A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO ISRAELIAN HEBREW:
GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

Gary A. RENDSBURG*

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,

* Professor, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Cornell University
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 lūz ‘almond’ in Gen 30:37, in place of the standard Hebrew word šaqēḏ).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 Benjaminitic 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 Benjaminitic dialect itself or due to the influence of Aramaic c. 600 B.C.E. This will explain the oft-repeated “Benjaminitic? 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. 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, 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 Benjaminites 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.


Grammar

I. Phonology

A. Consonants

1. PS /t/ > /t/, as in Aramaic (A15, A17):
   Judg 5:11 yetannu ‘repeat’ (IH poem)
   Judg 11:40 lētannōt ‘repeat’ (?) (Jephthah)
A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO ISRAELIAN HEBREW: GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

Song 1:17 berōṭîm ‘cypresses’ (IH poem)

2. PS /g/ > /t/, as in Aramaic (A17):
   Song 1:6, 8:11, 8:12 nṯr ‘guard’ (IH poem)

3. PS /q/ > /t/, as in Aramaic (B1, D1, A19):
   1 Sam 28:16 *ārekā ‘your enemy’ (medium of Endor)
   Hos 12:2 rōʾēh (rūāḥ) ‘desires (the wind)’ (northern prophet)
   Ps 9:7 *ārîm ‘enemies’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 139:20 *ārekā ‘your enemies’ (IH psalm)
   Qohelet – nouns derived from the root r’h ‘desire’: rē’ūt, rā’yôn
   (IH composition)

4. PS /d/ > /t/, as in Aramaic (A17):
   Song 7:10 dōbēb ‘flow’, if this is a byform of the root dwb (IH)

B. Vowels

1. Shift of /a/ to /o/, as in Phoenician (B1, B2):
   2 Kgs 3:19 mibhôr ‘choice’ (Elisha) (see also 2 Kgs 19:23 in the
   speech of Rabshakeh)
   Ps 87:6 biktôb *ammîm ‘in the register of the people’ (IH psalm)
   (see also below II.B.2)

2. Shift of /o/ > /û/, as in Phoenician (D1):
   Hos 7:14 yâsûrû (from the root srr, not swr) (northern prophet)

C. Diphthongs

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

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 ʾad ʾān ‘how long?’ (style-switching)
   cf. MH ʾn ‘to where?’
   Job 9:9 ʾāḵ ‘Ursa Major’ (style-switching)
   Ps 141:5 ʾānî ‘my wine’ (IH psalm)

II. Morphology

A. Pronouns

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

Vol. XXXVIII 2003
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 (Benjamite? Aramaism?)
Ezek 36:13K (Aramaism?)

2. 2fsg pronominal suffix -ki, 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 (Benjamite? Aramaism?)
   Ps 103:3 (2x), 103:4 (2x), 103:5, 135:9, 137:6 (Aramaism)

3. 3msg pronominal suffix -ōhi, as in Aramaic, Deir ‘Alla, Moabite(?) (B1, A6, A9, A15):
   Ps 116:12 tagmūlōhi ‘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 wšḥb.hm ‘and I dragged them’, and similarly in Aramaic (B2, A5, A6):
   2 Kgs 9:18 ʾad hēm (Israelian scout)

6. Relative pronoun zeḥ/zū, with cognates in Aramaic and Byblian dialect of Phoenician (B1, D2):
   Ps 9:16 bērešet zū tāmānū ‘in the net in which they hid’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 10:2 bimzimmōt zū ḥāšābū ‘in the schemes which they devised’ (IH psalm)
   Prov 23:22 lēzābīkā zeḥ yēlādekā ‘to your father who begot you’ (IH composition)
   Job 15:17 wēzeḥ ḥāzūṭi ‘and that which I have seen’ (style-switching)
   Job 19:19 wēzeḥ ṭāḥabtī ‘and those whom I have loved’ (style-switching)
   Judg 5:5 zeḥ sinay ‘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 ividual zô/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
qamesḥ), as in Phoenician, Moabite, and Aramaic (B1, B2, D1, A5, A6,
A8, A10):
Gen 49:22 pōrāt ‘she-ass’ (2x) (blessing to Joseph)
2 Kgs 9:17 sip’at ‘multitude’ (Israeli scout)
Hos 7:5 ḥāmat ‘poison’ (northern prophet)
Ps 10:2 ga'awat ‘haughtiness’
Ps 16:5 mënät ‘portion’
Ps 16:6 nahålät ‘inheritance’
Ps 74:19 hayyat ‘beast’
Ps 132:4 šënät ‘sleep’
Qoh 8:12 mékat ‘hundred’ (IH composition)
Jer 48:36 yitrat ‘abundance’ (addressee-switching, to Moab)
Jer 49:25 Q tehillat ‘praise’ (addressee-switching, to Damascus)
Ezek 28:13 báréqat ‘emerald’ (addressee-switching, to Tyre)
Ps 53:1, 88:1 mähålät and Ps 61:1 négínät, musical terms (instruments?) borrowed from Canaanite (?)

