Hebrew והוא (“and he, [when the news about Saul and Jonathan came]”).<sup>657</sup>

Driver suggests in regard to the age formula that “והוא בן חמש שנה (without היה) would be excellent Hebrew,” but he refers to cases where the age formula includes היה in 2 Kgs 8:17; 14:2; 15:2, 33.<sup>658</sup> McCarter follows 4QA as his earliest text, removing היה from the age formula and introducing the temporal clause with ויהי.<sup>659</sup> Neither of the linguistic peculiarities of the MT are part of the earlier text, according to this reconstruction.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid., 263, 265.

<sup>656</sup> See *LDBT* 1:76–78; 2:162 (#2); and the analysis in chapter 5 (5.3).

<sup>657</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 116; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 124.

<sup>658</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 253.

<sup>659</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 123, 124.

## 8.6. אִם PLUS כִּי

8.6.1. 4QA [כִּי הִסִּיתָ] (“for [the blind and the lame] incited you”); MT כִּי אִם (“on the contrary [the blind and the lame] have turned you away [?]”; 2 Sam 5:6).

This variant is especially complex because the meaning of neither the MT nor 4QA is clear in the context. Hence scholars differ in their reconstruction of 4QA. For example, McCarter has: “For the blind and the lame had incited them.”<sup>660</sup> With such a complexity of issues, it is difficult to comment on the specific significance of the variation between 4QA’s כִּי and the MT’s אִם.

8.6.2. 4QA אִם (“if”); MT כִּי אִם (“for if”; 2 Sam 18:3).

Usually the combination אִם כִּי forms a unit, normally adversative “but rather, except.” However, sometimes the two elements retain their separate force as in the MT here.<sup>661</sup> The difference between the two expressions is the difference between “you shall not go out. If we flee...” (4QA) and “you shall not go out. For if we flee...” (MT; cf. other versions). Cross et al. suggest: “The word כִּי is often an expansionistic element and probably is here.”<sup>662</sup> This comment raises the question of the relative proportion of אִם כִּי (“for if”) against “except.” How many of the other examples of “for if” in the MT (x157 in total; x20 in Samuel) are due to such scribal expansions? We do not know.

8.6.3. 4QA אִם כִּי; MT כִּי (“[I swear by YHWH] if [you do not go]”; 2 Sam 19:8).

According to the data of the MT, both כִּי and אִם כִּי can be used in a “positive oath clause,”<sup>663</sup> but Driver notes that in this case אִם כִּי “is more in accord with analogy,”<sup>664</sup> and with reference to the LXX and other versions, Cross et al. and McCarter consider that the MT has arisen through scribal error.<sup>665</sup> No other examples of כִּי plus אִם are preserved in Qumran Samuel.

<sup>660</sup> Ibid., 135; cf. 135–36 for his summary of the scholarly discussion of the verse.

<sup>661</sup> BDB 474; HALOT 2:471

<sup>662</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 164.

<sup>663</sup> HALOT 2:470–71.

<sup>664</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 333.

<sup>665</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 168; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 404.

## 8.7. מי PLUS אשר (“WHOEVER”)

4QA [ומי לד] [ויד]; MT אשר לדוד (“whoever is for David”; 2 Sam 20:11).

Cross et al. comment: “Both expressions are grammatically correct.”<sup>666</sup> Interestingly, the expression “whoever favors Joab” is found earlier in the same verse, and is preserved in 4QA as מי א[שר] חפץ ביואב. Thus perhaps the MT has levelled an “original” stylistic variety, or a later scribe has intentionally or unintentionally introduced it into 4QA.

## 8.8. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES WITH APODOSIS

8.8.1. 4QA [ולק] [חתני] (“then I will take”); MT ואם לא לקחתי (“and if not, I will take”; 1 Sam 2:16).

