A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO ISRAELIAN HEBREW: GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

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Introduction

During the past 15 years I have published a number of studies on the subject of the northern dialect of ancient Hebrew, more properly termed "Israelian Hebrew" (IH). Israelian Hebrew stands in contrast to the standard dialect in which most of the Bible was written, namely, the dialect of Judah in general or of Jerusalem in particular. This latter dialect should be called Judahite Hebrew (JH), which in turn equals Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH). Most likely IH is an umbrella term, for within IH there probably were several main subdialects, such as Ephraimite, Galilean, and Gileadite, not to mention other local varieties (see the very end of this article for further thoughts in this direction).

My publications on IH include two monographs and 14 articles. The monographs include appendices in which may be found a classified listing of the various IH features identified, but no such appendices or indices appear in the published articles (or in two forthcoming articles, items A15 and A16 listed below under references). In addition, I have supervised two doctoral dissertations on the subject, one by Yoon Jong Yoo devoted to IH features in Hosea (Yoo 1999), the other by Yiyi Chen devoted to IH features in Proverbs (Chen 2000); these works also include appendices allowing for easy reference. Furthermore, in collaboration with Scott Noegel I have completed a lengthy study of IH elements in Song of Songs, to be published in a planned volume authored by the two of us tentatively entitled rather plainly and prosaically *Studies in Song of Songs* (item A17 listed below). Noegel also wrote an article on dialect issues in Isaiah 24-27 (Noegel 1994). There are other IH sources in the Bible not yet treated in detailed fashion by myself or by my students (or by other scholars), such as Deuteronomy 32, the blessings to the northern tribes in Deuteronomy 33, Judges 5, and the book of Qohelet, though occasional references to these compositions may be found in the oeuvre already in print or listed as forthcoming. Other individuals, outside of my own personal scholarly orbit,

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who have written on the subject of IH, include James Davila who wrote a basic study on Qohelet (Davila 1990); and Jun Ikeda who recently contributed an article on a specific syntactic issue in the book of Kings (Ikeda 2000).[1]

It has occurred to me that a comprehensive listing of all IH grammatical and lexical traits identified in the aforecited works would be of value to the scholarly community. This is especially necessary because my approach has been to proceed through the selected IH composition verse-by-verse in systematic fashion, as opposed to methodically presenting the material feature-by-feature. Thus, for example, a specific syntactic feature may be treated near the beginning of a particular article or monograph, because said feature appears near the beginning of the composition treated; while conversely a phonological feature may be discussed toward the end of the article or book, because said feature occurs toward the end of the composition being studied. In the situation just posited, this would run counter to the normal approach to grammar, which begins with phonology, proceeds to morphology, and then concludes with syntax.

Though I long have recognized the potential benefit of the study just described, until now I have not taken the time to present such a work to the scholarly community, preferring instead to push forward with other researches, both in the field of IH and in other areas of personal interest. But clearly the time is ripe.

It was at the invitation of Dr. Jun Ikeda of Tsukuba University that I have come at last to compile the kind of comprehensive list that is necessary to obtain a "snapshot" of the current state of IH research. I owe a debt of gratitude both to Dr. Ikeda and to Professor David Tsumura for hosting me for two weeks in Japan in July-August 2002, during which time I had occasion to speak both at Tsukuba University and at the Japan Bible Seminary in Hamara. I value their friendship, I appreciate the wonderful hospitality shown to me and to my wife Susan, and I am grateful for the opportunity to have made the acquaintance of other Japanese scholars of the Bible, the Hebrew language, and the ancient Near East.

By necessity this article will be dominated by an outline of the data, as opposed to a full treatment of each feature isolated. The latter, of course, would demand an entire book of considerable size. In the years to come, after all studies of this ilk have been completed, I hope to write such a volume. In the meantime, however, I trust that the present project will be deemed helpful and beneficial.[2]

I proceed, as adumbrated above, from phonology to morphology to syntax, and within each of these categories, according to the method commonly utilized

in reference grammars (consonants before vowels, pronouns before nouns, etc.). In addition, I include a list of all IH lexical items thus far identified. Each feature presented includes a cross-reference to a published work (or in the case of the Song of Songs study and two other articles, forthcoming works). I have not included page numbers. For the monographs and the dissertations, with their detailed appendices, there should be no problem finding the full treatments contained in these works. The articles are all relatively short, so a quick flipping of just a few pages should allow the reader to find the specific discussion with relative ease.

The reader who has followed the progress of my research in ancient Hebrew dialects will be aware of the fact that many IH features occur also in style-switching and addressee-switching settings. The former occurs in several situations, for example, in stories set in foreign lands (such as Abraham's servant in the land of Aram, Jacob and Laban in Aram, etc.) and in instances where foreigners speak (e.g., Balaam, the characters in the book of Job, etc.). The latter occurs in prophetic oracles addressed to the foreign nations. In the material below, I have included instances of style-switching and addressee-switching relevant to the study of IH, but I have not included examples of these techniques which are not directly relevant to IH research (most of these, in any case, will be items of a lexical nature, e.g., the use of *lûz* 'almond' in Gen 30:37, in place of the standard Hebrew word *šāqēd*).[3]

In addition, although a thorough study remains a desideratum, I also have suggested that the dialect of Benjamin served as a border dialect, at times sharing features with IH, at times sharing features with JH. The book of Jeremiah and the material about Saul in the book of 1 Samuel are the natural places to look for potential Benjaminite dialectal features.[4] In the case of the former, however, one typically cannot determine if the presence of a particular grammatical trait is due to the Benjaminite dialect itself or due to the influence of Aramaic c. 600 B.C.E. This will explain the oft-repeated "Benjaminite? Aramaism?" occurring in the presentation of the data below.

Finally, note that material which appears in the smaller font size does not fit into the schema underlying my research into IH. In such cases, I have attempted to offer an explanation, for example, a feature may also be an element of Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH) or of Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). In the former cases, we may posit traits which Hebrew inherited from its 2nd millennium precursor and which were continued in IH but not in JH. In the latter cases, as well as in texts which date from the time of the exile, we most likely are dealing with IH features which penetrated JH due to the reunion of

Israelian and Judahite exiles during the 6th century B.C.E.[5] At times, however, I can offer no explanation for an occasional example, in which case I have indicated simply "no explanation."

The Corpus

The corpus of IH texts is the following:

- Blessings to the northern tribes in Genesis 49
- Leviticus 25:13-24
- Deuteronomy 32
- Blessings to the northern tribes in Deuteronomy 33
- Selected stories in Judges (especially Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah)
- 2 Samuel 23:1-7
- Material in Kings devoted to the Northern Kingdom of Israel (see the list in my book on Kings [B2], pp. 23-24)
- Hosea
- Amos
- Micah 6-7
- Northern Psalms: Pss 9-10, 16, 29, 36, 45, 53, 58, 74, 116, 132, 133, 140, 141, as well as the Korah and Asaph collections
- Proverbs
- Song of Songs
- Qohelet
- Nehemiah 9

According to my calculations, this amounts to 149 chapters out of a total of 920 (Hebrew) chapters in the Bible,[6] or approximately 16% of the Bible.

As indicated, however, IH forms occur in other settings as well, in particular, style-switching and addressee-switching contexts. Style-switching is most prominent in the 42 chapters of Job and the 3 chapters of the Balaam story, along with selected pericopes elsewhere, e.g., Genesis 24 and Genesis 29-31 both set in the land of Aram. Addressee-switching occurs most prominently in the prophetic oracles to the foreign nations, which comprise 8 chapters in Isaiah, 6 chapters in Jeremiah, 8 chapters in Ezekiel, and approximately 2 chapters total among the minor prophets. In addition, one should mention 1 Kings 6-8 with a high concentration of Phoenicianisms, indicating that Phoenician scribes recorded the Temple-building project, in line with the Phoenician architects and builders responsible for the construction of the Temple.

If we now include these additional sections of the Bible, we should add 76 more chapters to the sections of the Bible in which one may expect to find IH

features, thus bringing our total to 225 chapters, or approximately 24% of the biblical corpus. This does not include the Benjaminite material which is to be found in Jeremiah (all of the book? portions of the book?) and in the early chapters of 1 Samuel. Including this material, even without quantifying it in an exact manner due to some uncertainty, we probably reach an upper estimate of about 30% of the Bible in which one would expect to find IH grammatical and lexical traits.

References

The references for the present study, with the abbreviations, are as follows. Note that B = Book, D = Dissertation, and A = Article.

B1 = Rendsburg, G. A., *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms*, Atlanta, 1990.

B2 = Rendsburg, G. A., *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings*, Bethesda, Md., 2002.

D1 = Yoo, Y. J., "Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Hosea," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1999.

D2 = Chen, Y., "Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Proverbs," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 2000.

A1 = Rendsburg, G. A., "The Northern Origin of 'The Last Words of David' (2 Sam 23, 1-7)," *Biblica* 69 (1988), 113-21.

A2 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Additional Notes on 'The Last Words of David' (2 Sam 23, 1-7)," *Biblica* 70 (1989), 403-08.

A3 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Monophthongization of *aw/ay* > *ā* in Eblaite and in Northwest Semitic," *Eblaitica* 2 (1990), 91-126.

A4 = Rendsburg, G. A., "The Northern Origin of Nehemiah 9," *Biblica* 72 (1991), 348-66.

A5 = Rendsburg, G. A., "The Strata of Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 17 (1991), 81-99.

A6 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Morphological Evidence for Regional Dialects in Ancient Hebrew," in W. R. Bodine (ed.), *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, Winona Lake, Ind., 1992, 65-88.

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A12 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Šimuš Bilti Ragil šel Kinnuy ha-Remez ba-Miqraʾ: ʿEdut Nosefet le-ʿIvrit Ṣefonit bi-Tqufat ha-Miqraʾ," *Shnaton* 12 (2000), 83-88.

A13 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Notes on Israelian Hebrew (II)," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 26 (2000), 33-45.

A14 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Some False Leads in the Identification of Late Biblical Hebrew Texts: The Cases of Genesis 24 and 1 Samuel 2:27-36," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121 (2002), 23-46.