Other examples have different explanations:
zimrát ‘song/strength’ Exod 15:2 (ABH)
mähōrat ‘tomorrow’ (25x) – adverbial
rabbat ‘much’ (7x) – adverbial
qēsät ‘end’ (5x in Neh and Dan) – Aramaism

2. Feminine singular nominal ending -ōt, as in Phoenician (see also I.B.1 above) (B1, B2, D2, A5, A6, A10, A15):
Judg 5:29 hakmōt ‘wise lady’ (IH poem)
2 Kgs 6:8 tahānōtī ‘my camp’ (IH – Aramean king)
Ps 45:1 yēdīdōt ‘love’ (IH psalm)
Ps 45:16 sēmāhōt ‘joy’ (IH psalm)
Ps 53:7 yēšū’ōt ‘salvation’ (IH psalm) (cp. Ps 14:7 yēšū’at)
Ps 73:22 bēhēmōt ‘beast’ (IH psalm)
Ps 132:12 ’ēdōtī ‘my testimony’ (IH psalm)
Prov 1:20, 9:1, 24:7 ūokmōt ‘wisdom’ (IH composition)
Prov 14:1 hakmōt ‘wise lady’ (IH composition)
Prov 28:20 ’ēmūnōt ‘faith’ (IH composition)
Qoh 1:17, 2:12, 7:25, 9:3 hōlēlōt ‘madness’ (IH composition)
Ezek 26:11 maṣṣēbōt ‘pillar’ (Tyre – style-switching)

3. Reduplicatory plural of geminate nouns, as in Aramaic (B1, D1, A4, A5, A6, A10, A15, A17):
Numb 23:7 harērē (Balaam – style-switching)
Deut 33:15 harērē (blessing to Joseph)
Judg 5:14 ’āmāmekā (IH poem)
Judg 5:15 hiqēqē (IH poem)
Ps 36:7 harērē (IH psalm)
Ps 50:10 harērē (IH psalm)
Ps 76:5 haréré (IH psalm)
Ps 77:18 hāšāšekā (IH psalm)
Ps 87:1 haréré (IH psalm)
Ps 133:3 haréré (IH psalm)
Prov 29:13 tēkākīm (IH composition)
Song 2:17, 4:6 sēlālīm (IH poem)
Song 4:8 haréré (IH poem)
Neh 9:22 ʾāmāmīm (IH text)
Neh 9:24 ʾāmēmē (IH text)
Jer 6:4 sīlēlē (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)
Ezek 4:12, 4:15 gēlēlē (Aramaism?)

Only one occurrence which does not fit: Hab 3:6 haréré

4. qētīlāḥ formation (as nomen actionis), as in MH (B2, A7):
   Judg 5:16 šērīqōt 'pipings' (IH poem)
   1 Kgs 19:8 ṭāqīlāḥ 'eating' (IH – Elijah cycle)
   Job 41:10 ṭāʾisītāw ‘his sneezes’ (style-switching?)
   Qoh 12:12 yēqītāt ‘tiring (of)’ (IH composition)
Exceedingly common in MH
   1 Sam 13:21 pēṣīrāḥ ‘payment’ (?), ‘sharpening’ (?)
   (Benjaminite?)
   2 Chr 30:17 sēhiyāt ‘slaughtering (of)’ (LBH? northern setting?)
   A non-IH example occurs in Numb 16:30 bērīṭāḥ ‘creation’ – used very
   effectively for literary purposes, to alliterate and assonate with ʾābīrām,
   pace Moshe Garsiel

5. ʾēṣet ‘woman’ in absolute state (cf. Phoen. ʾēṣ in Karatepe A:ii:5) (B1):
   Ps 58:9 (IH psalm)

6. ʾēṣīm ‘men’ as plural of ʾēṣ, 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 nīṣānānīm ‘blossoms’ (with repluralization in -īm) (IH)

