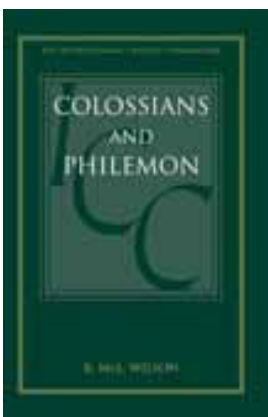# Case study of <**Book Work/**>

continuum

read more at ☞ **www.continuumbooks.com**

The Continuum International Publishing Group is a fast-growing publisher of books, with its headquarters in London and offices in New York and Harrisburg in the USA- and partners all over the world.

They are an academic, religious and trade publisher, producing over 500 books a year, written by authors who are acknowledged experts in their chosen fields. They have an active backlist of over 6,000 titles. Their publishing programme is focused on the humanities, in the fields of philosophy, film and music, literature, education, linguistics, theology and biblical studies.

COLOSSIANS
AND
PHILEMON

Data Standards skills in data translation allows us to receive authors files in numerous formats containing many languages including Greek and Hebrew. These files are styled and paginated into the various products produced by Continuum including heavily cross referenced footnote layouts.

Sample pages overleaf →

Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-exilic Date of the Yahwistic Source

Richard M. Wright

Chapter 2

Morphology

Several characteristic features of LBH are morphological in nature, that is, morphemes or morphological traits which are either nonexistent or unproductive in pre-exilic texts. Several such morphological features of LBH which can be compared to 'J' are discussed in this chapter:

	Late Biblical Hebrew	*Standard Biblical Hebrew*
1)	וָאֶקְטְלָה	וָאֶקְטֹל
2)	־וֹתֵיהֶם	־וֹתָם
3)	חִיָה	חִי
4)	קִים	הֵקִים
5)	שָׁתִיָה	שָׁתוּת, שָׁתֹה

1. וָאֶקְטְלָה

The *waw*-consecutive (or *wayyiqtōl*) in BH is normally understood as the imperfect (or 'prefixed') form of the verb preceded by a strong *waw*.[1] As Joüon-Muraoka stated:

> With the Waw inversive the verb form undergoes two changes in accordance with phonetic laws: 1) the final vowel reflects earlier shortening as in the jussive; 2) the stress recedes, and as a consequence, the post-stress vowel becomes short. These changes may occur only if the first syllable is open, and the last closed, and the first vowel is qameṣ, ṣere or ṣiriq. ... Sometimes one observes the first change, sometimes the second, and sometimes neither.

Thus the *waw*-consecutive traditionally has been understood as a strong *waw* added to the imperfect form of the verb, which then undergoes

---

1. The 'strong *waw*' is 'a Waw which has vowel *a* that adds some force (like that of the definite article and that of the interrogative pronoun) to the following consonant, which, as a consequence, is doubled'; Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, p. 139, §47a. Hence the alternation between יִקְטֹל and *waw*-conversive וַיִּקְטֹל. I find the morpho-phonemic explanation of Joüon-Muraoka preferable to that of C.H. Gordon and G.D. Young. See Gordon, *UT*, II, pp. 110–11, §12.9; and G.D. Young, 'The Origin of the Waw Conversive', *JNES* 12 (1953), pp. 248–52. For the contrary view, see Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, p. 140, §79a and references; see also E. Revell, 'Stress and the *Waw* "Consecutive" in Biblical Hebrew', *JAOS* 104 (1984), pp. 437–44.

certain changes, as described above.[2] Recent research in the development
of the Hebrew verbal systems would indicate that the prefix conjugation
of ancient Hebrew had two tenses, each with three modes:[3]

	Indicative		*Injunctive*
Preterite	*yaqṭul*	Jussive	*yaqṭul*
Imperfect	*yaqṭulu*	Volitive	*yaqṭula*
Energic	*yaqṭulun(n)a*	Energic	*yaqṭulun(n)a*

The *waw*-consecutive,[4] then, is based on the ancient Hebrew preterite,
introduced by the strong *waw*.[5] The lack of an original final short vowel in
both the jussive and the preterite goes far in explaining the vocalic and
morphological differences between the indicative imperfect and both the
jussive and the *waw*-consecutive.[6]

  The Hebrew cohortative אֶקְטְלָה/נ is now understood to derive from the
ancient Hebrew volitive,[7] and it should not be compared to the Arabic
second energic.[8] In Hebrew the use of the cohortative is limited to the 1st
person.[9] Moreover, because the ancient Hebrew volitive (later cohorta-
tive) was distinct from the preterite (later part of the *waw*-consecutive, as
above), the *waw*-consecutive normally does not appear with the attached
cohortative form. In other words, for the first person, Hebrew normally
displays וָאֶקְטֹל but not וָאֶקְטְלָה.[10]

2. See also S.R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1892), pp. 50–53, §§44–47; and GKC, pp. 129–32, §48.

3. A. Rainey, 'The Ancient Hebrew Prefix Conjugation in the Light of Amarnah
Canaanite', *Hebrew Studies* 27 (1986), pp. 4–16.

4. Rainey commented, 'Because of its [the *waw*-consecutive's] function in the narration of
sequential actions, I propose to call this conjugation pattern the preterite continuative. The
term *waw conservive* is obsolete.... The term *waw consecutive* is appropriate' (emphasis in
original); 'The Ancient Hebrew Prefix Conjugation', p. 6. I have declined to adopt the term
waw-consecutive because that term is already reserved for the simple *waw* plus the imperfect.