A15 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Hurvitz Redux: On the Continued Scholarly Inattention to a Simple Principle of Hebrew Philology," in I. Young (ed.), *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, Sheffield, 2003, 104-28.

A16 = Rendsburg, G. A., "Millat ha-Qiyyum *ʾiš*," *Meḥqarim ba-Lashon* (forthcoming).

A17 = Rendsburg, G. A., and S. B. Noegel, "Israelian Hebrew in Song of Songs," in G. A. Rendsburg and S. B. Noegel, *Studies in Song of Songs* (forthcoming).

A18 = Davila, J. R., "Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew," in E. M. Cook (ed.), *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislav Segert* = *Maarav* 5-6 (1990), 69-87.

A19 = Noegel, S. B., "Dialect and Politics in Isaiah 24-27," *Aula Orientalis* 12 (1994), 177-92.

A20 = Ikeda, J., "Linguistic Varieties in Biblical Hebrew: An Overview and a Case Study," *Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences, Kyoto Sangyo University* 21 (2000), 179-204 (in Japanese).

Grammar[7]

I. Phonology

A. Consonants

1. PS /ṯ/ > /t/, as in Aramaic (A15, A17):

Judg 5:11 *yĕtannû* 'repeat' (IH poem)

Judg 11:40 *lĕtannôt* 'repeat' (?) (Jephthah)

        Song 1:17 *bĕrôtîm* 'cypresses' (IH poem)

  2. PS /ẓ/ > /ṭ/, as in Aramaic (A17):

        Song 1:6, 8:11, 8:12 *nṭr* 'guard' (IH poem)

  3. PS /ḍ/ > /ʿ/, as in Aramaic (B1, D1, A19):

        1 Sam 28:16 *ʿārekā* 'your enemy' (medium of Endor)

        Hos 12:2 *rôʿeh* (*rûaḥ*) 'desires (the wind)' (northern prophet)

        Ps 9:7 *ʿārîm* 'enemies' (IH psalm)

        Ps 139:20 *ʿārekā* 'your enemies' (IH psalm)

        Qohelet – nouns derived from the root *rʿh* 'desire': *rĕʿût*, *raʿyôn*
            (IH composition)

  4. PS /ḏ/ > /d/, as in Aramaic (A17):

        Song 7:10 *dôbēb* 'flow', if this is a byform of the root *dwb* (IH)

B. Vowels

  1. Shift of /a/ to /ō/, as in Phoenician (B1, B2):

        2 Kgs 3:19 *mibḥōr* 'choice' (Elisha) (see also 2 Kgs 19:23 in the
            speech of Rabshakeh)

        Ps 87:6 *biktōb ʿammîm* 'in the register of the people' (IH psalm)
        (see also below II.B.2)

  2. Shift of /ô/ > /û/, as in Phoenician (D1):

        Hos 7:14 *yāsûrû* (from the root *srr*, not *swr*) (northern prophet)

C. Diphthongs

  1. Monophthongization of *ay* > *ê* and *aw* > *ô*, as in Ugaritic and
    Phoenician:[8]

  2. Monophthongization of *ay* > *ā*, as in Syrian Semitic and Arabic
    dialects of Lebanon, Syria, and northern Israel to this day (B1, B2, A3,
    A10):

        1 Sam 10:14 *ʾān* 'where?' (Saul's uncle)

        2 Kgs 5:25K *mēʾan* 'from where?' (Elisha)

        Job 8:2 *ʿad ʾān* 'how long?' (style-switching)

        cf. MH *lʾn* 'to where?'

        Job 9:9 *ʿāš* 'Ursa Major' (style-switching)

        Ps 141:5 *yānî* 'my wine' (IH psalm)

II. Morphology

  A. Pronouns

    1. 2fsg independent pronoun *ʾattî*, as in Aramaic and Samaritan Hebrew
      (B2):

Judg 17:2K (Micah of Ephraim)

1 Kgs 14:2K (Jeroboam I)

2 Kgs 4:16K, 8:1K (Elisha)

2 Kgs 4:23K (husband of the Shunammite woman)

Jer 4:30K (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)

Ezek 36:13K (Aramaism?)

2. 2fsg pronominal suffix *-kî*, as in Deir ῾Alla and Aramaic (B1, B2, A6, A9, A15, A17):

2 Kgs 4:2K, 4:3K, 4:7K (2x) (Elisha)

Ps 116:7 (2x), 116:19 (IH psalm)

Song 2:13K (IH poem)

Jer 11:15 (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)

Ps 103:3 (2x), 103:4 (2x), 103:5, 135:9, 137:6 (Aramaisms)

3. 3msg pronominal suffix *-ôhî*, as in Aramaic, Deir ῾Alla, Moabite(?) (B1, A6, A9, A15):

Ps 116:12 *tagmûlôhî* 'his good deeds' (IH psalm)

4. 3mpl pronominal suffix *-ham* in the form *kullāham*, parallel to Aramaic *klhm* (A1, A6):

2 Sam 23:6 (IH poem)

5. 3mpl objective pronoun *hēm*, parallel to Mesha Stele, line 18 *w῾šb.hm* 'and I dragged them', and similarly in Aramaic (B2, A5, A6):

2 Kgs 9:18 ῾*ad hēm* (Israelian scout)

6. Relative pronoun *ze^h/zû*, with cognates in Aramaic and Byblian dialect of Phoenician (B1, D2):

Ps 9:16 *běrešet zû ṭāmānû* 'in the net in which they hid' (IH psalm)

Ps 10:2 *bimzimmôt zû ḥāšābû* 'in the schemes which they devised' (IH psalm)

Prov 23:22 *lě᾽ābîkā ze^h yělādekā* 'to your father who begot you' (IH composition)

Job 15:17 *wěze^h ḥāzîtî* 'and that which I have seen' (style-switching)

Job 19:19 *wěze^h ᾽āhabtî* 'and those whom I have loved' (style-switching)

Judg 5:5 *ze^h sînay* 'the one of Sinai' (IH and ABH)

Other examples in Exod 15:13, 15:16, Ps 68:29, etc., are ABH

7. Relative pronoun *še-* (including cases of the genitive particle *šel*), with cognates in Phoenician and Ammonite (B1, B2, A7, A15, A17, A18):

Judg 5:7 (2x) (IH poem)

Judg 6:17, 7:12, 8:26 (Gideon cycle)

2 Kgs 6:11 (IH – Aramean king)

Ps 133:2, 133:3 (IH psalm)

Song of Songs (always, except in the superscription in 1:1) (IH)

Qohelet (67x) (IH composition)

Other examples are LBH (Jonah [3x], Lamentations [4x], Ezra 8:20, 1 Chr 5:20, 27:27, and often in late Psalms)

8. Feminine singular demonstrative pronoun *zôʰ/zô*, with cognates in Phoenician and Aramaic, and see also MH (B1, B2, D1, A7, A18):

2 Kgs 6:19 (Elisha)

Hos 7:16 (northern prophet)

Ps 132:12 (IH psalm)

Qohelet (6x) (IH composition)

Ezek 40:45 (reunion)

9. Interrogative pronoun *meʰ* before non-laryngeal consonants, 23 of 36 attestations, or 64% (B1, B2, D2, A6, A14):

Judges 16 (7x) (Samson cycle, all with Philistines speaking)

1 Sam 4:6, 6:2, 29:4 (Philistines speaking)

1 Sam 1:8 (3x) (Elkanah of Ephraim speaking)

1 Sam 4:14 (Eli of Shiloh speaking)

1 Sam 15:14 (Samuel of Ephraim speaking)

1 Kgs 22:16 (Ahab speaking)

2 Kgs 1:7 (Ahaziah speaking)

2 Kgs 4:13, 4:14 (Elisha speaking)

Ps 10:13 (IH psalm)

Prov 4:19 (IH composition)

Prov 31:2 (Massa section)

Job 7:21 (style-switching?)

see also Jer 8:9, 16:10 (Benjaminite?), in which case 25 of 36 attestations, or 69%

B. Nouns

1. Feminine singular nominal ending -*at* (pointed with either *pataḥ* or *qameṣ*), as in Phoenician, Moabite, and Aramaic (B1, B2, D1, A5, A6, A8, A10):

Gen 49:22 *pôrāt* 'she-ass' (2x) (blessing to Joseph)

2 Kgs 9:17 *šipʿat* 'multitude' (Israelian scout)

Hos 7:5 *ḥămat* 'poison' (northern prophet)

Ps 10:2 *gaʾăwat* 'haughtiness' ⎫
Ps 16:5 *mĕnāt* 'portion'   ⎪
Ps 16:6 *naḥălāt* 'inheritance'   ⎬   (all IH psalms)
Ps 74:19 *ḥayyat* 'beast'   ⎪
Ps 132:4 *šĕnat* 'sleep'   ⎭

Qoh 8:12 *mĕʾat* 'hundred' (IH composition)

Jer 48:36 *yitrat* 'abundance' (addressee-switching, to Moab)

Jer 49:25Q *tĕhillāt* 'praise' (addressee-switching, to Damascus)

Ezek 28:13 *bārĕqat* 'emerald' (addressee-switching, to Tyre)

Ps 53:1, 88:1 *māḥălat* and Ps 61:1 *nĕgînat*, musical terms (instruments?) borrowed from Canaanite (?)