8. Masculine nominal plural ending -īn, as in Aramaic, Moabite, Deir
   ṣAlla, Phoenician (Arslan Tash dialect) (D2, A5, A9, A10, A15):
   Judg 5:10 mīddīn ‘saddle-rugs’ (IH poem)
   Prov 31:3 mēlākīn ‘kings’ (Massa section)
   Ezek 26:18 ṣiyyīn ‘islands’ (style-switching – Tyre)
   1 Kgs 11:33 sīdōnīn ‘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 rašūn ‘runners’ (unless we have here a very subtle literary style-switching with the perspective of Athaliah presented)
Mic 3:12 t’iyin ‘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 yērād ‘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 āšāt (an unusual section of Torah, with several IH features)
   - Jer 13:19 hoglat (2x) (Benjaminites? Aramaism?)
   - Ezek 24:12 hel’āt (Aramaism? reunion?)
   - Siloam Tunnel inscription, line 3 hyt (refugee from Israel? Benjaminite?)
   - Lev 26:34 hiršāt (apparently used to alliterate with tīrēḵ preceding 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 ṣAlla (A9):
   - Deut 32:36 ’āzēlat ‘gone’ (IH poem)
   - Isa 23:15 wēnīškahat ‘will be forgotten’ (style-switching – Tyre)
   - Ezek 46:17 wēšābat ‘it shall revert’ (Aramaism? reunion?)
4. Non-elision of he in Hiph’īl/Hoph’āl verbs, as in Aramaic (B1, A6, A15):
   - Ps 45:18 yēḥōḏûkā ‘they praise you’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 81:6 yēḥōšēp ‘Joseph’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 116:6 yēḥōšāt ‘he saves’ (IH psalm)
   - Isa 52:5 yēḥēlīlū ‘they howl’ (Aramaism? archaism?)
   - Jer 9:4 yēḥātēlū ‘they mock’ (Benjaminites? Aramaism?)
   - Ezek 46:22 mēhuqšā´t ‘the same size’ (Aramaism)
   - Job 13:9 tēḥāṭēlū ‘you deceive’ (style-switching)
   - Neh 11:17 yēḥôdēh ‘he praises’ (Aramaism)
1 Sam 17:47 yēḥōšāt ‘he saves’ (no explanation – David)
   - Ps 28:7 t’āhōdēnnū ‘I praise him’ (no explanation)
5. Retention of yod in IIIy verbs, as in Aramaic and Deir ṣAlla (B1, D2,
A5, A6, A9, A10, A19):

Deut 32:37 ḥāsāyū ‘seek refuge’ (IH poem)
Ps 36:8 yēḥēsāyūn ‘seek refuge’ (IH psalm)
Ps 36:9 yîrwēyūn ‘feast’ (IH psalm)
Ps 77:4 ṣehēmāyāh ‘moan’ (IH psalm)
Ps 78:44 yîštāyūn ‘drink’ (IH psalm)
Ps 83:3 yēḥemāyūn ‘rage’ (IH psalm)
Ps 140:9 ma‘āwayyē ‘desires’ (nominal form) (IH psalm)
Prov 26:7 dalēyū ‘hang’ (IH composition)
Numb 24:6 niṭṭāyū ‘stretch’ (Balaam - style-switching)
Isa 17:12 yehēmāyūn ‘roar’ (Damascus - addressee-switching)
Isa 21:12 tîbāyūn ‘request’
Isa 21:12 bē♭ayū ‘request’ (Dumah – addressee-switching)
Isa 21:12 ṣēṭāyū ‘come’
6x in Job (style-switching)
Isa 40:18, 40:25, 46:5 (Aramaisms? archaisms?)
Exod 15:5 yēkasyūmū (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 lq̄h ‘take’, as in Aramaic (B2, D2, A10):

1 Kgs 17:11 liqi (Elijah)
Ezek 37:16 lēqah (concerning Israel/Joseph)
Prov 20:16 lēqah (IH composition)

One non-IH example: Exod 29:1 lēqah – used for literary purposes, to alliterate
with lēkahēn and lēqaddēś in the same verse

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

Ps 58:9 yahālōk (IH psalm)
Jer 9:3 yahālōk (Benjamite? Aramaism?)
6x in Job (style-switching)
Qoh 6:8 lahālōk (IH composition)
Jer 51:50 hîlkū (Babylon – addressee-switching)
Exod 3:19 lahālōk (no explanation)
Ps 91:6 yahālōk (no explanation)

8. Unusual infinitive construct of ntn (B2):

1 Kgs 17:14K ttn (Elijah)
1 Kgs 6:19 lēṭittēn (Phoenician scribes)

9. Infinitive construct of IIIy verb, as in Ugaritic (D1, A14):
Judg 13:21 lēhērāʔō̂h (Samson)
1 Sam 1:9 šātō̂h (Shiloh)
1 Sam 3:21 lēhērāʔō̂h (Shiloh)
2 Kgs 13:17 kallē̂h (Elisha)
Hos 6:9 ḥakkē (northern prophet)
10. Irregular infinitive form bēhišṭaḥāwāyātī ‘in my prostrating’, as in Aramaic (B2):
   2 Kgs 5:18 (Naaman)
11. Masculine singular participle of IIIy verb ending in -ē̂h, as in MH (B2):
   1Kgs 20:40 ʾōšē̂h (northern prophet)
12. Inflected participles, as in Aramaic (B2, A6, A10):
   2 Kgs 4:23K hlkty (man from Shunem)
   Gen 31:39 gēnubti (style-switching – Jacob to Laban)
   Jer 10:17K ywśbty (Aramaism? Benjaminit?)
   Jer 22:23K ywśbty (Aramaism? Benjaminit?) (note Lebanon)
   Jer 51:13K šknty (Aramaism? addressee-switching [Babylon]?)
   Ezek 27:3K ywśbty (Aramaism? addressee-switching [Tyre]?)
   Lam 4:21K ywśbty (Aramaism?)
13a. 3sg pronominal suffix -ennū/-ennāh attached to wayyiqtol form (B2):
   Judg 15:2 wāʾettēnennāh ‘and I gave her’ (Samson’s father-in-law)
   2 Kgs 9:33 wayyirmēsennāh ‘and he trampled her’ (IH)
   Job 7:18 wattpqēdennū ‘and you inspected him’ (style-switching?)
   Job 33:24 wayehunnennū ‘and he was gracious to him’ (style-switching?)
   One non-IH example: Lam 1:13 wayyirdennāh ‘and he ruled it’
13b. 2msg pronominal suffix -ekkā attached to wayyiqtol form (B2, D2):11
   Ps 81:8 wāʾāḥalēšekkā ‘and I rescued you’ (IH psalm)
   Prov 7:15 wāʾemsāʾekkā ‘and I found you’ (IH composition)
   Isa 49:7 wayyibharekka ‘and he chose you’ (reunion)
14. ṭEtpolel form, as in Deir ṭAlla and Aramaic (B1, A9):
   Ps 76:6 ṭēstōlēlū ‘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 wēyīṣṭammēr ḥuqqōt ʾomrī ‘and the laws of Omri are observed’ (northern section of Micah)
A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO ISRAELIAN HEBREW: GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