5. Revell, 'Stress and the *Waw* "Consecutive" in Biblical Hebrew', p. 443.

6. Rainey, 'The Ancient Hebrew Prefix Conjugation', p. 5; and R. Goerwitz, 'The
Accentuation of the Hebrew Jussive and Preterite', *JAOS* 112 (1992), pp. 198–203.

7. See Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, who compares the Hebrew
cohortative to the Arabic subjunctive, as in *fa'akula*; *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §116b,
p. 382, n. 1. See also Rainey, 'The Ancient Hebrew Prefix Conjugation', pp. 8–10.

8. *Contra* W. LaSor, *Handbook of Biblical Hebrew*, II (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans,
1979), p. 97, §27.53; and GKC, pp. 129–30, §48b.

9. GKC, §48b, p. 129.

10. This section will not, for the most part, deal with the problem of final weak verbs, for
which the cohortative form is morphologically identical with the imperfect; note Rainey, 'The
Ancient Hebrew Prefix Conjugation', p. 9; but there are exceptions, discussed in E. Revell,
'First Person Imperfect Forms with *Waw* Consecutive', *VT* 38 (1988), pp. 419–26. Nor will it
treat the problem of apocapated versus non-apocapated forms when attached to *waw*-
conversive, since different morphological and analogical processes are involved for final weak
verbs; see E. Qimron, 'Consecutive and Conjunctive Imperfect: the Form of the Imperfect
with *Waw* in Biblical Hebrew', *JQR* 77 (1986–87), pp. 149–61.

A long *waw*-consecutive וָאֶקְטְלָה occurs in the Bible with the same meaning as וָאֶקְטֹל.[11] This long *waw*-consecutive occurs 94 times for the 1st person singular in the Bible. It occurs rarely in pre-exilic and exilic texts: Gen. 32.6; Josh. 24.8; Judg. 6.9, 6.10, 10.12; 1 Sam. 2.28, 28.15;[12] 2 Sam. 4.10, 7.9, 12.8, 22.24; Ps 3.6, 7.5, 69.12, 69.21, 73.16;[13] Jer. 11.18; Ezek. 3.3, 9.8, 16.1. It occurs predominantly in post-exilic texts, however: Zech. 11.13; Ps. 119.55, 119.59, 119.106, 119.131, 119.147, 119.158; Job 19.20, 29.17; Ezra 7.28, 8.15, 8.16, 8.17, 8.24, 8.25, 8.26, 8.28, 9.3, 9.5, 9.6; Neh. 1.4, 2.1, 2.6, 2.9, 2.13, 5.7, 5.8, 5.13, 6.3, 6.11, 6.12, 7.5, 12.31, 13.7, 13.8, 13.9, 13.10, 13.11, 13.13, 13.17, 13.19, 13.21, 13.22; Dan. 8.13, 8.15, 8.17, 9.3, 9.4, 10.16, 10.19, 12.8.[14]

Although the *waw*-consecutive appears several times in pre-exilic and exilic texts, the normal *waw*-consecutive וָאֶקְטֹל pattern is more common. The ratio of normal to long *waw*-consecutive forms in early texts is 11:1 in Joshua, 10:3 in Judges, 9:2 in 1 Samuel, 39:1 in Jeremiah, and 57:3 in Ezekiel. Note, however, the unusual preponderance of וָאֶקְטְלָה forms in 2 Samuel, where the ratio is 4:4.[15] Certain late books and texts, however, display a strong preference for the וָאֶקְטְלָה pattern. The ratio of normal to long *waw*-consecutive verbs is 0:6 in Psalm 119, 0:11 in Ezra, 3:23 in Nehemiah, 1:8 in Daniel, and 0:4 in prose sections of Job. Note, however, the ratio of 5:1 in Zechariah, which displays a preference for the unlengthened form. The above evidence suggests that the long *waw*-consecutive was used in the pre-exilic and exilic periods, but became the predominant form of the 1cs *waw*-consecutive only in the post-exilic period. (Although, it must be noted, not all post-exilic books made use of the late form.)

When the *waw*-consecutive is understood as a strong *waw* preceding the preterite (which is morphologically identical with the jussive) or, in the case of the long *waw*-consecutive, the cohortative, that the shift from וָאֶקְטְלָה to וָאֶקְטֹל can be understood. The modal distinction between the indicative אֶקְטֹל and אֶקְטְלָה broke down in late Hebrew. Bergsträsser commented:

---

11. See Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II, p. 23, §5f. This section will focus on the 1st person singular rather than the 1st person plural forms וַנִּקְטֹל and וַנִּקְטְלָה. The long *waw*-consecutive of the 1st person plural occurs only 5 times in the Hebrew Bible: Gen. 41.11, 43.21; Ps. 90.10; Ezra 8.23, 8.31. There are not sufficient examples of וַנִּקְטְלָה to establish whether it is significantly more common in post-exilic than pre-exilic texts.

12. *BHS* notes, '2 Mss. no ה-.'

13. *BHS* notes that several manuscripts read וָאֶחְשְׁבָה instead of וָאֲחַשְּׁבָה.