Scholars have noted that the use of a *qatal* verb in the apodosis of a conditional sentence as in the MT here is very unusual,<sup>667</sup> and even before the discovery of 4QA they had suggested reading ולקחתי.<sup>668</sup>

8.8.2. 4QB ואכלתם ממנו (“then you may eat of it”); MT minus (1 Sam 21:5).

The MT reads “if only the young men have kept themselves from women...” to which the 4QB reading and the various Greek witnesses, which all have forms of “eat,” supply the apodosis. Both Cross et al. and McCarter consider the longer reading to have been the earlier reading, lost through *parablepsis*.<sup>669</sup> Cross et al. comment: “Without the phrase, the conditional sentence stands awkwardly without an apodosis; the protasis cannot be construed gracefully with the preceding phrase.”<sup>670</sup> They, and Auld, further suggest that אך (“only”) of the MT might be the remnant of some form of אכל (“eat”).<sup>671</sup> If they are correct, the unusual syntax of the conditional sentence in this verse is not evidence of ancient Hebrew, but was introduced simply by textual corruption.

<sup>666</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 174.

<sup>667</sup> Driver, *Notes*, 32. Driver’s attempt to defend the MT as emphatic by comparison with Num 32:23 is rejected by Cross et al., *Samuel*, 42; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 80. Tsumura suggests that it is “another example of the use of ‘perfect’ for a future action as in Ugaritic” (Tsumura, *Samuel*, 154 n. 95).

<sup>668</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 42; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 79–80; Smith, *Samuel*, 18.

<sup>669</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 347.

<sup>670</sup> Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235.

<sup>671</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 246; Cross et al., *Samuel*, 235; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 347.

8.9. *QATAL* OR *WAYYIQTOL* IN A TEMPORAL CLAUSE

4QB [מאתמל שלשם בצאתי בדרך] היו כל הנערים קדש (“whenever I have gone out on the way, all the young men have been holy”); MT כתמול שלשם בצאתי ויהיו כלי (“whenever I have gone out, then the vessels of the young men have been holy”; 1 Sam 21:6).

The issue here is the use of the *qatal* (4QB) or *wayyiqtol* (MT) following an infinitive construct in a temporal clause. GKC comments that in such constructions the apodosis usually follows using the *wayyiqtol*, and also remarks that MT 1 Sam 17:55 is unusual in using a *qatal* for the apodosis,<sup>672</sup> as here in 4QB 1 Sam 21:6. Again, the issue is whether an unusual form is more or less likely to be earlier, and whether unusual forms were more common in the earlier transmission history of Samuel. Unfortunately, again, given the absence of earlier biblical manuscripts and an adequate control corpus of dated and localized extra-biblical sources for Hebrew, we are unable to answer such questions.

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<sup>672</sup> GKC §164g, p. 503.



## Appendix 3

### Some More Not-So-Random Thoughts

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

At numerous points in this book we have interacted with the twenty-three articles in Miller-Naudé and Zevit's edited book, *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, which in turn was intended as a response to our previous book, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*.<sup>1</sup> Some of the matters we have focused on in relation to the contents and arguments of *DBH* include:

- Objective of diachronic study of BH<sup>2</sup>
- Sources and philology<sup>3</sup> and the related matters of textual criticism<sup>4</sup> and comparative Ancient Near Eastern examples<sup>5</sup>
- Variationist and traditional case studies by various authors<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> First, as the editors note, the catalyst for *DBH* was *LDBT* (Miller-Naudé and Zevit, "Preface"). Second, seventeen of twenty-three articles in *DBH* (sixteen excluding Ehrensward's article) refer to *LDBT* and/or Young, Rezetko, and/or Ehrensward, and they figure prominently in fourteen (or thirteen excluding Ehrensward's article) of the articles. *LDBT* and Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensward, individually (x500+) or combined (x300+), are referred to far more often in *DBH* than any other person or publication. Fourth, Zevit's article, which is one of the longest in *DBH* (alongside Bar-Asher Siegal's and Polak's), concentrates from beginning to end on *LDBT* and Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensward. Regarding the last point, most of the articles in *DBH* are revisions of the contributors' original conference presentations. However, Zevit's original presentation was called "The Sufficiency of Fuzzy Dates for Diachronic Studies of Biblical and Ancient Hebrew" and was the first presentation in the two years of conference sessions. His article in *DBH*, the final article in the volume, is not a revision of his presentation, as are the other articles in *DBH*, but a freshly written review, response, or critique of *LDBT*.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 2 (2.2); chapter 9 (9.5).