Prov 31:30 hi" tithallāl ‘she is to be praised’ (IH composition)
Qoh 8:10 wēyiśtakkēhū bāʾîr ‘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 bēša‘ar ṣeprayim ‘from the gate of Ephraim’ (IH)
   2 Kgs 14:28 liḥūḍāh ‘from Yehuda (=Samʿal) (IH)
   Ps 10:1 bērāḥōq ‘from afar’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 29:10 lammabbūl ‘from the flood’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 140:11 bēmahāmōrōt ‘from the deep-pits’ (IH psalm)

2. Preposition ’ad lē-, as in Aramaic (B2):
   1 Kgs 18:29 ’ad laʿālōt hamminḥahā ‘until (the time of) the offering of the minḥa’ (IH)
   More examples in Ezra and Chronicles (Aramaic)

3. Preposition ’ad ’el , related to the above (B2):
   2 Kgs 9:20 ’ad ’ālēhem ‘unto them’ (Israelian scout)

   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 ’ad meaning ‘while’, as in Aramaic (B2):12
   2 Kgs 9:22 ’ad zēnūnē ’iṣebeł ‘while the harlotries of Jezebel (continue)’ (Jehu)
   Ps 141:10 ’ad ’eḥēbōr ‘while I pass’ (IH psalm)
   Judg 3:26 ’ad hitimahmēḥām ‘while they delayed’ (Benjaminites?)
   1 Sam 14:19 ’ad dibber šāʾūl ‘while Saul was speaking’ (Benjaminite?)
   Jon 4:2 ’ad hēyōṭi ‘while I was’ (Aramaism? style-switching? IH?)

6. Conjunction ’ad še- ‘until’, as in MH, with cognate in Aramaic ’d 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 ’ad lō? ‘ere, before’, literally ‘while not’ as in Aramaic (D2):
   Prov 8:26 ’ad lō ’āsāh ṣereṣ ‘before he made earth’ (IH)
8. Preposition qābol ‘before’, as in Aramaic (B2):
   2 Kgs 15:10 qābol ʾām ‘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 7:12 K bhsdh ‘in the field’ (Joram)
   Ps 36:6 bēhaššāmayim ‘in the heavens’ (IH psalm)
   Qoh 8:1 kēheḥākām ‘like the wise-man’ (IH composition)
   Neh 9:19 bēhaddērēk ‘in the way’ (IH text)
   1 Sam 13:21 ūlēhaqqardummīm ‘and for the axes’ (Benjaminites?)

   Ezek 40:25 kēḥaḥallōnōt ‘like the windows’
   Ezek 47:22 ūlēḥaggērīm ‘and for the foreigners’
   Neh 12:38 lēhahōmā ‘and for the wall’
   2 Chr 10:7 lēḥāʾēm ‘to the people’
   2 Chr 25:10 lēḥaggēdēd ‘the troop’
   (with l- serving as nota acc.)
   2 Chr 29:27 lēḥammīzḇēāḥ ‘on the altar’

10. Interrogative ykh ‘where’, with cognates in Aramaic and MH (B2, A17):
   2 Kgs 6:13 ʾēkōb (IH – Aramean king)
   Song 1:7 (2x) ʾēkāb (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 ʾīš, 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)
   Song 1:7 (IH poem)
III. Syntax

1. ze\(^h\) hayyōm ‘this day’ syntagma, as in Aramaic, Phoenician, and MH (B2, A10, A12, A17):
   - 1 Kgs 14:14 ze\(^h\) hayyōm ‘this day’ (IH)
   - 2 Kgs 6:33 zō\(^t\) hārā\(^c\) h  ‘this evil’ (Israelian messenger)
   - Song 7:8 zō\(^t\) gōmātēk ‘this your stature’ (IH poem)
   - Josh 9:12 ze\(^h\) lahmēnū ‘this our bread’
   - Josh 9:13 ṇēlle\(^h\) nō\(^r\) dōt hayyāyīn ‘these wineskins’
   - Josh 9:13 ṇēlle\(^h\) šalmōtēnū ‘these our clothes’ (Hivites: style-switching)
   - Isa 23:13 ze\(^h\) hāʾām ‘this people’ (Tyre – addressee-switching)