14. Concerning the absence of וָאֶקְטְלָה in Chronicles, see comments by Rezetko, 'Dating Biblical Hebrew', pp. 227–28.

15. The use of only the long *waw*-conversive in 2 Samuel might be a coincidence, or it might reflect intrusions of dialectal or colloquial forms in classical Hebrew; see Rendsburg, 'The Strata of Biblical Hebrew', pp. 81–99.

Cohortative and jussive are also to be found more often than what is commonly measured in the sense of a simple statement... For more recent poetry (also Dan.) this can be recognized as an authentic linguistic practice. This more recent poetry has partially lost the sense for mood differentiations as it has for tense differences.[16]

Kutscher also observed that Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel contain examples of אקטלה and וְאקטלה which are 'not necessarily cohortative'.[17] Just as the meaning and the use of the cohortative began to merge with that of the indicative, so the meaning and use of the long *waw*-consecutive began to merge with and sometimes supplant that of the normal *waw*-consecutive.

The lateness of the long *waw*-consecutive is confirmed by its predominance at Qumran. There the normal *waw*-consecutive occurs but once, besides which the only form of the *waw*-consecutive (or conjunctive) in the 1st person singular is וְאקטלה, which occurs 31 times.[18] Qimron added, 'The consistency of this feature in DSS Hebrew implies that it reflects the spoken language. It cannot have been either borrowed or invented.'[19] If the use of וְאקטלה reflects spoken Hebrew, this may help explain the occasional appearance of the form in pre-exilic and exilic texts.[20] In addition, the Isaiah scroll from Qumran frequently uses a long *waw*-consecutive to render a וְאקטל form in the MT.[21]

As for other post-biblical evidence, the Samaritan Pentateuch, like QH, employs אקטלה for the past tense.[22] The long *waw*-consecutive does not appear in rabbinic Hebrew most likely because TH (MH) is colloquial, and the *waw*-consecutive was a literary form.[23]

Since the frequent use of the long *waw*-consecutive instead of וָאֶקְטֹל is characteristic of LBH, it is noteworthy that 'J' never employs the form וָאֶקְטְלָה. The ratio of normal to long *waw*-consecutive forms in the 1st

16. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II, p. 50, §10l.

17. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa)*, p. 327.

18. E. Qimron, *HDSS*, pp. 44, §310.122. See also M. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-consecutive*, (HSM, 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

19. Qimron, 'The History of Early Hebrew', p. 355.

20. For further evidence of spoken Hebrew (as against the classical, literary form of the language) in the Bible, see G.A. Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*, (AOS, 72; New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1990).

21. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scoll (1QIsa)*, 326. Kutscher added: 'On the other hand, the first part of the [Isaiah] Scr. is parallel in this respect to Chronicles, where the [long] usage is not found, and whose author evinces a tendency to delete it even where his sources have it'; ibid., p. 327. This helps explain why וְאקטלה never occurs in Chronicles (see above, pp. 24–25).

22. Qimron, *HDSS*, p. 44, n. 5.

23. See, for example, Qimron, 'Observations on the History of Early Hebrew', pp. 349–61.

person singular is 23:0 in 'J'. Note the following examples of וָאֶקְטֹל in 'J' source texts:[24]

Gen. 3.10	וָאִירָא...וָאֵחָבֵא
Gen. 3.12	וָאֹכֵל
Gen. 3.13	וָאֹכֵל
Gen. 24.39	וָאֹמַר
Gen. 24.42	וָאָבֹא
Gen. 24.45	וָאֹמַר
Gen. 24.47	וָאֶשְׁאַל
Gen. 24.48	וָאֶקַּח...וָאֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶה...וָאֲבָרֵךְ
Gen. 27.33	וָאֹכַל
Gen. 32.5	וָאֵחַר
Gen. 39.14	וָאֶקְרָא
Gen. 39.15	וָאֶקְרָא
Gen. 39.18	וָאֶקְרָא
Gen. 44.28	וָאֹמַר
Exod. 3.8	וָאֵרֵד
Exod. 3.17	וָאֹמַר
Exod. 4.23	וָאֹמַר

'J''s consistent preference for וָאֶקְטֹל against וָאֶקְטְלָה agrees with early Hebrew usage.

2. ־ֹתֵיהֶם

There are two possible forms that the 3rd person masculine plural suffix can take when attached to a feminine plural noun ending in -ôt ־וֹת: -ām ־ָם or -êhem ־ֵיהֶם.[25] For example, compare בְּמִשְׁבְּתָם (Numb. 31.10) and מוֹשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם (Ezek. 6.14). This situation is true even when the pronominal suffix is added to masculine plural nouns which take the feminine plural ending -ôt ־וֹת. For example, compare אֲבֹתָם (Exod. 4.5) and אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (Neh. 9.2). Although there is no discernable difference in meaning between the shorter and longer endings, they are not free variants. The following chart lists how often the endings -ôtām ־וֹתָם and -ôtêhem ־וֹתֵיהֶם occur throughout the Hebrew Bible and the ratio between the two:[26]

24. Although this section does not focus on *waw*-consecutive forms for the 1st person plural, note the following examples of the normal *waw*-consecutive (1cp) in 'J' source texts: וַנֹּאמֶר (Gen. 44.20); וַנֹּאמֶר (Gen. 44.22); וַנַּגֶּד (Gen. 44.24).