<sup>3</sup> Chapter 2 (2.3.2).

<sup>4</sup> Chapter 3 (3.6.4); chapter 4 (4.2.5).

<sup>5</sup> Chapter 2 (2.3.4); chapter 3 (3.6.7).

As one might expect, our overall appraisal of the volume is an assortment of praises and criticisms. For example, in our estimation the high points of the volume are some refocuses from (prescriptive) linguistic dating to (descriptive) historical linguistics; some presentations of innovative methods such as variationist analysis and grammaticalization theory; some beneficial analyses of timeworn and different data using these and other methods; and some thoughtful interactions with *LDBT* and other challenges to conventional ideas and practices, including some incisive and provocative remarks on issues such as “availability,” “proportions,” and “style.” In contrast, in our view the low points of the volume (excluding mainly articles in Part 4) are persistent failures to engage in a serious way various fundamental historical linguistic issues such as the objective and sources of the research; insistent attempts to analyze diachrony in BH language as a variable which is independent from the literary composition and textual transmission of BH writings; some conventional analyses of data whose methodological flaws were underlined already in *LDBT* and other publications; and some erroneous interpretations and misleading statements related to the objectives and content of *LDBT*.

In this brief rejoinder our aim is to address some of the issues related to the last point. We will focus mainly on Zevit’s “Afterword” or review-essay or “in-depth analysis”<sup>7</sup> in Part 5. Zevit’s criticisms relate to two main topics: (1) *LDBT*’s lack or abuse of historical linguistic theory and method,<sup>8</sup> and (2) *LDBT*’s embellishment of the effects of the Bible’s complex composition-transmission history on the language of biblical writings.<sup>9</sup> We will look briefly at these and several other claims.

## 2. CLAIM 1: *LDBT IS NON-DIACHRONIC IN ITS OUTLOOK*

Some critics of *LDBT* claim that its argument is anti- or non-diachronic or -chronological, that it regards BH as a synchronic or panchronic whole or the eternal language of creation, that it considers the language of the Bible to be irrelevant for reconstructing the history of ancient Hebrew, and so on.<sup>10</sup> These

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<sup>6</sup> Chapter 1 (1.4); chapter 3 (3.6.4.1); chapter 7 (7.5); chapter 8 (8.2); chapter 9 (9.2); Qumran Samuel (2.1).

<sup>7</sup> Miller-Naudé, “Diachrony,” 3.

<sup>8</sup> Zevit, “Not-So-Random,” 458–66, 473, 481–82 (related to “central ideas” 4–5).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 458, 465–76, 483 (related to “central ideas” 1–3).

<sup>10</sup> Some examples in *DBH*: “discounting the possibility of any sort of diachronic account of the variation found in the texts” (Dresher, “Methodological,” 19); “argument against the entire diachronic project” (*ibid.*, 26); “denying chronology and language variation” (Naudé, “Diachrony,” 71); “the text is bereft of any usable linguistic data” (Cook, “Detecting,” 84); “a priori rule out...diachronic explanations” (*ibid.*, 85); “not prejudge any language variation datum as precluding explanation by...diachronic models” (*ibid.*, 85); “no diachronic observations about the text are possible” (*ibid.*, 89 n. 3); “at its