2. hōlī ze\(^h\) ‘this illness’ construction (indefinite noun + indefinite demonstrative pronoun), as in Phoenician (B2):\(^{13}\)
   - 2 Kgs 1:2, 8:8, 8:9 hōlī ze\(^h\) ‘this illness’ (Ahaziah, Ben-Hadad)
   - Mic 7:12 yōm hū? ‘that day’ (northern section of Micah)
   - Ps 80:15 gepen zō\(^t\) ‘this vine’ (IH psalm)

3. Double plural construction, as in Byblos Amarna, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Deir ṚAlla, and MH (B1, B2, A7, A9, A15, A17, A19):
   - 2 Kgs 15:25 bēnē gilādīm ‘Gileadites’ (IH)
   - Ps 29:1 bēnē ṣēlim ‘sons of the gods’ = ‘deities’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 45:10 bēnōt mēlākīm ‘daughters of the kings’ = ‘princesses’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 47:10 nēdibē ṣāmmīm ‘princes of the peoples’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 74:13 rāʾšē tannīnīm ‘heads of the sea-monsters’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 77:6 šēnōt ṣōhālīm ‘years of eternities’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 78:49 malʾākē rāʾīm ‘messengers of evils’ (IH psalm)
   - Ps 116:9 ʿarṣōt haḥayyōm ‘lands of the living’ (IH psalm)
   - Song 1:17 qōrōt bāṭṭēnū ‘beams of our houses’ (IH poem)

   Commonly in Chronicles (reunion)

4. Use of ʿehād ʿahat 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)
   - 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. yqt\(l\) preterite (in prose), as occasionally in Phoenician, Aramaic, and
Moabite (B2, A15):

1 Kgs 20:33 wehāʾānāšīm yēnahāšû ‘and the men divined’ (IH)
1 Kgs 21:6 ki ʾādabbēr ʾel nābōt ‘because I spoke to Naboth’ (Ahab) (note Mesha Stele 5-6 ky yʿnp kmš)
2 Kgs 8:29, 9:15 ʾāšēr yakkūhū ʾārammim ‘which the Arameans had inflicted upon him’ (IH)
Gen 37:7 wēhinneš tēsubbenāš ʾālumēṭēkēm ‘and behold your sheaves surrounded (it)’ (excited/confused language?)
Judg 2:1 ʾāʾāl ʾetkēm mimniṣrāyim ‘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 nēḥittīm ‘descending’ (Elisha)
Song 3:8 ʾāḥūzē hereb ‘skilled in the sword’ (IH poem)

7. Infinitive absolute used as narrative tense, as in Byblos Amarna, Ugaritic, and Phoenician (B2, D2, A4, A14):
Judg 7:19 wēnāpōṣ hakkaddīm ‘and they shattered the jugs’ (Gideon)
1 Sam 2:28 ūbāḥōr ʾōtō ‘and I chose him’ (Shiloh in Ephraim)
1 Kgs 22:30 hitḥappēš wābōb ʾamīmiḥāmāš ‘I will disguise myself and go into the battle’ (Israelian king [Ahab?])
2 Kgs 3:16 ʾāsōh hāannahal hazzeb gēbīm ‘I will make this wadi full of pools’ (Elisha)
2 Kgs 4:43 ʾākōl wēhōtēr ‘they shall eat and have leftover’ (Elisha)
Neh 9:8 wēkārōt ʾimmō habbērūt ‘and you made a covenant with him’ (IH text)
Neh 9:13 wēdabbēr ʾimmāhem miṣṣāmēyim ‘and you spoke with them from heaven’ (IH text)
Amos 4:5 wēqattēr mēḥāmēṣ tōdāh ‘and burn a toda-offering from leaven’ (northern prophet)
Prov 12:7 hāpōk rēṣāʾīm ‘the wicked are overthrown’ (IH comp.)
Prov 15:22 hāpēr mahāsābōt ‘plans are undone’
Prov 17:12 pāgōs dōb šakkūl bēʾēṣ ‘better that a bereaved bear meet a man’
1 Kgs 9:25 wēhaqtēr ʾittō ‘and he offered with it’ (Phoen. scribes?)
Lev 25:14 ʾō qānōh miyyad ʾāmitekā ‘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
A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO ISRAELIAN HEBREW: GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