25. GKC, p. 259, §91n; Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, p. 288, §94g. For a fuller discussion, see Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 24–27.

26. See also the convenient chart in A. Cohen, 'Makotkha', *Bet Mikra* 61 (1975), pp. 303–305.

	־וֹתָם	־וֹתֵיהֶם	ratioio of short to long forms
Genesis–Deuteronomy[27]	231[28]	8	1:0.04
Joshua–Kings	79	14	1:0.18
Jeremiah	15	19	1:1.27
Exilic books[29]	28	9	1:0.32
Post-exilic books[30]	50	67	1:1.34

The above numbers suggest that there is a gradual process in which the extended ending begins to replace the shorter ending. The shorter ending ־וֹתָם dominates in pre-exilic texts, the extended form ־וֹתֵיהֶם being rare in comparison. Only in later books of the Bible does the extended form ־וֹתֵיהֶם occur more frequently, eventually becoming more common than the shorter ending in the post-exilic period.[31] Some words – תוֹלְדוֹת, סַבְלוֹת, אֲרָצוֹת, דּוֹרוֹת, צְבָאוֹת, נְפָשׁוֹת, גֻּלְגֹּלוֹת, שֵׁמוֹת – occur only with the short ending, even in exilic and post-exilic texts.[32] But other words display strongly the trend in which the extended ending replaced the short ending in the post-exilic period, such as אָבוֹת:[33]

	אֲבוֹתָם	אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם
Genesis–Deuteronomy (excluding 'J')	42	0
Joshua–Kings	21	1 (1 Kings 14.15)
Jeremiah	10	3
Exilic books	9	25
Post-exilic books	9	25

27. Verses ascribed to the 'J' source are not included in these totals.

28. This high figure is distorted by the fact that certain chapters of the Pentateuch, due to their subject matter, contain unusually high numbers of words ending in ־וֹתָם. The book of Numbers alone contains 93 such examples because of the frequent repetition of the phrase תּוֹלְדֹתָם לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם לְבֵית אֲבֹתָם...לִבְנֵי. Even if we exclude Numbers from this chart, that leaves 138 examples of the short ending and 8 examples of the long, a ratio of 1:0.06

29. As noted in the Introduction, exilic books include Isaiah 40–55, Ezekiel, and Lamentations.

30. As noted in the Introduction, post-exilic books include Isaiah 56–66, Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, late Psalms, prose portions of Job, Qohelet, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

31. Both GKC and Joüon-Muraoka observe that ־וֹתָם is older than ־וֹתֵיהֶם, and that the former is more common in earlier books; GKC, p. 259, §91n; Joüon-Muraoka, p. 288, §94g.

32. F. Böttcher noted 56 nouns that appear only with ־וֹתָם. He found another 35 only with ־וֹתֵיהֶם, many of which occur only in exilic or post-exilic texts. But 22 nouns appear with both the short and extended endings, although most of these nouns usually take the short ending (one exception is בְּנוֹתֵיהֶם, which occurs 20 times as opposed to בְּנוֹתָם, which occurs but once in Gen. 34.21); Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch des hebräischen Sprache*, II (ed. F. Mühlau; Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1868), p. 42.

33. Another good example is מוֹשָׁבוֹת, which Hurvitz discussed in *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 24–27.

This contrast can be more clearly seen in the following examples:[34]

Exod. 36.34	ואת־טבעתם עשׂה זהב
(Samaritan Pentateuch:	(…טבעתיהם
2 Sam. 22.46	ויחגרו ממסגרתם
(Compare Ps 18.46:	(…ממסגרותיהם
1 Kgs 8.34	אל־האדמה אשׁר נתת לאבותם
(Compare 2 Chr 6.25:	(…לאבתיהם
Isa. 59.8	(ואין משׁפט במעגלותם
(Compare 1QIsaᵃ:[35]	(במעגלותיהמה

Hurvitz explained well the distinction between the short and long endings:

> The short form *mōsᵉbhōthām*–whose plurality is indicated only in the noun base (וֹת‍ָ) but not by the attached possessive suffix (ם‍ָ) - is forced out by a more 'transparent' form, in which the possessive pronoun also acquires its own morpheme of plurality (יהֶם‍ָ). The extended new form *mōsᵉbhōthēyhem* is tautological, since the morpheme -ōth is sufficient indication of a plural word... Such redundant employment of two plural morphemes usually stems from attempts, perhaps even unconscious, to emphasize the *meaning* (plural sense), which is liable to be felt insufficient on account of the *form* (plural ending) (emphasis in original).[36]

Two factors may have influenced this shift from ‍ָתם to ‍ָותיהם in Biblical Hebrew: the influence of the Aramaic third person plural suffix ‍ָהם, and internal analogy with the regular Hebrew masculine plural suffix ‍ָיהם.[37] Although the extended ending ‍ָותיהם does occur sporadically in early texts, it is the intensification of its use in exilic and post-exilic texts which characterizes LBH.

The late character of ‍ָותיהם can be seen in post-biblical literature. In

34. Cited in Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 26.

35. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa)*, p. 451.

36. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 25.

37. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 25; Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa)*, p. 445: 'process of analogy'. Further evidence that internal analogy played a significant role is the alternation between the forms עמיהם-תחתם and עמם-תחתיהם:

	עמם	עמיהם	תחתם	תחתיהם
Pentateuch (excluding J)	20	2	4	1
Joshua–Kings	16	0	0	1
Post-exilic texts	2	17	0	2

Post-exilic texts show a marked preference for the longer forms עמיהם and תחתיהם. See BDB, 767a, s.v. עם; 1065a, s.v. תחת; KB, 771a, s.v. עם; 1026a, s.v. תחת. Concerning the בם and בהם see Rezetko, 'Dating Biblical Hebrew', pp. 226–27.

Tannaitic literature, the long form וֹתיהֶ/ם occurs far more regularly than the shorter ending וֹתָ/ם.[38] For example, אבותיהם/ן occurs 16 times, compared to אבותם/ן which occurs 6 times; אמותיהם/ן occurs 4 times, and only once do we find אמותם/ן in TH.[39] Bar-Asher noted that short forms in TH should probably be understood as the result of biblicizing tendencies among the Tannaim:

> One gets the impression that the occurrences of אבותן (e.g., 'Avot 2.2, Niddah 4.2 [2x]) and אמותן (T. Soṭah 6.4 according to MS Vienna; in MS Erfurt we find אם in the singular) are due to the literary influence of the Bible. That is to say, it is 'borrowed', to use Hannemann's term, and is not due to the copying of the texts by later generations. . . Rather, it is through the work of the Tannaitic authors themselves that we may understand the form זכות אבותן in Mishnah 'Avot, which is a tractate with a clear literary relationship to the writings of the Bible.[40]

The evidence from Qumran is more ambiguous. Biblical texts from Qumran prefer the longer form;[41] for example, the Isaiah scroll from Qumran (1QIsaᵃ) twice replaces MT וֹתָם with וֹתיהמה (Isa. 59.8, 66.4).[42] But elsewhere the form םָ (or מָה) is preferred over הֶיָ (or ־יהמה).[43] Nevertheless, the evidence of TH and the biblical texts from Qumran still allow us to conclude that in post-biblical literature, וֹתיהֶם (or וֹתיהמה in QH) began to replace SBH וֹתָם in similar contexts.

The longer ending וֹתיהֶם which predominates in LBH is absent from texts attributed to 'J.' Instead, we find two examples in which 'J' employs the preferred SBH ending וֹתָם:[44]

Gen. 44.13	ויקרעו שׂמלתם
Exod. 5.5	והשׁבתם אתם מסבלתם

If 'J' were composed during after the Exile as some maintain, we might expect at least one of these examples to display the longer form וֹתיהֶם,

---

38. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 25, n. 9. This feature is not specifically discussed in M.H. Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

39. M. Bar-Asher, 'The Study of Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar - Achievements, Problems, and Goals', in M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Panel Sessions: Hebrew and Aramaic*, (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1985), pp. 3–37 (in Hebrew). I would like to thank Steven Fassberg of Hebrew University for this reference, which was passed on to me by Gary Rendsburg of Cornell University.

40. Bar-Asher, 'The Study of Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar', p. 11.

41. Qimron, *HDSS*, p. 63, n. 81.

42. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scoll (1QIsa)*, p. 445.

43. Qimron, *HDSS*, p. 63. But twice in 11QT לדורתמה is corrected to לדורתיהמה (TS 21.9, 27.5); Qimron, ibid., p. 63, n. 80.

44. Note also that 'J' displays the SBH form עמם at Gen. 18.16 and 29.9. LBH עמהם is absent from 'J' source verses.

but such is not the case. 'J' employs morphology which is consistent with the pre-exilic period.

3. חיה

The verb חיה 'live' occurs frequently throughout the MT.[45] The normal form of the 3ms perfect of חיה is חַי.[46] Regarding this form, Hurvitz commented:

> Contrary to the standard inflection of final ה verbs, in which the third radical of the 3rd m.s. appears in the perfect as הָ֫ (*e.g.*, בָּנָה), the root חיה loses both its final vowel and ה. In the paradigm of *ḥyh*, one finds the 3rd m.s. as חַי - a form modelled after the pattern of the ע″ע verb (*e.g.*, תַּם).[47]

The form חַי occurs frequently in pre-exilic texts:

Deut. 4.42[48]   וְנָס אֶל־אַחַת מִן־הֶעָרִים הָאֵל וָחָי

And in exilic and post-exilic texts:

Ezek. 20.11, 13, 21[49]   אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם הָאָדָם וָחַי בָּהֶם
Neh. 6.11   אֲשֶׁר־יָבוֹא אֶל־הַהֵיכָל וָחָי

However, 3ms perfect חיה, which reflects the standard inflection of ל″ה (IIIy) verbs, occurs several times in exilic and post-exilic texts:

45. For a fuller discussion see Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 46–48; and Bergey, 'The Book of Esther', pp. 35–36.

46. See BDB, חיה, p. 510b; KB, p. 292b; *HALAT*, p. 296b. For the cognate חיא in BA, see BDB, p. 1092b; and KB, חיה, p. 1092a.

47. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 47. Also cited in Bergey, 'The Book of Esther', p. 35. The 3ms perfect forms for חיה are discussed also in GKC, p. 218, §76i; and in Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, pp. 210–211, §79s.