are interpretations and, apparently, possible ones in the minds of some; but they are flawed interpretations insofar as what we believed when we wrote *LDBT* and what we believe now. *LDBT*'s claims relate to its main topic which is, as the title indicates, the *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, that is, assigning dates of origin to the writings of the Hebrew Bible on the basis of their linguistic profiles. We state this explicitly at the start of the first volume: "Fourth, we have limited the scope of our work to linguistic dating of biblical texts. We will not say much about the relative dating of linguistic features, or linguistic change, except when it pertains to the dating of the texts (but see Volume 2, 2.6)."<sup>11</sup> And we clearly realize that "[i]t is an axiom of linguistics that languages change over time."<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, we discuss periodically various possible typologically older and younger linguistic features in BH,<sup>13</sup> and we talk extensively about literary and textual *diachrony* (change through time!) in BH.<sup>14</sup> If anything, then, we are "multichronic" or "polychronic" with regard to our views on the Bible. Nevertheless, we are willing to admit, and even accept the measure of blame due to us, that in our zeal to disprove the possibility of linguistic dating, we have sometimes used unpropitious language, misjudged or underplayed the potential relevance of different proportions of linguistic variants (in the variationist sense)

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core nonchronological" (Holmstedt, "Historical," 97); "blocked access to diachronically meaningful data" (ibid., 97); "no discernible linguistic history in the Hebrew Bible" (ibid., 97); "removing...linguistic feature (relative) dating from our reach" (ibid., 119); "nihilism" (ibid., 119); "nondiachronic approach" (Hurvitz, "Linguistic Dating," 265); "a nondiachronic alternative explanation for all the relevant data" (ibid., 266); "the new, non-diachronic, approaches" (ibid., 266); "the nondiachronic approach" (ibid., 268); "linguistic analysis can contribute nothing to the dating of biblical texts" (Joosten, "Evolution," 283); "Biblical Hebrew...as a synchronic—or pan-chronic—whole, unyielding to historical analysis" (ibid., 317); "all syntactic-stylistic variation is to be subsumed under the heading of literary, rhetorical design" (Polak, "Language," 317)); "the diachronic approach is untenable" (Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 456); "*LDBT*'s blanket claim that extant data cannot be used to reconstruct even a partial history of Biblical Hebrew" (ibid., 481); "the conclusion of *LDBT* that a linguistic history of Hebrew from the Iron Age through the Persian period cannot be recovered and therefore cannot be available for dating texts" (ibid., 483).

<sup>11</sup> *LDBT* 1:4. Only one contributor to *DBH* acknowledges this (Holmstedt, "Historical," 119).

<sup>12</sup> *LDBT* 2:94.

<sup>13</sup> See the index in *LDBT* 2:294. Note also that in one article (cited by Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 473 n. 15, 487), Rezetko argued that דרמשק *is typologically later* than דמשק (diachrony: yes), via rhotacism, but that even so the distribution of these forms in BH is unhelpful for dating biblical writings (EBH or LBH) relatively or absolutely (dating: no) (cf. Rezetko, "Spelling").

<sup>14</sup> *LDBT* 1:63–64, 341–60; 2:1–71, 100–102.

in biblical writings, and in some instances even over argued a synchronic or stylistic interpretation of particular linguistic data.

### 3. CLAIM 2: LDBT HAS NO (VIALE) HISTORICAL LINGUISTIC METHOD

The claim that LDBT has *no* or *no viable* historical linguistic method is echoed all through *DBH*, especially in the articles in Part 2.<sup>15</sup> Specifically, Dresher calls LDBT's diachronic method "overly rigid,"<sup>16</sup> Naudé labels it "problematic,"<sup>17</sup> Pat-El criticizes our "unfamiliarity with the basic tenets of historical linguistics and the field of language contact,"<sup>18</sup> and so on. We noted above that Zevit's first major criticism of *LDBT* is its (in his opinion) lack or abuse of historical linguistic theory and method.<sup>19</sup> Zevit uses his interpretation of several popular interviews and private emails to construe our words in *LDBT*.<sup>20</sup> The outcome of his analysis is somewhat convoluted. Let us summarize the flow of his argument, as we understand it. First, Zevit says *we say* we have

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<sup>15</sup> Hurvitz's criticism of *LDBT* relates principally to its rejection of *linguistic dating*.