Other examples have different explanations:

    zimrāt 'song/strength' Exod 15:2 (ABH)

    māḥŏrat 'tomorrow' (25x) – adverbial

    rabbat 'much' (7x) – adverbial

    qĕṣāt 'end' (5x in Neh and Dan) – Aramaism

2. Feminine singular nominal ending *-ôt*, as in Phoenician (see also I.B.1 above) (B1, B2, D2, A5, A6, A10, A15):

Judg 5:29 *ḥakmôt* 'wise lady' (IH poem)

2 Kgs 6:8 *taḥănôtî* 'my camp' (IH – Aramean king)

Ps 45:1 *yĕdîdôt* 'love' (IH psalm)

Ps 45:16 *śĕmāḥôt* 'joy' (IH psalm)

Ps 53:7 *yĕšūʿôt* 'salvation' (IH psalm) (cp. Ps 14:7 *yĕšûʿat*)

Ps 73:22 *bĕhēmôt* 'beast' (IH psalm)

Ps 132:12 *ʿēdôtî* 'my testimony' (IH psalm)

Prov 1:20, 9:1, 24:7 *ḥokmôt* 'wisdom' (IH composition)

Prov 14:1 *ḥakmôt* 'wise lady' (IH composition)

Prov 28:20 *ʾĕmûnôt* 'faith' (IH composition)

Qoh 1:17, 2:12, 7:25, 9:3 *hôlēlôt* 'madness' (IH composition)

Ezek 26:11 *maṣṣĕbôt* 'pillar' (Tyre – style-switching)

3. Reduplicatory plural of geminate nouns, as in Aramaic (B1, D1, A4, A5, A6, A10, A15, A17):

Numb 23:7 *harĕrê* (Balaam – style-switching)

Deut 33:15 *harĕrê* (blessing to Joseph)

Judg 5:14 *ʿămāmekā* (IH poem)

Judg 5:15 *ḥiqĕqê* (IH poem)

Ps 36:7 *harĕrê* (IH psalm)

Ps 50:10 *harĕrê* (IH psalm)

Ps 76:5 *harĕrê* (IH psalm)

Ps 77:18 *ḥăṣāṣekā* (IH psalm)

Ps 87:1 *harĕrê* (IH psalm)

Ps 133:3 *harĕrê* (IH psalm)

Prov 29:13 *tĕkākîm* (IH composition)

Song 2:17, 4:6 *şĕlālîm* (IH poem)

Song 4:8 *harĕrê* (IH poem)

Neh 9:22 *ʿămāmîm* (IH text)

Neh 9:24 *ʿamĕmê* (IH text)

Jer 6:4 *şilĕlê* (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)

Ezek 4:12, 4:15 *gelĕlê* (Aramaism?)

Only one occurrence which does not fit: Hab 3:6 *harĕrê*

4. *qĕtîlāʰ* formation (as *nomen actionis*), as in MH (B2, A7):

Judg 5:16 *šĕrîqôt* 'pipings' (IH poem)

1 Kgs 19:8 *ʾăkîlāʰ* 'eating' (IH – Elijah cycle)

Job 41:10 *ʿăṭîšôtāw* 'his sneezes' (style-switching?)

Qoh 12:12 *yĕgîʿat* 'tiring (of)' (IH composition)

Exceedingly common in MH

1 Sam 13:21 *pĕṣîrāʰ* 'payment' (?), 'sharpening' (?) (Benjaminite?)

2 Chr 30:17 *šĕḥîṭat* 'slaughering (of)' (LBH? northern setting?)

A non-IH example occurs in Numb 16:30 *bĕrîʾāʰ* 'creation' – used very effectively for literary purposes, to alliterate and assonate with *ʾăbîrām*, *pace* Moshe Garsiel[9]

5. *ʾēšet* 'woman' in absolute state (cf. Phoen. *ʾšt* in Karatepe A:ii:5) (B1):

Ps 58:9 (IH psalm)

6. *ʾîšîm* 'men' as plural of *ʾîš*, as in Phoenician (B1, D2, A5, A6):

Ps 141:4 (IH psalm)

Prov 8:4 (IH composition)

Isa 53:3 (reunion)

7. Feminine nominal plural ending *-ān*, as in Aramaic (A17):

Song 2:12 *niṣṣānîm* 'blossoms' (with repluralization in *-îm*) (IH)

8. Masculine nominal plural ending *-în*, as in Aramaic, Moabite, Deir ʿAlla, Phoenician (Arslan Tash dialect) (D2, A5, A9, A10, A15):

Judg 5:10 *middîn* 'saddle-rugs' (IH poem)

Prov 31:3 *mĕlākîn* 'kings' (Massa section)

Ezek 26:18 *ʾiyyîn* 'islands' (style-switching – Tyre)

1 Kgs 11:33 *ṣîdônîn* 'Sidonians' (style-switching – Ahijah of

Shiloh to Jeroboam of Ephraim)

15x in Job (style-switching)

Scattered JH examples: Ezek 4:9, Lam 1:4, 4:3, Dan 12:13 (Aramaisms)

2 Kgs 11:13 *rāṣîn* 'runners' (unless we have here a very subtle literary style-switching with the perspective of Athaliah presented)

Mic 3:12 *ʿiyyîn* 'heaps' (unless this represents rural dialect used in an anti-Jerusalem prophecy)

C. Verbs

1. 3msg *qtl* form with *shwa* in first syllable, as in Aramaic (A15):

   Judg 5:13 *yĕrad* 'went down' (2x) (IH poem)

2. 3fsg *qtl* form of IIIy verb ending in *-t*, as in MH and Aramaic (B2, A7):

   2 Kgs 9:37K *hyt* (Jehu's men)

   Lev 25:21 *ʿāśāt* (an unusual section of Torah, with several IH features)

   Jer 13:19 *hoglāt* (2x) (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)

   Ezek 24:12 *helʾāt* (Aramaism? reunion?)

   Siloam Tunnel inscription, line 3 *hyt* (refugee from Israel? Benjaminite?)

   Lev 26:34 *hirṣāt* (apparently used to alliterate with *tirṣeʰ* earlier in the verse)

3. 3fsg *qtl* form of strong verbs (and other weak verbs other than IIIy verbs) ending in *-t*, as in Aramaic and Deir ʿAlla (A9):

   Deut 32:36 *ʾāzĕlat* 'gone' (IH poem)

   Isa 23:15 *wĕniškaḥat* 'will be forgotten' (style-switching – Tyre)

   Ezek 46:17 *wĕšābat* 'it shall revert' (Aramaism? reunion?)

4. Non-elision of *he* in Hiphʿil/Hophʿal verbs, as in Aramaic (B1, A6, A15):

   Ps 45:18 *yĕhôdûkā* 'they praise you' (IH psalm)

   Ps 81:6 *yĕhôsēp* 'Joseph' (IH psalm)

   Ps 116:6 *yĕhôšîaʿ* 'he saves' (IH psalm)

   Isa 52:5 *yĕhêlîlû* 'they howl' (Aramaism? archaism?)

   Jer 9:4 *yĕhātēllû* 'they mock' (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)

   Ezek 46:22 *mĕhuqṣāʿôt* 'the same size' (Aramaism)

   Job 13:9 *tĕhātēllû* 'you deceive' (style-switching)

   Neh 11:17 *yĕhôdeʰ* 'he praises' (Aramaism)

   1 Sam 17:47 *yĕhôšîaʿ* 'he saves' (no explanation – David)

   Ps 28:7 *ʾăhôdennû* 'I praise him' (no explanation)

5. Retention of *yod* in IIIy verbs, as in Aramaic and Deir ʿAlla (B1, D2,

A5, A6, A9, A10, A19):

> Deut 32:37 *ḥāsāyû* 'seek refuge' (IH poem)
>
> Ps 36:8 *yeḥĕsāyûn* 'seek refuge' (IH psalm)
>
> Ps 36:9 *yirwĕyūn* 'feast' (IH psalm)
>
> Ps 77:4 *ʾehĕmāyāʰ* 'moan' (IH psalm)
>
> Ps 78:44 *yištāyûn* 'drink' (IH psalm)
>
> Ps 83:3 *yĕhemāyûn* 'rage' (IH psalm)
>
> Ps 140:9 *maʾăwayyê* 'desires' (nominal form) (IH psalm)
>
> Prov 26:7 *dalĕyû* 'hang' (IH composition)
>
> Numb 24:6 *niṭṭāyû* 'stretch' (Balaam – style-switching)
>
> Isa 17:12 *yehĕmāyûn* 'roar' (Damascus – addressee-switching)
>
> Isa 21:12 *tibʿāyûn* 'request' ⎫
>
> Isa 21:12 *bĕʿāyû* 'request' ⎬ (Dumah – addressee-switching)
>
> Isa 21:12 *ʾētāyû* 'come' ⎭
>
> 6x in Job (style-switching)
>
> Isa 40:18, 40:25, 46:5 (Aramaisms? archaisms?)
>
> Exod 15:5 *yĕkasyûmû* (ABH)
>
> Other examples: Deut 8:13, Josh 14:8, Isa 26:11, 31:3, 33:7, Ps 39:7, 57:2, 122:6
>
>> – no explanation

6. Retention of *lamed* in imperative of *lqḥ* 'take', as in Aramaic (B2, D2, A10):

> 1 Kgs 17:11 *liqḥî* (Elijah)
>
> Ezek 37:16 *lĕqaḥ* (concerning Israel/Joseph)
>
> Prov 20:16 *lĕqaḥ* (IH composition)
>
> One non-IH example: Exod 29:1 *lĕqaḥ* – used for literary purposes, to alliterate
>
>> with *lĕkahēn* and *lĕqaddēš* in the same verse

7. Retention of *he* in forms of *hlk*, as in Moabite and Phoenician (B1):

> Ps 58:9 *yahălōk* (IH psalm)
>
> Jer 9:3 *yahălōk* (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)
>
> 6x in Job (style-switching)
>
> Qoh 6:8 *lahălōk* (IH composition)
>
> Jer 51:50 *hilkû* (Babylon – addressee-switching)
>
> Exod 3:19 *lahălōk* (no explanation)
>
> Ps 91:6 *yahălōk* (no explanation)

8. Unusual infinitive construct of *ntn* (B2):

> 1 Kgs 17:14K *ttn* (Elijah)
>
> 1 Kgs 6:19 *lĕtittēn* (Phoenician scribes)

9. Infinitive construct of IIIy verb, as in Ugaritic (D1, A14):[10]

Judg 13:21 *lĕhērā'ō^h* (Samson)

1 Sam 1:9 *šātō^h* (Shiloh)

1 Sam 3:21 *lĕhērā'ō^h* (Shiloh)

2 Kgs 13:17 *kallē^h* (Elisha)

Hos 6:9 *ḥakkê* (northern prophet)

10. Irregular infinitive form *bĕhištaḥăwāyātî* 'in my prostrating', as in Aramaic (B2):

2 Kgs 5:18 (Naaman)

11. Masculine singular participle of IIIy verb ending in *-ē^h*, as in MH (B2):

1Kgs 20:40 *'ôśē^h* (northern prophet)

12. Inflected participles, as in Aramaic (B2, A6, A10):

2 Kgs 4:23K *hlkty* (man from Shunem)

Gen 31:39 *gĕnubtî* (style-switching – Jacob to Laban)

Jer 10:17K *ywšbty* (Aramaism? Benjaminite?)