48. Also Gen. 5.5, 11.12, 11.14, 25.7; Lev. 18.5, 25.35; Deut. 5.21, 19.4, 19.5; 1 Sam. 20.31; 2 Sam. 12.22.

49. Also Jer. 21.9(K), 38.2(K); Ezek. 18.13, 18.24, 47.9. Note that Ezek. 20.11, 13, 21 = Lev. 18.5.

50. Also Jer. 21.9(Q), 38.2(Q); Ezek. 33.11. Baruch Levine argued that the unusual appearance of both SBH חַי and LBH חיה in Ezekiel 18 threatens this understanding of חַי as early and חיה as late (see below), especially given his argument that 'P' is literarily dependent upon Ezekiel (personal communication, March 21, 1994). First, this is not the only instance in the Bible where the same passage (sometimes the same verse) employs two different forms of the same word: consider, as but one example, the famous case of the alternation between Aramaic ארקא and ארעא in Jer. 10.11; see R. Ratner, 'Morphological Variation in Biblical Hebrew Rhetoric', *Maarav* 8 (1992): pp. 143–159. Second, note Hurvitz' comment:

Ezek. 18.23 et passim[50] הלוא בשובו מדרכיו וחיה

Esth. 4.11 et passim[51] מאשר יושיט־לו המלך...וחיה

The form חַי occurs in pre- and post-exilic Hebrew, but חיה occurs only in late texts.

The lateness of the form חיה is confirmed by its frequent appearance in post-biblical Hebrew.[52] It occurs in Qumran Hebrew. Note the following example:

CD 3.16 אמתו וחפצי רצונו אשר האדם וחיה בהם פתח לפניהם
(Compare Lev. 18.5 אשר יעשה אתם האדם וחי בהם
and Neh. 9.29 (אשר־יעשה אדם וחיה בהם

It is also well attested in rabbinic literature:

T. Shabbat 15.8 המתינו לו ומלווהו וחיה
Seder 'Olam Rabbah 1 נמחא נח חיה אחר הפלגה אשר שנים

The above evidence clearly indicates that חיה reflects a secondary development which took place in exilic period Hebrew, in which חי became חיה through analogy with regular IIIy verbs.[53]

It is therefore significant that the 3ms perfect of חיה is חַי in 'J'. Note the following example:

Gen. 3.22 פן ישלח ידו...ואכל וחי לעלם

The form of the 3ms perfect of חיה in 'J' conforms to the classical usage, and is further evidence of the pre-exilic linguistic character of 'J'.

It is interesting to note that while using the formula 'statutes and ordinances, by whose observance a man shall live' and referring to the law of interest - both of which are mentioned in the Pentateuch - Ez. employs strictly the classical model [חי] as found in Lev. However, when its statements have no direct parallel in the Pentateuch, its author apparently feels himself less bound by classical usage. This may suggest that Ez. here is not only later than P *linguistically*, but also dependent on P *literarily* (emphasis in original).

See Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 48

51. Also Neh. 9.29; Qoh. 6.6.

52. James H. Charlesworth, and R.E. Whitaker, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991), p. 192; see also Academy of the Hebrew Language, *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1988; microfiche), plate 8340 (Hebrew).

53. Thus Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 47.

4. קִיֵּם

The Piel of the hollow verb קום appears 10 times in exilic and post-exilic texts. Note the following:

Ezek. 13.6	ויחלו לקים דבר
Ps. 119.28	קימני כדברך
Ps. 119.106	נשבעתי ואקימה
Esth. 9.21	לקים עליהם
Esth. 9.27	קימו וקבלו (Q) היהודים עליהם
Esth. 9.29	לקים את אגרת הפורים
Esth. 9.31	לקים את־ימי הפרים האלה בזמניהם
	כאשר קים עליהם
Esth. 9.32	קים דברי הפרים
Ruth 4.7[54]	לקים כל־דבר

As can be seen in the above examples, the Piel of קום is used in the sense of 'fulfill (a word or promise), establish (a thing), confirm (a word), or impose (something on someone).'[55] The Aramaic equivalent of this expression, the Pael of קום, occurs once in Daniel:[56]

Dan. 6.8	אתיעטו...לקימה קים מלכא

The Hiphil of קום is used with the same meaning in early texts of the Bible. Compare the use of הקים with the similar use of קִיֵּם in late texts:[57]

2 Kgs 23.24	למען הקים את־דברי התורה הכתבים על־הספר
(Compare Ezek. 13.6:	לקים דבר)
1 Kgs 2.4	למען יקים יהוה את־דברו
(Compare Esth. 9.32:	קים דברי הפרים)

The above evidence suggests that SBH employed the Hiphil of קום to mean 'carry out, give effect to (an oath, covenant, vow, word, plan, or command of man)',[58] and this was replaced in late texts by the Piel of קום.

The lateness of the form קִיֵּם is confirmed by its frequency in post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. Although the Hiphil of קום is prevalent at Qumran, קִיֵּם occurs once:

CD 12.20	ואמנה אשר קימו בארץ דמשק והוא ברית החדשה

---

54. On the late dating of this verse only (not the entire book of Ruth), see A. Hurvitz, 'Shelifat ha-Na'al', pp. 44–49; and Hurvitz, *Beyn Lashon le-Lashon*, p. 140, n. 189.