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 ‗el and ‗al, 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 ‗Alla (B2, D2, A9, A15, A17):
Judg 5:20 min šāmâyim ‘from heaven’ (IH poem)
Judg 7:23 min ʾāšēr ‘from Asher’ (Gideon)
Judg 7:23 min kol mēnaṣēb ‘from all of Manasseh’ (Gideon)
Judg 10:11 min bēnē ʾammôn ‘from the Ammonites’ (Gilead setting)
Judg 10:11 min pēliṣtîm ‘from the Philistines’ (Gilead setting)
Judg 19:16 min maʾāšēhū ‘from his work’ (Gibeath of Benjamin)
2 Kgs 15:28 min ḫattî? t ‘from the sins’ (IH)
Ps 45:9 min hēkêlê šēn ‘from the palaces of ivory’ (IH psalm)
Ps 73:19 min ballāḥōt ‘from terrors’ (IH psalm)
Ps 116:8 min dimrāh ‘from tears’ (IH psalm)
Prov 27:8 min qinnâh ‘from its nest’ (IH composition)
Song 4:15 min lēbānôn ‘from Lebanon’ (IH poem)
Numb 23:7 min ʾārām ‘from Aram’ (Balaam – style-switching)
Job 30:5 min gēw ‘from the midst of’ (style-switching)
Job 40:6 min šērāh ‘from the storm’ (style-switching)
6x in Jeremiah (Benjaminites? Aramaism?)
Scattered additional occurrences in JH (no explanation)
Common in LBH, e.g., 51x in Chronicles (Aramaism)

11. Use of ʾǒt- 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 wayyāgom wayyēred ʾǒtō ʾel hammelekh ‘and he arose and he went down with him to the king’ (IH)
12. Interrogative ʾé zeʾa governing verb, as in MH (B2):
   1 Kgs 22:24 ʾé zeʾa ʾékbar raʾuḥ YHWH ‘which way did the spirit of the LORD pass?’ (Zedekiah)
   Qoh 11:6 ʾé zeʾa yiksär ‘which will prosper?’ (IH composition)

13. Interrogative series hā- ... ʾō, as in Deir ʾAla (B2, A9):
   2 Kgs 4:13 hāyēs lēdabber lak ʾel hammelek ʾō ʾel šar haḥṣābā? ‘can one speak on your behalf to the king or to the commander of the army?’ (Elisha)?
   2 Kgs 6:27 hāmin haggoren ʾō 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
   hāṭōb hēyōtēḵā kōhēn lēḇēt ʾīš ʾeḥād ʾō hēyōtēḵā kōhēn lēšēbet uleṃišpāḵā ʾbeyēšrāʾēl ‘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 mittato sellislomō ‘the palanquin of Solomon’ (IH poem)

15. Negative particle ʾal followed by a noun, as in Deir ʾAla (D2, A9):16
   Amos 5:14 wēʾal rā ʾē and not evil’ (northern prophet)
   Ps 83:2 ʾal dōmī ʾō not silence’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 141:5 ʾal yānī ʾō not my wine’ (IH psalm)
   Prov 8:10 wēʾal kasep ‘and not silver’
   Prov 12:28 ʾal māwet ‘not death’
   Prov 17:12 wēʾal kēsîl ‘and not a fool’
   Prov 27:2 wēʾal šēpātekâ ‘and not your lips’
   2 Sam 1:21 (2x) ʾal tal wēʾal māṭar ‘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 ʾahad ʾaḏ naq ʾone bead’ (IH poem)

17. Omission of ʾet from prose narrative (B2, A20):
A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO ISRAELIAN HEBREW: GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

Lexicon

I. Nouns and Adjectives

1. ḫêb ‘fruit’: Job 8:12, Song 6:11. MH (2x); Ugaritic ḫib; Aramaic ḫyb, ḫnb (A17)
2. ḥôhab ‘love’: Hos 9:10, Prov 7:18 (D1, D2)
3. ḥâhâbîm ‘love’: Hos 8:9, Prov 5:19 (D1, D2)
4. ḫîwwelet ‘throne’: Prov 14:24. Ugaritic alt (D2)
5. ḥôrōt ‘herbs, sprouts’: 2 Kgs 4:39. [See also Isa 26:19.] Ugaritic, MH (B2, A19)
6. ḫelep ‘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. ḥêmer ‘lamb’: Gen 49:21 (Naphtali) (A8)
8. ḥêtînâ ‘price’: Hos 2:14 (D1)
9. ḥarmôn ‘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)
10. ḥêsqîl ‘ear of grain’: 2 Kgs 4:42. Ugaritic hsql (B2)
12. ḥûd ‘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)
13. ḥêl ‘door’: Ps 141:3. Phoenician (B1, A5)
14. ḥâsîp ‘small (flock)’: 1 Kgs 20:27. Ugaritic hsp, Phoenician hsp (B2)
15. ḥêkâl ‘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. ḥêdeq ‘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. ḫâaḥ ‘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 Israeli king Jehoash, with reference to Lebanon). [Exception is Isa 34:13.] Aramaic (A17)
19. ḥôṣîr ‘rod’: Prov 14:3. [Isa 11:1 means ‘shoot’.] Phoenician, Deir ḥAlla, Aramaic (D2, A9)
20. **helyāh** (and variant forms) ‘jewel’: Hos 2:15, Prov 25:12, Song 7:2 (D1, D2, A17)


22. **ḥammaḥ** ‘sun’: Ps 19:7, Job 30:28, Song 6:10. [See also Isa 24:23.]