Jer 22:23K *ywšbty* (Aramaism? Benjaminite?)(note Lebanon)

Jer 22:23 K *mqnnty* (Aramaism? Benjaminite?)(note Lebanon)

Jer 51:13K *šknty* (Aramaism? addressee-switching [Babylon]?)

Ezek 27:3K *ywšbty* (Aramaism? addressee-switching [Tyre]?)

Lam 4:21K *ywšbty* (Aramaism?)

13a. 3sg pronominal suffix *-ennû/-ennā^h* attached to *wayyiqtol* form (B2):

Judg 15:2 *wā'ettĕnennā^h* 'and I gave her' (Samson's father-in-law)

2 Kgs 9:33 *wayyirmĕsennā^h* 'and he trampled her' (IH)

Job 7:18 *wattipqĕdennû* 'and you inspected him' (style-switching?)

Job 33:24 *wayĕḥunnennû* 'and he was gracious to him' (style-switching?)

One non-IH example: Lam 1:13 *wayyirdennā^h* 'and he ruled it'

13b. 2msg pronominal suffix *-ekkā* attached to *wayyiqtol* form (B2, D2):[11]

Ps 81:8 *wā'ăḥallĕṣekkā* 'and I rescued you' (IH psalm)

Prov 7:15 *wā'emṣā'ekkā* 'and I found you' (IH composition)

Isa 49:7 *wayyibḥārekkā* 'and he chose you' (reunion)

14. 'Etpolel form, as in Deir 'Alla and Aramaic (B1, A9):

Ps 76:6 *'eštôlĕlû* 'be despoiled'

15. Hitpa'el used with passive sense, as in Aramaic (two different T-stem formations) and MH (in the Nitpa'al form) (D2, A7):

Mic 6:16 *wĕyištammēr ḥuqqôt 'omrî* 'and the laws of Omri are observed' (northern section of Micah)

Prov 31:30 *hîʾ tithallāl* 'she is to be praised' (IH composition)

Qoh 8:10 *wĕyištakkĕḥû bāʿîr* 'and they are forgotten in the city' (IH)

D. Particles

1. Prepositions *b-/l-* 'from', as in Ugaritic and Phoenician (B1, B2, A6):

   Josh 3:16K *bʾdm* 'from Adam' (northern setting)

   2 Kgs 4:24 *lirkōb* 'from riding' (Shunammite woman)

   2 Kgs 14:13 *bĕšaʿar ʾeprayim* 'from the gate of Ephraim' (IH)

   2 Kgs 14:28 *lîhûdāʰ* 'from Yehuda (=Samʾal) (IH)

   Ps 10:1 *bĕrāḥôq* 'from afar' (IH psalm)

   Ps 29:10 *lammabbûl* 'from the flood' (IH psalm)

   Ps 140:11 *bĕmahămōrôt* 'from the deep-pits' (IH psalm)

2. Preposition *ʿad lĕ-*, as in Aramaic (B2):

   1 Kgs 18:29 *ʿad laʿălôt hamminḥāʰ* 'until (the time of) the offering of the *minḥa*' (IH)

   More examples in Ezra and Chronicles (Aramaisms)

3. Preposition *ʿad ʾel* , related to the above (B2):

   2 Kgs 9:20 *ʿad ʾălêhem* 'unto them' (Israelian scout)

4. Confusion of prepositions *ʾel* and *ʿal* (B2, A14):

   I note this issue here under Morphology, since it belongs to the morphosyntactic realm, but for further treatment see below under Syntax, III.8.

5. Conjunction *ʿad* meaning 'while', as in Aramaic (B2):[12]

   2 Kgs 9:22 *ʿad zĕnûnê ʾîzebel* 'while the harlotries of Jezebel (continue)' (Jehu)

   Ps 141:10 *ʿad ʾeʿĕbōr* 'while I pass' (IH psalm)

   Judg 3:26 *ʿad hitmahmĕhām* 'while they delayed' (Benjaminite?)

   1 Sam 14:19 *ʿad dibber šāʾûl* 'while Saul was speaking' (Benjaminite?)

   Jon 4:2 *ʿad hĕyôtî* 'while I was' (Aramaism? style-switching? IH?)

6. Conjunction *ʿad šе-* 'until', as in MH, with cognate in Aramaic *ʿd dy* (A17):

   Judg 5:7, Song 1:12, 2:7, 2:17, 3:4, 3:5, 4:6, 8:4 (IH poems)

   Elsewhere only Ps 123:2

7. Conjunction *ʿad lôʾ* 'ere, before', literally 'while not' as in Aramaic (D2):

   Prov 8:26 *ʿad lôʾ ʿāśāʰ ʾereṣ* 'before he made earth' (IH)

8. Preposition *qābol* 'before', as in Aramaic (B2):

    2 Kgs 15:10 *qābol ʿām* 'before the people' (IH)

9. Non-elision of the definite article *he* after uniconsonantal prepositions *b-*, *l-*, *k-*, as in Punic (B1, B2, A4, A6, A18):

    2 Kgs 7:12K *bhśdh* 'in the field' (Joram)

    Ps 36:6 *běhaššāmayim* 'in the heavens' (IH psalm)

    Qoh 8:1 *kěheḥākām* 'like the wise-man' (IH composition)

    Neh 9:19 *běhadderek* 'in the way' (IH text)

    1 Sam 13:21 *ûlěhaqqardummîm* 'and for the axes' (Benjaminite?)

    Ezek 40:25 *kěhaḥallônôt* 'like the windows'

    Ezek 47:22 *ûlěhaggērîm* 'and for the foreigners'

    Neh 12:38 *lěhaḥômāʰ* 'and for the wall'

    2 Chr 10:7 *lěhāʿām* 'to the people'   (reunion?)

    2 Chr 25:10 *lěhaggědûd* 'the troop'

        (with *l-* serving as *nota acc.*)

    2 Chr 29:27 *lěhammizbēaḥ* 'on the altar'

10. Interrogative *ʾykh* 'where', with cognates in Aramaic and MH (B2, A17):

    2 Kgs 6:13 *ʾêkōʰ* (IH – Aramean king)

    Song 1:7 (2x) *ʾêkāʰ* (IH poem)

11. Negative particle *bal* 'no, not', as in Ugaritic and Phoenician (B1, D1, D2, A5, A19):

    Psalm 10 (5x) (IH psalm)

    Psalm 16 (4x) (IH psalm)

    Ps 44:15, 46:6, 49:13, 58:9, 78:44, 140:11, 140:12, 141:4

        (all IH psalms)

    Hos 7:2, 9:16Q (northern prophet)

    10x in Proverbs (IH composition)

    1x in Job (style-switching?)

    thus: 30 of 69 occurrences in non-JH texts

12. Particle of existence *ʾiš*, with cognates in Ugaritic *it̠*, Aramaic *ʾyty* (D2, A16):

    2 Sam 14:19 (woman of Tekoa = northern Tekoa)

    Mic 6:10 (northern section of Micah)

    Prov 18:24 (IH composition)

13. Conjunction *šallāmāʰ* 'lest', calque of Aramaic *dylmʾ* 'lest' (A17):

    Song 1:7 (IH poem)

III. Syntax

1. *ze^h hayyôm* 'this day' syntagma, as in Aramaic, Phoenician, and MH (B2, A10, A12, A17):

    1 Kgs 14:14 *ze^h hayyôm* 'this day' (IH)

    2 Kgs 6:33 *zô' t hārā'ā^h* 'this evil' (Israelian messenger)

    Song 7:8 *zô't qômātēk* 'this your stature' (IH poem)

    Josh 9:12 *ze^h laḥmēnû* 'this our bread'

    Josh 9:13 *'ēlle^h nô'dôt hayyayin* 'these wineskins' ⎫ (Hivites:

    Josh 9:13 *'ēlle^h śalmôtênû* 'these our clothes' ⎬ style-switching)

    Isa 23:13 *ze^h hā'ām* 'this people' (Tyre – addressee-switching)

2. *ḥŏlî ze^h* 'this illness' construction (indefinite noun + indefinite demonstrative pronoun), as in Phoenician (B2):[13]

    2 Kgs 1:2, 8:8, 8:9 *ḥŏlî ze^h* 'this illness' (Ahaziah, Ben-Hadad)

    Mic 7:12 *yôm hû'* 'that day' (northern section of Micah)

    Ps 80:15 *gepen zô't* 'this vine' (IH psalm)

3. Double plural construction, as in Byblos Amarna, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Deir 'Alla, and MH (B1, B2, A7, A9, A15, A17, A19):

    2 Kgs 15:25 *běnê gil'ādîm* 'Gileadites' (IH)

    Ps 29:1 *běnê 'ēlîm* 'sons of the gods' = 'deities' (IH psalm)

    Ps 45:10 *běnôt mělākîm* 'daughters of the kings' = 'princesses' (IH psalm)

    Ps 47:10 *nědîbê 'ammîm* 'princes of the peoples' (IH psalm)

    Ps 74:13 *rā'šê tannînîm* 'heads of the sea-monsters' (IH psalm)

    Ps 77:6 *šěnôt 'ôlāmîm* 'years of eternities' (IH psalm)

    Ps 78:49 *mal'ăkê rā'îm* 'messengers of evils' (IH psalm)

    Ps 116:9 *'arṣôt haḥayyîm* 'lands of the living' (IH psalm)

    Song 1:17 *qôrôt bāttênû* 'beams of our houses' (IH poem)

    Commonly in Chroncles (reunion)

4. Use of *'eḥād /'aḥat* as indefinite article, as in Aramaic and MH (B2):

    Judg 9:53 (Abimelech – Shechem/Thebez)

    1 Sam 1:1, 6:7, 7:9, 7:12 (Samuel narrative)

    1 Kgs 13:11, 19:4, 19:5, 20:13, 22:9 (IH)

    2 Kgs 4:1, 7:8, 8:6 (IH)

    Judg 13:2 (Samson – Dan)

    Ezek 8:7, 8:8, 17:7, 33:2 (Aramaism? reunion?)