55. See BDB, p. 878b; and KB, p. 832b, which calls קִיֵּם 'late.' See especially *HALAT*, 1016b: 'spät, aram. Einfluss.'

56. See BDB, p. 1110b: 'set up, establish as ordinance'; and KB, p. 1118b.

57. Examples from Bergey, 'The Book of Esther', p. 41.

58. BDB, p. 879a; KB, p. 832b; *HALAT*, p. 1017a.

In rabbinic writings, the Hiphil of קום has almost completely disappeared, having been replaced by the Piel. Note the following examples:[59]

M. Baba Batra 9.7	מתה וקיימו את דבריה
M. Shavu'ot 3.6	לקיים את המצוה ולא קיים כטור
M. 'Eduyyot 1.3	וקיימו את דבריהן
(Compare 1 Sam. 15.11:	(ואת־דברי לא הקים
T. Makkot 5.11	קיימו את מצות

The widespread use of the Piel of קום in both LBH and post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic reflects a larger morphological development. Hurvitz explained:

> Furthermore, these forms constitute part of a general process manifested during this [late] period–apparently under the influence of Aramaic–in which the second radical of the Hollow Verb group (in *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al*, *Hithpa'āl*) is modified into a consonant.[60]

It is not only the use of קים in late and post-biblical texts which demonstrates that it is a late replacement for SBH הקים: it is also the morphological development of hollow verbs in the post-exilic and post-biblical periods which demonstrate the lateness of קים.[61]

The 'J' source, however, only employs the Hiphil of קום and never LBH קים:

Gen. 26.3	והקמתי את־השבעה אשר נשבעתי לאברהם
(Compare M. Shavu'ot 3.6:	(נשבע...לקיים ולא קיים

That 'J' employs הקים instead of קים reflects SBH usage.

Besides the contrast between LBH קים and SBH הקים, we can observe how LBH קים (and the Pael of קום in Aramaic) replaces other early expressions such as חיה, מלא, נצב, עמד, and the Qal of קום.[62] Note these examples where the early expression is used with דבר, in the sense of 'fulfill or establish (a word or matter)':[63]

1 Kgs 2.27	למלא את דבר יהוה
(Compare Tg. Jon.:	(לקיימא ית פתמא דיוי
Deut. 19.15	על פי שני עדים יקום בדר

---

59. *HDSS*, plates 16051–16060.

60. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 34. For the morphological distinction between the Hiphil and the Piel of hollow verbs, see also GKC, p. 197, §72m; and Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, p. 215, §80h: 'The examples [of piel of *ayin-waw* verbs], rather rare and late, appear to be loans from Aramaic.'

61. See Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 34.

62. For a fuller discussion, see Hurvitz, *Beyn Lashon le-Lashon*, pp. 139–142.

63. See *HDHL*, plates 16051–16060; and Hurvitz, *Beyn Lashon le-Lashon*, pp. 141–142.

(Compare Tg. Onq.:	...יתקיים פתגמא
and M. Soṭah 6.3	עדות האחרונה...אינו דין שלא תיתקיים
and M. Baba Batra 8.5	(המחלק נכסין על פיו...דבריו קיימין

Note also several instances where post-biblical Aramaic קים is employed to render Hebrew הציב 'set up, establish', העמיד 'raise up', שבע 'swear (an oath)', and חיה 'to live':

Deut. 32.8	יצב גבלת עמים
(Compare Tg. Onq.:	(קיים תחומא עממיא
Exod. 9.16	בעבור זאת העמדתיך
(Compare Tg. Onq.:	(בדיל דא קיימתך
2 Sam. 15.21	ויאמר חי ־יהוה וחי אדני
(Compare Tg. Jon.:	(ואמר קיים הוא יוי וחיי דבוני
Deut. 6.13	את יהוה אלהיך תירא...ובשמו תשבע
(Compare Tg. Onq.:	...ובשמיה תקיים
and M. Shavu'ot	(נשבע...לקיים ולא קיים

Although many of the early expressions continued to appear in post-exilic and post-biblical Hebrew, it is important to note that LBH קים came to be used in expressions of similar meaning.

Significantly, 'J' not only never displays LBH קים, but in several instances uses expressions in which the verb is later replaced, in post-exilic and post-biblical texts, by the Piel of קום. Note the following:

Gen. 3.22	פן...וחי לעלם
(Compare Tg. Yer.	(...הוי חי וקיים עד לעלמין)[64]
Gen. 26.3	והקמתי את־השבה אשר נשבעתי לאברהם
(Compare Tg. Onq.	ואקיים ית קירא דקיימית לאברהם
and Tg. Yer. I.	ואקיים ית קירא דקיימית לאברהם
and M. Shavu'ot 3.6	(נשבע...לקיים ולא קיים
Gen. 47.25	ויאמרו החיתנו
(Compare Tg. Onq. and Yer. I	(ואמרו קיימתנא
Exod. 9.16	בעבור זאת העמדתיך
(Compare Tg. Onq.	(וברם בדיל דא קיימתך

Wherever 'J' could have used a later expression with קים, it consistently displays the classical usage. The absence of LBH קים is further evidence of the early background of 'J'.