<sup>16</sup> Dresher, "Methodological," 19.

<sup>17</sup> Naudé, "Diachrony," 61. He also applies the word to Hurvitz's method.

<sup>18</sup> Pat-El, "Syntactic," 248.

<sup>19</sup> Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 458–66, 473, 481–82 (related to "central ideas" 4–5).

<sup>20</sup> The interviews are available at the following links (cited January 31, 2014): Young: <http://hebrewandgreekreader.wordpress.com/2009/03/26/twenty-questions-with-ian-young/>; Rezetko: <http://hebrewandgreekreader.wordpress.com/2009/03/26/twenty-questions-with-robert-rezetko/>; Ehrensward: <http://hebrewandgreekreader.wordpress.com/2009/03/25/twenty-questions-with-martin-ehrensward/>. The interviewer, who wishes to remain anonymous, publicly expresses his misgivings about Zevit's misunderstanding and mishandling of the interviews at the following links (cited January 31, 2014): <http://unsettledchristianity.com/2012/12/when-are-biblioblogs-appropriate/>; <https://twitter.com/DageshForte/status/276002123974578176>. As for the emails, Zevit cites an alleged email from Rezetko dated June 8, 2010 (Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 473 n. 15). Unfortunately, the author (Zevit) and publisher (Eisenbrauns) of the article have chosen not to set the record straight publicly, and we feel we are unable to publish the personal correspondence of others, but we are willing to make our emails available to concerned scholars. There were five emails between Zevit and Rezetko on June 8–10, 2010, but Zevit published the words of his own question in his email dated June 8, 2010, which Rezetko explicitly rejected and explained in his emails dated June 9–10, 2010. In other words, Zevit himself manufactured and attributed a view to *LDBT*, and Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensward, that he mistakenly thought we held, but which we have never believed or argued in any publication, including the publication Zevit cites (see n. 13 above). Zevit refers to this view as a "fifth idea" or "axiom" (Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 459), an "axiom" or "fifth central idea" (*ibid.*, 473), and an "idiosyncratic" axiom (*ibid.*, 473, 483). Most importantly, we were careful when writing *LDBT* to clearly distinguish the words and concepts "late" and "LBH."

no historical linguistic method.<sup>21</sup> Second, Zevit says we obviously do not have a historical linguistic method.<sup>22</sup> But, third, Zevit says we do have *a* method: “a common sense approach.”<sup>23</sup> In addition, fourth, Zevit says five central axioms underpin our work,<sup>24</sup> including *especially* a fifth central idea concerning the identification of late linguistic features in languages.<sup>25</sup> The so-called fifth axiom was Zevit’s own creation, and so we do not need to say anything more about it.<sup>26</sup>

But, yes, we had a method in *LDBT*, and it was none of the methods that Zevit seemingly thought or did not think we had. Our answer to the previous claim already hints at our answer to this one. If *LDBT* was a book about linguistic dating, and not about historical linguistics, and if historical linguistics is normally unconcerned with linguistic dating,<sup>27</sup> then it stands to reason that *LDBT*’s framework, theory, and method would not be historical linguistic as such. Here, too, we make an additional unambiguous distinction: “Note that historical linguistics, rather than the dating of texts, is much more commonly concerned with the relative dating of linguistic features, i.e. linguistic change, and the mechanisms of such change (e.g. Joseph and Janda 2003).”<sup>28</sup> Our method in *LDBT*, then, relates to the topic of the book, which is linguistic dating, not historical linguistics.

*LDBT* is about the (im)possibility of dating of biblical writings on the basis of their linguistic profiles. Our approach, our *modus operandi*, our method for answering the research question about *linguistic dating*, was twofold.