    Zech 5:7 (Aramaism? reunion?)

    3 JH examples: Exod 16:33, 2 Sam 18:10, 2 Kgs 12:10

5. *yqtl* preterite (in prose), as occasionally in Phoenician, Aramaic, and

Moabite (B2, A15):

> 1 Kgs 20:33 *wĕhāʾănāšîm yĕnaḥăšû* 'and the men divined' (IH)
>
> 1 Kgs 21:6 *kî ʾădabbēr ʾel nābôt* 'because I spoke to Naboth' (Ahab) (note Mesha Stele 5-6 *ky yʾnp kmš*)
>
> 2 Kgs 8:29, 9:15 *ʾăšer yakkûhû ʾărammîm* 'which the Arameans had inflicted upon him' (IH)
>
> Gen 37:7 *wĕhinnē^h tĕsubbenā^h ʾălummôtêkem* 'and behold your sheaves surrounded (it)' (excited/confused language?)
>
> Judg 2:1 *ʾaʿăle^h ʾetkem mimmiṣrayim* 'I brought you up from Egypt' (archaism in mouth of angel?)

6. Passive participle with active voice, as in Aramaic and MH (B2, A17):

> 2 Kgs 6:9 *nĕḥittîm* 'descending' (Elisha)
>
> Song 3:8 *ʾăḥûzê ḥereb* 'skilled in the sword' (IH poem)

7. Infinitive absolute used as narrative tense, as in Byblos Amarna, Ugaritic, and Phoenician (B2, D2, A4, A14):[14]

> Judg 7:19 *wĕnāpôṣ hakkaddîm* 'and they shattered the jugs' (Gideon)
>
> 1 Sam 2:28 *ûbāḥôr ʾôtô* 'and I chose him' (Shiloh in Ephraim)
>
> 1 Kgs 22:30 *hitḥappēś wābôʾ bammilḥāmā^h* 'I will disguise myself and go into the battle' (Israelian king [Ahab?])
>
> 2 Kgs 3:16 *ʿāśô^h hannaḥal hazze^h gēbîm gēbîm* 'I will make this wadi full of pools' (Elisha)
>
> 2 Kgs 4:43 *ʾākôl wĕhôtēr* 'they shall eat and have leftover' (Elisha)
>
> Neh 9:8 *wĕkārôt ʿimmô habbĕrît* 'and you made a covenant with him' (IH text)
>
> Neh 9:13 *wĕdabbēr ʿimmāhem miššāmāyim* 'and you spoke with them from heaven' (IH text)
>
> Amos 4:5 *wĕqaṭṭēr mēḥāmēṣ tôdā^h* 'and burn a *toda*-offering from leaven' (northern prophet)
>
> Prov 12:7 *hāpôk rĕšāʿîm* 'the wicked are overthrown'
> Prov 15:22 *hāpēr maḥăšābôt* 'plans are undone' } (IH comp.)
> Prov 17:12 *pāgôš dōb šakkûl bĕʾîš* 'better that a bereaved bear meet a man'
>
> 1 Kgs 9:25 *wĕhaqṭēr ʾittô* 'and he offered with it' (Phoen. scribes?)
>
> Lev 25:14 *ʾô qānô^h miyyad ʿămîtekā* 'or buy from your friend' (an unusual section of the Torah with several IH features)
>
> Pre-exilic JH examples: Exod 8:11, 1 Sam 22:13, 25:26, Isa 5:5, 37:19

Very common in LBH: Second Isaiah (2x), Ezekiel (3x), Haggai (2x), Zechariah (3x), Job (1x), Qohelet (3x), Esther (14x), Daniel (2x), Nehemiah (4x), Chronicles (4x), due to reunion (?). Of these occurrences, 3 in Qohelet (4:2, 8:9, 9:11) and 2 in Nehemiah 9 (vv. 8 and 13) are both late and northern.

8. Confusion of prepositions *ʾel* and *ʿal*, due to Aramaic interference (B2, A14):

A complete listing is not presented here, but see the following examples: 1 Kgs 13:4, 17:21-22, 18:46, 20:43, 2 Kgs 7:7, 8:3 (2x), 9:3, 9:6 (3x), all IH.

9. Preposition *min* followed by anarthrous noun, as in Aramaic and Deir ʿAlla (B2, D2, A9, A15, A17):[15]

Judg 5:20 *min šāmayim* 'from heaven' (IH poem)

Judg 7:23 *min ʾāšēr* 'from Asher' (Gideon)

Judg 7:23 *min kol měnaššeʰ* 'from all of Manasseh' (Gideon)

Judg 10:11 *min běnê ʿammôn* 'from the Ammonites' (Gilead setting)

Judg 10:11 *min pělištîm* 'from the Philistines' (Gilead setting)

Judg 19:16 *min maʿăśēhû* 'from his work' (Gibeah of Benjamin)

2 Kgs 15:28 *min ḥaṭṭôʾt* 'from the sins' (IH)

Ps 45:9 *min hêkělê šēn* 'from the palaces of ivory' (IH psalm)

Ps 73:19 *min ballāhôt* 'from terrors' (IH psalm)

Ps 116:8 *min dimʿāʰ* 'from tears' (IH psalm)

Prov 27:8 *min qinnāh* 'from its nest' (IH composition)

Song 4:15 *min lěbānôn* 'from Lebanon' (IH poem)

Numb 23:7 *min ʾărām* 'from Aram' (Balaam – style-switching)

Job 30:5 *min gēw* 'from the midst of' (style-switching)

Job 40:6 *min sěʿārāʰ* 'from the storm' (style-switching)

6x in Jeremiah (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)

Scattered additional occurrences in JH (no explanation)

Common in LBH, e.g., 51x in Chronicles (Aramaism)

11. Use of *ʾôt-* forms for expected *ʾitt-* forms, due to Aramaic interference (B2):

1 Kgs 20:25, 22:7, 22:8, 22:24 (IH)

2 Kgs 1:15 (2x), 3:11, 3:12, 3:26, 6:16, 8:8 (IH)

A single example:

2 Kgs 1:15 *wayyāqom wayyēred ʾôtô ʾel hammelek* 'and he arose and he went down with him to the king' (IH)

12. Interrogative *ʾê zeʰ* governing verb, as in MH (B2):
   1 Kgs 22:24 *ʾê zeʰ ʿābar rûaḥ YHWH* 'which way did the spirit of the LORD pass?' (Zedekiah)
   Qoh 11:6 *ʾê zeʰ yikšār* 'which will prosper?' (IH composition)
13. Interrogative series *hă- ... ʾô*, as in Deir ʿAlla (B2, A9):
   2 Kgs 4:13 *hăyēš lĕdabber lāk ʾel hammelek ʾô ʾel śar haṣṣābāʾ* 'can one speak on your behalf to the king or to the commander of the army?' (Elisha)?
   2 Kgs 6:27 *hămin haggōren ʾô min hayyāqeb* 'from the threshing floor or from the wine press?' (Joram)
   3x in Job (16:3, 38:28, 38:31) (style-switching)
   2x in Qohelet (2:19, 11:6) (IH composition)
   Judg 18:19
      hăṭôb hĕyôtĕkā kôhēn lĕbêt ʾîš ʾeḥād ʾô hĕyôtĕkā kôhēn lĕšēbeṭ ûlĕmišpāḥāʰ bĕyiśrāʾēl 'is it better for you to be a priest to the house of one man, or to be a priest to a tribe and family in Israel?' (Danites to the Levite of the house of Micah in Ephraim)
14. Periphrastic genitive, as in MH, Aramaic, Amurru Akkadian (A17):
   Song 3:7 *miṭṭātô šellišlômôʰ* 'the palanquin of Solomon' (IH poem)
15. Negative particle *ʾal* followed by a noun, as in Deir ʿAlla (D2, A9):[16]
   Amos 5:14 *wĕʾal rāʿ* 'and not evil' (northern prophet)
   Ps 83:2 *ʾal dŏmî* 'not silence' (IH psalm)
   Ps 141:5 *ʾal yānî* 'not my wine' (IH psalm)
   Prov 8:10 *wĕʾal kāsep* 'and not silver'
   Prov 12:28 *ʾal māwet* 'not death'
   Prov 17:12 *wĕʾal kĕsîl* 'and not a fool'
   Prov 27:2 *wĕʾal śĕpātekā* 'and not your lips' } (IH composition)
   2 Sam 1:21 (2x) *ʾal ṭal wĕʾal māṭār* 'not dew and not rain' (ascribed to David, but note northern setting of Gilboa)
   Two JH examples: Isa 62:6, Joel 2:13 (reunion)
16. Numeral syntax with 'one', as in Aramaic (A17):
   Song 4:9 *ʾaḥad ʿănāq* 'one bead' (IH poem)
17. Omission of *ʾet* from prose narrative (B2[17], A20):
   2 Kgs 3:19, 3:25 (2x), 4:4, 4:5, 4:24, 4:29, 4:33, 4:36, 4:38, 5:6, 5:11, 6:4, 6:7, 6:32, 8:15, 9:1 (2x), 9:3 (2x), 9:6, 9:7 (2x), 9:10, 9:23, 9:24, 10:15, 10:22, 13:17, 13:18, 17:12 (all IH)

Lexicon

I. Nouns and Adjectives

1. *ʾēb* 'fruit': Job 8:12, Song 6:11. MH (2x); Ugaritic *ib*; Aramaic *ʾybʾ*, *ʾnbʾ* (A17)

2. *ʾōhab* 'love': Hos 9:10, Prov 7:18 (D1, D2)

3. *ʾăhābîm* 'love': Hos 8:9, Prov 5:19 (D1, D2)

4. *ʾiwwelet* 'throne': Prov 14:24. Ugaritic *alt* (D2)

5. *ʾôrôt* 'herbs, sprouts': 2 Kgs 4:39. [See also Isa 26:19.] Ugaritic, MH (B2, A19)

6. *ʾelep* 'cattle': 4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins, Prov 14:4. Perhaps also Ps 50:10, unless the final *pe* is to be attached to the next line as conjunctive *p-*. [Also Isa 30:24, Ps 8:8.] Ugaritic, Phoenician (D2, A13)