23. **ḥopen** ‘garment’: Prov 30:4. Ugaritic **ḥpn** (D2)

24. **ḥārūṣ** ‘gold’: Prov 3:14, 8:10, 8:19, 16:16; Zech 9:3 (style-switching – Tyre), Ps 68:14 (ABH). Ugaritic **ḥrš**, Phoenician **ḥrš** (D2, A10)


26. **yaqār** ‘grievous’: Ps 116:15. Aramaic (B1, A15)


28. **tene** ‘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. **kese** / **keseh** ‘full moon’: Ps 81:4, Prov 7:20. Ugaritic, Phoenician (B1, D2)

31. **kērāh** ‘feast’: 2 Kgs 6:23. See the verb **krh** below (B2)

32. **lēbānāh** ‘moon’: Song 6:10. [See also Isa 24:23.] [Elsewhere Isa 30:26.] MH (A17, A19)

33. **lōa** ‘throat’: Prov 23:2. Aramaic (D2)

34. **meqed** ‘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. **mēdīnāh** ‘district’: 1 Kings 20 (4x). [All other 53 cases from exilic and post-exilic texts under Aramaic influence.] MH, Aramaic (B2)


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

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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>millâ‘h ‘word’</td>
<td>2 Sam 23:2, Ps 19:5, 139:4, 23:9, 34x in Job (A1, A10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>mamlékât ‘kingdom’</td>
<td>Hos 1:4, 1 Sam 15:28 (Samuel), 2 Sam 16:3 (Ziba [of Benjamin]?), Jer 26:1 (Benjaminites?), 5x in Joshua 13 (references to Og and Sihon in Transjordan) (D1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>manâmim ‘delicacies’</td>
<td>Ps 141:4. Phoenician (B1, A5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>miqṣôt ‘from among, some of’</td>
<td>Judg 18:2 (Dan), 1 Kgs 12:31, 13:33, 2 Kgs 17:32. [Dan 1:2, Neh 7:69 as Aramaisms.] Aramaic (B2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>nê‘ûm with human speakers:</td>
<td>Numb 24:3-4, 24:15-16, 2 Sam 23:1, Prov 30:1, Ps 36:2 (B1, D2, A1, A7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>nâ‘îm ‘good, pleasant’ (including verbal forms from the root n‘m):</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>spsg ‘glaze’:</td>
<td>Prov 26:23 (reconstructed). Ugaritic (D2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>‘ayir ‘village’:</td>
<td>Judg 10:4. MH (A13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>‘alwâ‘h ‘perversity’:</td>
<td>Hos 10:9. Syriac (D1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>‘ereś ‘bed’:</td>
<td>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 ‘ârisâ‘h, Ugaritic, Aramaic (D2, A17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>‘âstârôt ‘fertility’:</td>
<td>4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins. Ugaritic, Deir ‘Ala (A13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>pag ‘unripe fig’:</td>
<td>Song 2:13. MH, Aramaic (A17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>pa‘am ‘foot’:</td>
<td>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 p‘m, Ugaritic p‘n (B1, D2, A17, A19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>pêlaggerôt ‘divisions’:</td>
<td>Judg 5:15-16. [Elsewhere 2 Chr 35:5 as Aramaism.] Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic (A15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>paqqû‘ôt ‘wild gourds’:</td>
<td>2 Kgs 4:39. MH, Aramaic (B2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
63. šēlōhīt ‘dish’: 2 Kgs 2:20. MH, Aramaic (B2)
64. šinnāh ‘cold’: Prov 25:13. MH, Aramaic (D2)
65. qab ‘unit of measurement’: 2 Kgs 6:25. MH, Aramaic (B2)
66. qēwwuṣṣūt ‘locks’: Song 5:2, 5:11. MH, Syriac (A17)
67. qir'yāh ‘city’: Hos 6:8, Ps 48:3, Proverbs 5x, Job 39:7. [JH texts (e.g., Torah) use qir'yāh to refer to Transjordanian cities or as B-word for 'îr.]
    Ugaritic, Phoenician, MH (D1, D2, A19)
68. qeret ‘city’: Proverbs 4x, Job 29:7. Phoenician, Aramaic (D2)
69. qōṣṭ ‘truth’: Prov 22:21. Aramaic (D2)
70. rēbi’îm ‘those of the fourth generation’: 2 Kgs 10:30, 15:12. Aramaic (B2)
71. rēsīṣīm ‘droplets’: Song 5:2. Aramaic-Syriac (A17)
72. šeber ‘interpretation (of a dream)’: Judg 7:15. Phoenician šbrt (A11)
73. šēbet ‘hot wind, extreme heat’: 2 Sam 23:7. Aramaic (A11)
74. šegēr ‘offspring’: 4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins. [Also in Exod 13:12.] Ugaritic, Deir Alla (A13)
75. šūq ‘street’: Prov 7:8, Song 3:2, Qoh 12:4-5. Aramaic (D2, A17)
76. šīrôbh ‘vision’: Ps 42:9. Ugaritic dhrū/drt (B1, A11)22
77. šīt ‘garment’: Ps 73:6, Prov 7:10. Syriac (D2)
79. šepēr ‘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 (Benjaminites?). 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 ʾṭr (D2)
6. ʾrh ‘pluck’: Ps 80:13, Song 5:1. MH (A17)23
7. ʾṭh ‘come’: Deut 33:21 (Gad), Prov 1:27, Job 3:25, 16:22, 30:14,
8. **bd** 'invent, devise': 1 Kgs 12:33. [Neh 6:8 as Aramaism.] MH, Aramaic (B2)