First, our method was, in fact, *Hurvitz’s method*. On the one hand, it goes without saying that *LDBT* heavily criticizes Hurvitz’s principles and methodology for linguistic dating. On the other hand, *LDBT* openly embraces Hurvitz’s criteria of distribution, opposition, extra-biblical attestation, and (especially) accumulation, in order to show that the rigorous application of Hurvitz’s criteria *leads to this conclusion*:

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<sup>21</sup> Zevit, “Not-So-Random,” 465.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 462–65, 481–82. Interestingly, Zevit also extends his overarching criticism of *LDBT* to others: “...I conclude that the shortcomings [of theory and method] to which I pointed in *LDBT*...sometimes characterizes the field as a whole” (*ibid.*, 482; cf. 481–82).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 465.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 458–59.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 459, 473, 483.

<sup>26</sup> See n. 20 above.

<sup>27</sup> *LDBT* 1:61–62.

<sup>28</sup> *LDBT* 1:61 n. 32. “Joseph and Janda 2003” = B. D. Joseph and R. D. Janda, eds., *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics; Malden: Blackwell, 2003).

In response to these findings we believe the logical outcome of the criterion of accumulation, as advocated by Hurvitz and others, is that all biblical books are postexilic compositions. [n. 40] However, we are not arguing that in fact all biblical books are postbiblical [*sic* in *LDBT*; it should be “postexilic”] compositions, but rather, that this is the logical outcome of current linguistic dating principles and methodology.<sup>29</sup>

In sum, Zevit criticizes *LDBT*'s method on the basis of his own (mistaken) belief that *LDBT* is a historical linguistic work when in fact *LDBT* challenges Hurvitz's conclusions *by applying his own method consistently*.<sup>30</sup>

Second, an additional path which we followed in order to answer the research question, “Can biblical writings be dated on the basis of their linguistic profiles?,” is the impact of the Bible's complex literary composition and textual transmission on the linguistic profiles of the biblical writings.<sup>31</sup> That brings us to a third claim.

#### 4. CLAIM 3: *LDBT EXAGGERATES LINGUISTIC FLUIDITY (OR INSTABILITY) DURING TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION*

We noted above that Zevit's second major criticism of *LDBT* is (in his opinion) its embellishment of the effects of the Bible's complex composition-transmission history on the language of biblical writings.<sup>32</sup> Zevit dislikes our remarks on inner-MT synoptic passages and the affiliations of the MT and non-MT Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other textual witnesses; he asserts that we have not given proof for the connection of linguistic fluidity to textual fluidity or for the “randomness” of linguistic changes; and he makes an argument for the antiquity and reliability of the (proto-)MT as the textual basis of historical linguistic research on Biblical Hebrew.<sup>33</sup> Regrettably, Zevit's treatment of the literary and textual issues has many shortcomings, as we have discussed elsewhere in this book.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *LDBT* 1:129–30; cf. 1:129–41; 2:83–89, 94–102.

<sup>30</sup> Surprisingly, Zevit does not mention Hurvitz or his dating criteria even once in his treatment of our method. Furthermore, note that in the interviews which Zevit cites, Young and Ehrensward do not mention “historical linguistic(s)” at all, and Rezetko says, “one of our findings was that much of what biblical scholars do with regard to dating biblical texts is very much unlike what historical linguists of other languages do,” which can hardly be understood as a statement of our objectives in *LDBT*.

<sup>31</sup> *LDBT* 1:63–64, 341–60; 2:1–71, 100–102.

<sup>32</sup> Zevit, “Not-So-Random,” 458, 465–76, 483 (related to “central ideas” 1–3).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 466–76; cf. 478 n. 18.

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of Zevit's views in particular see chapter 3 (3.6.6). More generally see chapters 3–6 and appendixes 1–2.