7. *ʾēmer* 'lamb': Gen 49:21 (Naphtali) (A8)

8. *ʾetnā^h* 'price': Hos 2:14 (D1)

9. *ʾarmôn* 'palace, citadel': 1 Kgs 16:18, 2 Kgs 15:25, Hos 8:14, Amos 11x, Ps 48:4, 48:14, Prov 18:19, Jeremiah 5x (Benjaminite?). [9 JH exx.] (B2, D1, D2)[18]

10. *bṣql* 'ear of grain': 2 Kgs 4:42. Ugaritic *bṣql* (B2)

11. *gerem* 'bone, self': Gen 49:14 (Issachar), 2 Kgs 9:13, Prov 17:22, 25:15, Job 40:18. Aramaic (B2, D2, A8)

12. *dûd* 'pot, basket': 1 Sam 2:14 (Ephraim), 2 Kgs 10:7, Ps 81:7, Jeremiah 3x (Benjaminite?), Job 41:12. [Elsewhere 2 Chr 35:13 as Aramaism.] Ugaritic, Aramaic (B2, A14)[19]

13. *dal* 'door': Ps 141:3. Phoenician (B1, A5)

14. *ḥāśîp* 'small (flock)': 1 Kgs 20:27. Ugaritic *ḥsp*, Phoenician *ḥsp* (B2)

15. *hêkāl* 'palace': 1 Kgs 21:1, Hos 8:14, Amos 8:3, Ps 45:9, 45:16, Prov 30:28, Joel 4:5 (Phoenicia). Ugaritic, Aramaic (B1, B2, D1, D2, A5, A10)

16. *ḥēdeq* 'brier, thorn': Mic 7:4, Prov 15:19. MH, Aramaic (D2)

17. *ḥôrîm* 'nobles, freemen': 1 Kgs 21:8, 21:11, Qoh 10:17. [Nehemiah 7x as Aramaism.] Aramaic (B2, A15, A18)

18. *ḥôaḥ* 'thistle': Hos 9:6, Prov 26:9, Job 31:40; Song 2:2. See also 2 Kgs 14:9 = 2 Chr 25:18 (in the mouth of the Israelian king Jehoash, with reference to Lebanon). [Exception is Isa 34:13.] Aramaic (A17)[20]

19. *ḥōṭer* 'rod': Prov 14:3. [Isa 11:1 means 'shoot'.] Phoenician, Deir ʿAlla, Aramaic (D2, A9)

20. *ḥelyā^h* (and variant forms) 'jewel': Hos 2:15, Prov 25:12, Song 7:2 (D1, D2, A17)

21. *ḥēleq* 'field': 2 Kgs 9:10, 9:36, 9:37, Hos 5:7, Amos 7:4. Aramaic (B2, D1)

22. *ḥammā^h* 'sun': Ps 19:7, Job 30:28, Song 6:10. [See also Isa 24:23.] [Elsewhere Isa 30:26.] MH (A17, A19)

23. *ḥōpen* 'garment': Prov 30:4. Ugaritic *ḥpn* (D2)

24. *ḥārûṣ* 'gold': Prov 3:14, 8:10, 8:19, 16:16, Zech 9:3 (style-switching – Tyre), Ps 68:14 (ABH). Ugaritic *ḥrṣ*, Phoenician *ḥrṣ* (D2, A10)

25. *ḥărakkîm* 'lattices': Song 2:9. MH, Aramaic (A17)

26. *yāqār* 'grievous': Ps 116:15. Aramaic (B1, A15)

27. *yeraḥ* 'month': Deut 33:14 (Joseph), 2 Kgs 15:13, Job 4x, 1 Kgs 6:37, 6:38, 8:2 (Phoenician scribal record of the Temple). [3 JH examples.] Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic (B2)

28. *ṭeneʾ* 'basket': 4x in Deuteronomy, perhaps under northern influence. Phoenician (?), MH (A13)

29. *kad* 'jar': 1 Kgs 17:12, 17:14, 17:16, 1 Kgs 18:34, Judges 7 (4x) (Gideon), Qoh 12:6, Genesis 24 (9x as style-switching). Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic, MH (B2, A14, A18)

30. *keseʾ* / *kese^h* 'full moon': Ps 81:4, Prov 7:20. Ugaritic, Phoenician (B1, D2)

31. *kērā^h* 'feast': 2 Kgs 6:23. See the verb *krh* below (B2)

32. *lĕbānā^h* 'moon': Song 6:10. [See also Isa 24:23.] [Elsewhere Isa 30:26.] MH (A17, A19)

33. *lôaʿ* 'throat': Prov 23:2. Aramaic (D2)

34. *meged* 'choice fruit': Deut 33:13-16 (5x) (blessing to Joseph), Song 4:13, 4:16. Aramaic (A14, A17)

35. *māgēn* 'gift': Hos 4:18. See the verb *mgn* below (D1)

36. *mĕdînā^h* 'district': 1 Kings 20 (4x). [All other 53 cases from exilic and post-exilic texts under Aramaic influence.] MH, Aramaic (B2)

37. *māhîr* 'skilled': Ps 45:2, Prov 22:29, Isa 16:5 (style-switching – Moab). [Ezra 7:6 as Aramaism.] Ugaritic, Aramaic (B1, D2)

38. *môtār* 'abundance, advantage, profit': Prov 14:23, 21:5, Qoh 3:19. MH, Aramaic (D2)

39. *mezeg* 'mixed wine': Song 7:3. MH, Aramaic (A17)

40. *millēʾt* 'pool': Song 5:12. Cf. Bereshit Rabba 95 (A17)

41. *mattat* 'gift': 1 Kgs 13:7, Prov 25:14, Qoh 3:3, 5:18. [2x in Ezekiel.] Phoenician (B2, D2)

42. *millā^h* 'word': 2 Sam 23:2, Ps 19:5, 139:4, 23:9, 34x in Job (A1, A10)

43. *mamlĕkût* 'kingdom': Hos 1:4, 1 Sam 15:28 (Samuel), 2 Sam 16:3 (Ziba [of Benjamin]?), Jer 26:1 (Benjaminite?), 5x in Joshua 13 (references to Og and Sihon in Transjordan) (D1)

44. *manʿammîm* 'delicacies': Ps 141:4. Phoenician (B1, A5)

45. *miqṣôt* 'from among, some of': Judg 18:2 (Dan), 1 Kgs 12:31, 13:33, 2 Kgs 17:32. [Dan 1:2, Neh 7:69 as Aramaisms.] Aramaic (B2)

46. *nĕʾûm* with human speakers: Numb 24:3-4, 24:15-16, 2 Sam 23:1, Prov 30:1, Ps 36:2 (B1, D2, A1, A7)

47. *naḥal* 'palm tree': Numb 24:6 (Balaam), Song 6:11 (A17)

48. *nāʿîm* 'good, pleasant' (including verbal forms from the root *nʿm*): Gen 49:15 (Issachar), 2 Sam 23:1, Ps 16:6, 16:11, 81:3, 133:1, 141:4, 141:6, Proverbs 9x, Job 36:11, Song 1:16, 7:7, Isa 17:10 (style-switching – Aram), Ezek 32:19 (style-switching – Egypt); thus 22 of 30 attestations in IH. Ugaritic, Phoenician (B1, D2, A2, A5, A8, A17)

49. *nōpet* 'honey': Prov 5:3, 24:13, 27:7, Song 4:11. [Elsewhere Ps 19:11.] Ugaritic *nbt*, Phoenician *npt* (D2, A17)

50. *nôqēd* 'shepherd foreman': 2 Kgs 3:4, Amos 1:1. Ugaritic, MH, Syriac (B2)

51. *sēpel* 'bowl': Judg 5:25, 6:38. Ugaritic, MH (A11, A15)

52. *spsg* 'glaze': Prov 26:23 (reconstructed). Ugaritic (D2)

53. *ʿayir* 'donkey': Judg 10:4, 12:14, Gen 32:16 (style-switching), Job 11:12. [Also Gen 49:11, Isa 30:6Q, 30:24, Zech 9:9.] Ugaritic (A13)

54. *ʿayir* 'village': Judg 10:4. MH (A13)

55. *ʿalwā^h* 'perversity': Hos 10:9. Syriac (D1)

56. *ʿereś* 'bed': Deut 3:11 (Bashan), Amos 3:12, 6:4, Ps 132:3, Prov 7:16, Job 7:13, Song 1:16. [Exceptions are Ps 6:7, 41:4.] MH *ʿărîsā^h*, Ugaritic, Aramaic (D2, A17)[21]

57. *ʿaštārôt* 'fertility': 4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins. Ugaritic, Deir ʿAlla (A13)

58. *pag* 'unripe fig': Song 2:13. MH, Aramaic (A17)

59. *paʿam* 'foot': Ps 58:11, 140:5, Prov 29:5, Song 7:2. [See also Isa 26:6.] [Elsewhere 2 Kgs 19:24 = Isa 37:25.] Phoenician *pʿm*, Ugaritic *pʿn* (B1, D2, A17, A19)

60. *pĕlaggôt* 'divisions': Judg 5:15-16. [Elsewhere 2 Chr 35:5 as Aramaism.] Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic (A15)

61. *paqqûʿôt* 'wild gourds': 2 Kgs 4:39. MH, Aramaic (B2)

62. *ṣibbûrîm* 'piles, heaps': 2 Kgs 10:8. Ugaritic, MH, Aramaic (B2)

63. *ṣĕlôḥît* 'dish': 2 Kgs 2:20. MH, Aramaic (B2)

64. *ṣinnā^h* 'cold': Prov 25:13. MH, Aramaic (D2)

65. *qab* 'unit of measurement': 2 Kgs 6:25. MH, Aramaic (B2)

66. *qĕwwuṣṣôt* 'locks': Song 5:2, 5:11. MH, Syriac (A17)

67. *qiryā^h* 'city': Hos 6:8, Ps 48:3, Proverbs 5x, Job 39:7. [JH texts (e.g., Torah) use *qiryā^h* to refer to Transjordanian cities or as B-word for *ʿîr*.] Ugaritic, Phoenician, MH (D1, D2, A19)