---

64. Although in this example the Targum added something not present in the MT, nevertheless the Aramaic equivalent of LBH קים was employed to render fully the expression וחי in Gen. 3.22. Compare to the Targumic renditions of החיתנו in Gen. 47.25, below.

5. שְׁתִיָּה

The term שְׁתִיָּה for the act of drinking appears but once in the Bible,[65] in the post-exilic book of Esther:[66]

Esth. 1.8   והשתיה כדת אין אנס

Elsewhere in the Bible, (1) the infinitive absolute שָׁתֹה or (2) the infinitive construct שְׁתוֹת are employed for the same purpose.[67] Note the following examples:

(1)   1 Sam. 1.9   ארחי אכלה בשלה ואחוי שתה
         Isa. 21.5   ערך השלחן...אכול שתה
         Hag. 1.6   שתו ואין־לשכרה
(2)   Numb. 33.14   ולא־היה שם מים לעם לשתות
         Isa. 5.22   הוי גבורים לשתות יין
         Jer. 2.18   לשתות מי שחור
         Qoh. 8.15   לאכל ולשתות

The late character of שְׁתִיָּה in Esther is confirmed by its frequent appearance in rabbinic literature.[68] Note the following illustrations:[69]

M. Ma'aser Sheni 1.7   כל שהוא חוץ לאכילה ולשתייה
        (Compare Qoh 8.15.   (לאכל ולשתות
M. Nedarim 8.7   אלא לשם אכילה ושתייה
Sifre Deuteronomy 107   אין לי אלא אכילה...שתייה מיין

One should note the contrast between the use of אכילה and שתייה in M. Ma'aser Sheni 1.7 and M. Nedarim 8.7 and the use of the infinitives construct אכל and שתות in Qoh 8.15 (and elsewhere, see above). The $q^e t \hat{\imath} l \bar{a}(h)$ noun pattern is itself characteristic of post-biblical Hebrew. Segal commented: 'The Fem. form $Q^e t \hat{\imath} l\_$ is exceedingly common in MH [TH] as a *nomen actionis* for the *Qal*, taking the place of the old BH construct infinitive.'[70] Although there are examples of the $q^e t \hat{\imath} l \bar{a}(h)$ in earlier books of the Bible, these occur primarily in Northern (or non-

---

65. BDB, p. 1059a; KB, p. 1015a; *HALAT*, p. 1539b.

66. For a fuller discussion, see Bergey, 'The Book of Esther', pp. 29–30. See also Paton, *Esther*, p. 63; and Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 455.

67. BDB, p. 1059a; KB, p. 1014b; *HALAT*, p. 1537b.

68. Hebrew שְׁתִיָּה is not attested at Qumran, which displays instead the participle for the same purpose; Bergey, 'The Book of Esther', p. 29.

69. See *HDHL*, plates 18343–18344; and Bergey, 'The Book of Esther', p. 30. The writing שתייה in the below examples is present in *HDHL*, which bases its readings on MS Kaufmann.

70. Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 103, §228.

Jerusalem) contexts.[71] Thus the appearance of שְׁתִיָּה in Esth 1.8 represents a development in post-exilic Hebrew, occurring alongside the SBH use of the infinitives (שְׁתוֹת/שְׁתֹה).[72]

The 'J' source, on the other hand, never displays LBH שְׁתִיָּה, but employs instead only the SBH infinitive construct שְׁתוֹת. Note the following:

Gen. 24.19	עַד אִם כִּלּוּ לִשְׁתֹּת
Gen. 24.22	כַּאֲשֶׁר כִּלּוּ הַגְּמַלִּים לִשְׁתּוֹת
Gen. 30.38	תָּבֹאן הַצֹּאן לִשְׁתּוֹת
Exod. 7.18	וְנִלְאוּ מִצְרַיִם לִשְׁתּוֹת מַיִם מִן הַיְאֹר
Exod. 15.23	וְלֹא יָכְלוּ לִשְׁתֹּת מַיִם מִמָּרָה
Exod. 17.1	וְאֵין מַיִם לִשְׁתֹּת הָעָם

'J''s preference for the infinitive construct שְׁתוֹת in contrast to LBH שְׁתִיָּה is further evidence that 'J' was composed before the post-exilic period.

71. 4 examples of the *qᵉtîla(h)* pattern occur in northern contexts: שְׁרִיקוֹת (Judg. 5.16), אֲכִילָה (1 Kgs 19.8), and יְגִעָה (Qoh. 12.12). 2 other examples occur in contexts which do not appear to be northern. שְׁגִיאוֹת (Ps. 19.13), שְׁחִיטָה (2 Chron. 30.17). Although שְׁחִיטָה in 2 Chron. 30.17 could reflect the post-exilic date of Chronicles, it should be noted that שְׁחִיטָה (2 Chron. 30.17) occurs in a passage describing the pilgrimage of the northern tribes to Jerusalem. Although he did not mention the examples other than in Judg 5.16 and 1 Kgs 19.8, Segal's observation is worth repeating: 'The fact that in earlier BH [this form] occurs only in the Song of Deborah and in the story of Elijah may, perhaps, tend to show that it was originally a Northern dialectal form, which was received into the literary language only after it had established itself in the spoken language'; Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 103, §228.

72. Examples such as וְלִשְׁתּוֹת in Qoh. 8.15 testify to the persistence of the SBH forms in post-exilic Hebrew.