5. CLAIM 4: *LDBT*'S "STYLE" EXPLANATION IS PROBLEMATIC

The argument in *LDBT* is that EBH (or SCH) and LBH (or PCH) are largely interpretable in terms of two tendencies or "styles" among authors/editors/scribes of the biblical period: conservative and non-conservative (or traditional and non-traditional, or standard and non-standard). The writers who produced works in EBH exhibited a tendency toward "conservatism" in their linguistic choices, in the sense that they only rarely used items outside a narrow core of what they considered literary language ("the norm"). In contrast, the LBH writers exhibited a less conservative attitude, freely adopting a variety of linguistic items in addition to (not generally instead of) those favored by the EBH writers.<sup>35</sup> Zevit regards this use of "style" as "unconventional"<sup>36</sup> and "problematic,"<sup>37</sup> and several other contributors to *DBH* seem to share a similar view.<sup>38</sup> On the one hand, we agree that the matter of "style" could have been explained and documented more carefully in *LDBT*. On the other hand, these contributors seem to have some misunderstandings of our argument: "style" relates to scribal (written) language, not natural (spoken) language, and to a general approach, not random choices, and the factor of style does not necessarily exclude other independent variables (time, dialect, author/writer demographics, genre, etc.). In any case, at various points in this volume we have documented that "style" is a common and applicable, though not comprehensive, explanation for language variation in BH.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For the clearest statements of our view see *LDBT* 1:70, 141, 361; 2:96–99.

<sup>36</sup> Zevit, "Not-So-Random," 474.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 482.

<sup>38</sup> Dresher, "Methodological," 33–36; cf. 26–29, 31–32; Holmstedt, "Historical," 112–13, 117; cf. Naudé, "Diachrony," 71; Polak, "Language," 317.

<sup>39</sup> Chapter 4 (4.3.1, English; 4.3.2, French; 4.3.3, Spanish); chapter 7 (*passim*, especially 7.3.3, 7.3.4); chapter 9 (9.5). Compare also the statement in *LDBT* about LBH as "a conscious attempt to distance this [LBH] style of literature from literature produced in the EBH style" (*LDBT* 2:99) and Kouwenberg's similar statement, in terms of "conscious selection," concerning Akkadian: "All in all, we may conclude that Standard Babylonian arose from a conscious selection of features that were literary in the eyes of the Babylonian authors and a conscious rejection of other features that were too conspicuously different from their Old Babylonian models" (Kouwenberg, "Diachrony," 441; cf. 439–41). In a similar way, Tigay underlines in his discussion of the versions of the Gilgamesh Epic that many late variants do not employ late language: "A few of the changes in wording seem to be chronologically conditioned, with the late version adopting language which is especially prevalent in late sources. However, the number of late variants using demonstrably late language does not seem extensive, and many of the late variants seem to employ language not less ancient than the language they replace. The changes may therefore be based largely on the subjective artistic judgment or taste of

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the later editors, not new linguistic developments” (J. H. Tigay, “The Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives in the Light of the Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic,” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* [ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985], 21–52 [40–41]). For additional discussion of this issue he refers to J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 55–72.

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This book seeks to break fresh ground in research on the history of ancient Hebrew. Building on theoretical and methodological concepts in general historical linguistics and in diachronic linguistic research on various ancient Near Eastern and Indo-European languages, the authors reflect critically on issues such as the objective of the research, the nature of the written sources, and the ideas of variation and periodization. They draw on innovative work on premodern scribally created writings to argue for a similar application of a joint history of texts and history of language approach to ancient Hebrew. The application of cross-textual variable analysis and variationist analysis in various case studies shows that more complete descriptions and evaluations of the distribution of linguistic data advances our understanding of historical developments in ancient Hebrew.

ROBERT REZETKO is an independent scholar and an associated researcher of Radboud University Nijmegen and the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark* (T&T Clark) and a co-author of *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (Routledge). IAN YOUNG is Associate Professor in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Diversity in Pre-exilic Hebrew* (Mohr Siebeck), a co-author of *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (Routledge), and editor of *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (T&T Clark).

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