68. *qeret* 'city': Proverbs 4x, Job 29:7. Phoenician, Aramaic (D2)

69. *qōšṭ* 'truth': Prov 22:21. Aramaic (D2)

70. *rĕbîʿîm* 'those of the fourth generation': 2 Kgs 10:30, 15:12. Aramaic (B2)

71. *rĕsîsîm* 'droplets': Song 5:2. Aramaic-Syriac (A17)

72. *šeber* 'interpretation (of a dream)': Judg 7:15. Phoenician *šbrt* (A11)

73. *šebet* 'hot wind, extreme heat': 2 Sam 23:7. Aramaic (A11)

74. *šeger* 'offspring': 4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins. [Also in Exod 13:12.] Ugaritic, Deir ʿAlla (A13)

75. *šûq* 'street': Prov 7:8, Song 3:2, Qoh 12:4-5. Aramaic (D2, A17)

76. *šîrô^h* 'vision': Ps 42:9. Ugaritic *ḏhrt/ḏrt* (B1, A11)[22]

77. *šît* 'garment': Ps 73:6, Prov 7:10. Syriac (D2)

78. *šepaʿ / šipʿā^h* 'abundance, multitude': Deut 33:19 (Issachar-Zebulun), 2 Kgs 9:17 (2x), Ezek 26:10 (Tyre), Job 22:11, 38:34 [Elsewhere only Isa 60:6.] Phoenician, MH, Aramaic (B2)

79. *šeper* 'beauty': Gen 49:21 (Naphtali), Ps 16:6 (verb form). Aramaic (B1, A8)

II. Verbs

1. *ʾgr* 'gather, collect': Prov 6:8, 10:5. [Deut 28:39 northern? *pace* Weinfeld.] MH (D2)

2. *ʾzl* 'go': Deut 32:36, Prov 20:14, Job 14:11, 1 Sam 9:7 (Benjaminite?). Aramaic (D2)

3. *ʾkp* 'press, urge": Prov 16:26, Job 33:7 (noun form). Syriac (D2)

4. *ʾlp* 'teach, learn': Prov 2:17 (noun form), 22:25, Job 15:5, 33:33, 35:11. Aramaic (D2)

5. *ʾšr* 'walk, proceed': Prov 4:14, 9:6, 23:19. [Other occurrences of *ʾšr* appear to derive from the homonymous root 'be happy'.] Ugaritic *ʾtr* (D2)

6. *ʾrh* 'pluck': Ps 80:13, Song 5:1. MH (A17)[23]

7. *ʾth* 'come': Deut 33:21 (Gad), Prov 1:27, Job 3:25, 16:22, 30:14,

37:22, Isa 21:12 (2x), 21:14 (style-switching – Dumah). [Jer 12:9 Benjaminite?, Ps 68:32 ABH, Second Isaiah 7x as Aramaism, 2 other scattered examples.] Aramaic, Deir ʿAlla (D2, A9)

8. *bdʾ* 'invent, devise': 1 Kgs 12:33. [Neh 6:8 as Aramaism.] MH, Aramaic (B2)

9. *bʿṭ* 'kick, trample': Deut 32:15, 1 Sam 2:29. MH, Aramaic (A14)

10. *brʾ* 'be fat, make fat': 1 Sam 2:29. MH, Aramaic (A14)

11. *ghh* 'heal': Hos 5:13, Prov 17:22 (D1, D2)

12. *ghr* 'bend, crouch': 1 Kgs 18:42, 2 Kgs 4:34-35. Aramaic (B2)

13. *gwr* (Hitpolel) 'dwell, reside, debauch': 1 Kgs 17:20, Hos 7:14. Aramaic (B2, D1)

14. *gzr* 'cut down a tree, chop wood': 2 Kgs 6:4. MH and Aramaic nominal forms meaning 'log, club' (B2)

15. *glm* 'roll up (a garment)': 2 Kgs 2:8. Aramaic (B2)

16. *glš̆* 'flow': Song 4:1, 6:5. Ugaritic *glṯ*; B. Pesaḥim 37b ('boil') (A17)

17. *dbr* 'carry off, pursue': Ps 116:10. Aramaic (B1, A15)

18. *dwr* 'dwell': Ps 84:11. Aramaic (B1)

19. *hbhb* 'singe, roast lightly': Hos 8:13. MH (D1)

20. *hlm* 'strike': Judg 5:22, 5:26, Ps 74:9, 141:5, Prov 23:35, Isa 16:8 (style-switching – Moab), Isa 28:1 (style-switching – Ephraim). [Elsewhere Isa 41:7.] Ugaritic, Phoenician (B1, D2, A19)[24]

21. *zrr* 'sneeze': 2 Kgs 4:35. Aramaic (B2)

22. *ḥlṭ* 'decide': 1 Kgs 20:33. MH, Aramaic (B2)

23. *ḥrb* 'slay, slaughter, fight': 2 Kgs 3:23, Jer 50:21, 50:27 (style-switching – Babylon). Syriac (B2)

24. *ḥrk* 'roast': Prov 12:27. MH, Aramaic (D2)

25. *ḥṭp / ḥtp* 'snatch': Prov 23:28, Job 9:12 *ḥtp*, Judg 21:21, Ps 10:9 *ḥṭp*. MH (with *ṭet*), Aramaic (with both *ṭet* and *taw*) (D2)[25]

26. *ṭnp* 'soil, make dirty': Song 5:3. MH, Aramaic (A17)

27. *ybb* 'whine, shrill': Judg 5:28. MH, Aramaic (A15)

28. *ksḥ* 'cut down': Ps 80:17, Isa 33:12 (style-switching – northern Israel). Aramaic (B1, A5)

29. *krh* 'make a feast': 2 Kgs 6:23, Prov 16:27. See the noun *kērāʰ* 'feast' above (B2, D2)

30. *lbṭ* 'incite, be excited, be troubled': Hos 4:14, Prov 10:8, 10:10 (D1, D2)

31. *lḥm* 'eat': Ps 141:4, Prov 4:17, 9:5, 23:1, 23:6 (perhaps Deut 32:24). Ugaritic *lḥm* (B1, D2, A5)

32. *mgn* 'give, deliver':   Hos 11:8, Prov 4:9. [Elsewhere Gen 14:20 (Melchizedek).] Phoenician, Ugaritic, Aramaic (D1, D2)

33. *mdd* (Hitpolel) 'stretch oneself': 1 Kgs 17:21. MH (B2)

34. *mḫq* 'strike': Judg 5:26. Aramaic (A15)

35. *mkr* (Hitpaʿel) 'decide': 1 Kgs 21:20, 21:25, 2 Kgs 17:17. Probably related to Aramaic *mlk* 'advise, counsel' (B2)

36. *mll* 'crush, squeeze, rub': Prov 6:13. MH (D2)

37. *mnʿ* 'prevent, withhold':   1 Kgs 20:7, Amos 4:7, Ps 84:12, Proverbs 5x, Job 4x, Neh 9:20, Qoh 2:10, Jeremiah 6x, Numb 22:16, 24:11 (style-switching – Balak), Gen 30:2 (Aram), Ezek 31:15 (addressee-switching: Egypt) [5 JH examples.] Aramaic, MH (B2, D2)²⁶

38. *ngd* 'lead': Ps 116:14, 116:18: Aramaic (A15)

39. *nḫt* 'descend': 2 Kgs 6:9. [All other examples are in poetry; cf. G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Poetic Diction."] Ugaritic, Aramaic (B2)

40. *nkr* 'obtain, acquire': Hos 3:2, 1 Sam 23:7 (Piʿel) (Saul) (D1)

41. *nṣl* (Hiphʿil) 'take back, snatch, remove': Hos 2:11, Gen 31:9 (D1)

42. *sḥp* 'repel, drive away': Prov 28:3, Jer 46:15 (invoked especially to alliterate with *tḥpnḥs*). MH, Aramaic (D2)

43. *sʿd* 'eat, dine': 1 Kgs 13:7. MH, Aramaic (B2)

44. *ʿdh* 'pass' (Qal), 'remove' (Hiphʿil): Prov 25:20, Job 28:8. Aramaic (D2)

45. *ʿdn* 'luxuriate': Neh 9:25, Ps 36:9 (noun form). Ugaritic *ʿdn*.²⁷

46. *ʿṣh* 'shut, press': Prov 16:30. Aramaic. Perhaps Ugaritic *ʿṣ* (D2)

47. *ʿrb* 'offer': Hos 9:4. Phoenician (D1)

48. *ʿrb* 'be sweet, pleasant': Prov 3:24, 20:17, Song 2:14. MH (D2, A17)

49. *pwq* 'find, obtain': Ps 140:9, Prov 3:13, 8:35, 12:2, 18:22. [Isa 58:10, Ps 144:13 (reunion?).] Ugaritic, Phoenician (D2)

50. *plḥ* 'cut, split': 2 Kgs 4:39, Ps 141:7, Prov 7:23, Job 16:13, 39:3. Aramaic (B2, D2)

51. *pls* 'level, straighten': Ps 58:3, 78:50, Prov 4:26, 5:6, 5:21, 16:11 (noun form). [See also Isa 26:7.] [Elsewhere Isa 40:12 (noun form).] Phoenician *pls* 'architect' (B1, D2, A5, A19)

52. *pʿl* 'make, do': Deut 32:27, Hos 7:1, Ps 44:2, 58:3, Prov 16:4, 30:20, Job 7:20, 11:8, 22:17, 33:29, 34:32, 35:6, 36:23, Numb 23:23 (style-switching – Balaam). [Scattered examples elsewhere.] Phoenician, Deir ʿAlla. Ugaritic byform *bʿl* (B1, D1, D2, A7, A9, A19)

53. *prd* 'offer': Hos 4:14. Ugaritic *brd* (D1)