9. **b’t** 'kick, trample': Deut 32:15, 1 Sam 2:29. MH, Aramaic (A14)

10. **br** '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. **glfs** 'flow': Song 4:1, 6:5. Ugaritic glt; B. Pesaḥim 37b (‘boil’) (A17)

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

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

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


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

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


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

25. **htp / htp** 'snatch': Prov 23:28, Job 9:12 htp, Judg 21:21, Ps 10:9 htp. MH (with tet), Aramaic (with both tet and taw) (D2)

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

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

28. **ksh** '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 kērāḥ 'feast' above (B2, D2)

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

32. mgn ‘give, deliver’: Hos 11:8, Prov 4:9. [Elsewhere Gen 14:20
(Melchizedek).] Phoenician, Ugaritic, Aramaic (D1, D2)
33. mdd (Hitpōlel) ‘stretch oneself’: 1 Kgs 17:21. MH (B2)
34. mhq ‘strike’: Judg 5:26. Aramaic (A15)
35. mkr (Hitpael) ‘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. mn ‘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
(addresssee-switching: Egypt) [5 JH examples.] Aramaic, MH (B2,
D2)26
38. ngd ‘lead’: Ps 116:14, 116:18: Aramaic (A15)
39. nht ‘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 (Piel) (Saul) (D1)
41. nsl (Hiph'il) ‘take back, snatch, remove’: Hos 2:11, Gen 31:9 (D1)
42. shp ‘repel, drive away’: Prov 28:3, Jer 46:15 (invoked especially to
alliterate with thpnhs). MH, Aramaic (D2)
43. s'd ‘eat, dine’: 1 Kgs 13:7. MH, Aramaic (B2)
44. 'dh ‘pass’ (Qal), ‘remove’ (Hiph'il): Prov 25:20, Job 28:8. Aramaic
(D2)
45. 'dn ‘luxuriate’: Neh 9:25, Ps 36:9 (noun form). Ugaritic 'dn.27
46. 'sh ‘shut, press’: Prov 16:30. Aramaic. Perhaps Ugaritic 's (D2)
47. 'rb ‘offer’: Hos 9:4. Phoenician (D1)
48. 'rb ‘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)
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. pr'l ‘make, do’: Deut 32:27, Hos 7:1, Ps 44:2, 58:3, Prov 16:4, 30:20,
(style-switching – Balak). [Scattered examples elsewhere.] Phoenician,
Deir 'Alla. Ugaritic byform b'r (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. qps ‘jump’ : Song 2:8. MH, Aramaic (A17)

56. qbb/nqb ‘curse’ : Balaam 8x, Prov 11:26 (D2)

57. qsb ‘cut’ : 2 Kgs 6:6, Song 4:2. MH, Aramaic (B2, A17)

58. qsh (Piel) ‘reduce’ : 2 Kgs 10:32. Phoenician (B2)

59. rpd ‘spread out, support, refresh’ : Job 17:13, 41:22, Song 2:5 (A17)

60. r*m ‘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)


64. šwh ‘set > make, produce’ : Hos 10:1. Aramaic (D1)


66. šḥt ‘harm, abuse, violate’ : Hos 5:2. Syriac (D1)

67. šlh (Hiph’il) ‘mislead’ : 2 Kgs 4:28. Aramaic (B2)

68. šnh (Hitpael) ‘disguise oneself’ : 1 Kgs 14:2. Syriac (B2)

69. šns ‘gird’ : 1 Kgs 18:46. Ugaritic. Byform šnš in Aramaic (verb), MH (noun = ‘strap, lace, thong’) (B2)

70. š*r ‘prepare a meal, serve food’ : Prov 23:7. Ugaritic t*r (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. *aḥālē ‘would that’ : 2 Kgs 5:3 [Elsewhere Ps 119:5.] Ugaritic aḥl (B2)

2. *ē ‘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 grüsser als das Madchen,” “Der Junge ist grüsser wie das Madchen,” “Der Junge ist grüsser als wie das Madchen” (with both forms appearing side-by-side), or “Der Junge ist grüsser as das Madchen” (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 “Marzeah” papyrus of uncertain provenance (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1990) and the incense altar inscription from Khirbet el-Mudeiyinieh (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
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 q3 ‘summer-fruit’ in the Gezer Calendar (line 7) and of ym ‘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 ’ad, 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 qatol to replace the narrative tense (wayyiqtol mainly), with a few instances of qatol 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 ḥōaḥ ‘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 šīrōh ‘vision’ is a northern feature, as discussed in A11.

23 I failed to include this example in my book on Psalms (B1), even though ṟrh ‘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 mar ‘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 swr 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.