54. *qbl* 'take, receive': Prov 19:20. [All other occurrences are post-exilic: Job, Esther, Ezra, Chronicles.] Aramaic (D2)
55. *qpṣ* 'jump': Song 2:8. MH, Aramaic (A17)
56. *qbb/nqb* 'curse': Balaam 8x, Prov 11:26 (D2)
57. *qṣb* 'cut': 2 Kgs 6:6, Song 4:2. MH, Aramaic (B2, A17)
58. *qṣh* (Piʿel) 'reduce': 2 Kgs 10:32. Phoenician (B2)
59. *rpd* 'spread out, support, refresh': Job 17:13, 41:22, Song 2:5 (A17)
60. *rʿm* 'be disturbed, vex': 1 Sam 1:6, Ezek 27:35 (style-switching – Tyre). MH, Aramaic (A14)
61. *rtt* 'tremble': Hos 13:1. Aramaic-Syriac-Mandaic (D1)
62. *śdd* 'harrow': Hos 10:11, Job 39:10, Isa 28:24 (style-switching – Ephraim). MH, Aramaic, Syriac (D1, A19)
63. *śpq* 'be sufficient': 1 Kgs 20:10. Noun form *śēpeq* Job 20:22. MH, Aramaic (B2)
64. *šwh* 'set > make, produce': Hos 10:1. Aramaic (D1)
65. *šwr* 'jump, leap, bound': Hos 13:7, Song 4:8. Syriac (A17)[28]
66. *šḥṭ* 'harm, abuse, violate': Hos 5:2. Syriac (D1)
67. *šlh* (Hiphʿil) 'mislead': 2 Kgs 4:28. Aramaic (B2)
68. *šnh* (Hitpaʿel) 'disguise oneself': 1 Kgs 14:2. Syriac (B2)
69. *šns* 'gird': 1 Kgs 18:46. Ugaritic. Byform *šnṣ* in Aramaic (verb), MH (noun = 'strap, lace, thong') (B2)
70. *šʿr* 'prepare a meal, serve food': Prov 23:7. Ugaritic *t̠ʿr* (D2)
71. *tnh* 'hire, deal': Hos 8:9, 8:10. Aramaic (D1)
72. *tnh* 'praise, relate': Judg 5:11, 11:40. Aramaic (A15)

III. Particles

1. *ʾaḥălê* 'would that': 2 Kgs 5:3 [Elsewhere Ps 119:5.] Ugaritic *aḥl* (B2)
2. *ʾê* 'any': Prov 31:4. Ugaritic *ay* (D2)

Final Thoughts

The number of IH features identified in this line of research is truly remarkable. According to the presentation of the data above, there are 70 individual grammatical traits and 153 different lexical items which distinguish IH from JH. Future research may uncover still other examples. At first glance, one might think that such a large amount of discriminating features is highly unlikely, given the relatively small geographical area in which ancient Hebrew was spoken. But the study of dialect geography around the world has taught us that languages develop dialects and subdialects regardless of the size of the area

encompassed by that language. Students of English, for example, recognize about 35 different dialects of the language as spoken in the British Isles, but only about a half-dozen or so dialects of English as spoken in the United States.

Furthermore, in a language such as German, even the most basic vocabulary items will differ from region to region and sometimes from place to place. Among the most famous examples in German are the following: *Samstag* and *Sonnabend* for "Saturday," *Kartoffel* and *Erdapfel* for "potato," *Senf* and *Mostrich* for "mustard," and *Karotten* and *Möhren* for "carrots." But German includes literally hundreds of such examples, as a glance at any standard dialect atlas of the German language will indicate, including numerous words limited to a very small area, e.g., *Diern* for "girl" (instead of *Mädchen*), *Metzger* for "butcher" (instead of *Fleischer*), *Onnern* for "afternoon" (instead of *Nachmittag*), and so on. Some of these, I hasten to add, will be unfamiliar to even native speakers of German.[29]

There also are regional differences in grammatical usage, as the following two examples illustrate. Depending on one's place of origin, one will be inclined to say "Der Junge ist grösser als das Mädchen," "Der Junge ist grösser wie das Mädchen," "Der Junge ist grösser als wie das Mädchen" (with both forms appearing side-by-side), or "Der Junge ist grösser as das Mädchen" (using a very rare form). Similarly, for the telling of time, let's say 5:45, one will be inclined to use either "viertel vor sechs" or "dreiviertel sechs" depending on one's place of origin.

I use these examples of English dialectology and German dialectology, especially the latter, as a reminder to the reader that the Hebrew evidence gathered herein is within the bounds of the expected, that is, once one's eyes are opened to the possibility of regional variation, even within a relatively small geographical region.

In fact, two recently published inscriptions from Transjordan demonstrate quite clearly how linguistically diversified the dialects of ancient Hebrew (and its close cognates, Ammonite, Moabite, etc.) actually were. I refer to the "Marzeaḥ" papyrus of uncertain provenance (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1990) and the incense altar inscription from Khirbet el-Mudeiyineh (see Dion and Daviau 2000; Rainey 2002), each of which presents isoglosses with several different Canaanite dialects, and neither of which matches perfectly with any previously known Canaanite dialect (e.g., Ammonite, Moabite). Although these texts are very short, it would not be unwarranted to conclude that each one reflects its own dialect. These discoveries serve as an important reminder that Canaanite in general and Hebrew especially had numerous local varieties or

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subdialects. And if chance discoveries such as these two short texts reflect substantial differences in language, it is not surprising to find hundreds of dialectal traits in our largest corpus of ancient Canaanite, namely, the Hebrew Bible.

Notes

[1] For the sake of bibliographic completeness, I also should cite the study of François Briquel-Chatonnet on the relationship between northern Hebrew and Phoenician (Briquel-Chatonnet 1992), but her approach is quite different than ours, yielding the following conclusion: "Le bilan de notre étude linguistique est donc maigre" (p. 125).

[2] I have not included every single feature isolated in the studies listed in the References section. In some cases I do not accept the results of other scholars; and on occasion I no longer believe that my own conclusions are necessarily warranted. Such instances are rare (especially for the grammatical material; there are more examples in the section on lexicon), but I note this fact should the reader question why a particular feature treated in a previous publication is lacking in the present study.

[3] In addition, I have not listed most of the material from Isaiah 24-27 compiled by Noegel (Noegel 1994). The concentration of unusual grammatical and lexical features in these chapters is undeniable. The only issue remaining, as Noegel himself realized, is the effect of these features, whether they relate to style-switching or to addressee-switching or to some other phenomenon. On the other hand, I do include references to Noegel's study, listed below as A19, where relevant.

[4] For a study of language issues in Jeremiah, with attention to the issue of the Benjaminite dialect, see Smith 2003. On the stories about Saul in 1 Samuel, see the remarks by White 2000 concerning a potential setting for this material (though she did not incorporate linguistic evidence into her study).

[5] The historical and linguistic evidence was surveyed by Gordon 1955.

[6] I exclude the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra.

[7] Note the abbreviations Q = Qeri and K = Ketiv.

[8] I have not had occasion to discuss this feature of IH, and thus I do not cite any of the references listed above. This trait, however, is well known and is discussed in many standard works (e.g., Garr 1985, 35-40). The primary evidence comes from the attestation of *qṣ* 'summer-fruit' in the Gezer Calendar (line 7) and of *yn* 'wine' in the Samaria Ostraca (passim).

[9] See Garsiel 1987, 225.

[10] I neglected to discuss this morpheme, with an example in 2 Kgs 13:17, in my book on Kings (B2).

[11] I overlooked this feature, as exemplified by the usage in Ps 81:8, while writing my book on Psalms (B1).

[12] I neglected to discuss this use of the preposition *ʿad*, with an example in Ps 141:10, in my book on Psalms (B1).

[13] I neglected to discuss this syntagma, with an example in Ps 80:15, in my book on Psalms (B1).

[14] As Jun Ikeda pointed out to me (oral communication), the three examples from Kings cited herein are not examples of the narrative tense *per se*, since they all point to future usage. But since these infinitive absolute forms replace the expected finite verb, I have elected to retain them in this list nonetheless. To be more accurate, the heading of this feature probably should read "infinitive absolute used in place of the finite verb," in line with the terminology employed by most scholars. I prefer to continue to use my heading, however, because the basic usage is for *qātôl* to replace the narrative tense (*wayyiqtol* mainly), with a few instances of *qātôl* pointing to future time as well by analogy. I beg the reader's indulgence to allow this apparent

contradiction in terms.

   [15] I overlooked this usage, with three examples in northern psalms, in my book on Psalms (B1).

   [16] This is one more instance of a feature which I neglected to include while researching my book on Psalms (B1).

   [17] See the "Afterword" on p. 155.

   [18] I failed to treat this lexical item in my book on Psalms (B1).

   [19] Once more this is an example of a feature not treated in my book on Psalms (B1).

   [20] Neither Yoo (D1) nor Chen (D2) treated this lexeme in their respective dissertations. The identity of *ḥôaḥ* 'thistle' as an IH vocable is a recent discovery, to be treated in the forthcoming publication A17, as indicated.

   [21] I did not treat this word in B1, even though it is attested in Ps 132:3.

   [22] In my *Psalms* book (B1), I discussed this word in a footnote only (p. 59, n. 51), with the statement that "the evidence is not conclusive." I now aver that *šîrôh* 'vision' is a northern feature, as discussed in A11.

   [23] I failed to include this example in my book on Psalms (B1), even though *ʾrh* 'pluck' occurs in Ps 80:13.

   [24] Mention of this verb was accidentally omitted from A15, even though Judges 5 is treated therein.

   [25] This verb was not treated in my *Psalms* book (B1), even though it appears in Ps 10:9.

   [26] I failed to discuss *mnᶜ* 'prevent, withhold' in my earlier studies B1 (on Psalms; cf. Ps 84:12) and A4 (on Nehemiah 9; cf. v. 20).

   [27] I neglected to treat this lexeme in both relevant studies, B1 and A4.

   [28] Yoo also treated the verb *šwr* in his dissertation (D2), but with a different understanding.

   [29] While in Japan I learned from my Japanese colleagues that, not surprisingly, the Japanese language has similar examples of lexical items characteristic of different regional dialects, including among them both common words and rarer vocabulary items.

Bibliography

Note: The following list includes only those items cited in the article by name of author and year of publication. For additional bibliographic entries (with an internal reference system for this article alone), see the list of items in "References" (pp. 9-10), especially those works written by the present author.

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